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EUROPE

*In Modern Times*



WARREN O. AULT  
BOSTON UNIVERSITY

EUROPE  
*IN*  
*MODERN*  
*TIMES*



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*BOSTON*

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TO MY NEPHEW

*Lieut. John Howard Campbell, Jr.*

WHO DIED IN COMBAT

ON OKINAWA

MAY 23, 1945





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## PREFACE

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EACH RECURRENT crisis of man's affairs gives to the study and writing of history fresh impetus. The swift sequence of great events matures and readjusts our interest in the past. Its chapters assume a new proportion and stand in need of reconsideration.

In this book the author has been much concerned to explain how things have come to be what they are and, so far as he could, to explain why. But the author also believes that in the study of our ancestors we need to concern ourselves not only with what matters to us but also, in some measure, with what mattered to them. It is the maturing experience of such a study that gives perspective, tolerance, and a sobering sense of the complexity of human life.

The successive periods of this history are introduced by one or more chapters in which the main currents are discussed at some length. With this exception there is little segregation of cultural and other matters. Human history is the product of many factors and these are best understood if viewed synoptically.

As a teacher the author believes in the principle that "a student should not be taught more than he can think about." This has been the guiding principle in the selection, and exclusion, of historical material. In these times, of course, some of the matters a student can and should think about are global, both in extent and in significance.

Inasmuch as many students begin their study of modern history with little knowledge of previous ages, the early chapters of this book include much medieval material.

WARREN O. AULT  
BOSTON UNIVERSITY



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EUROPE  
*In Modern Times*



## SECTION ONE

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# The Emergence of Modern Europe

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THERE ARE four main ways in which the rise of modern Europe may be studied. In political organization, the universalism of the medieval Empire was giving way to a differentiation into nation-states. In the economic realm, city dwellers were discovering the power of capital and increasingly making use of it in their affairs, while the rural masses were raising themselves from serfdom to freedom. At the same time an intellectual revolution was taking place as writers, artists, and scholars began to question the great authorities of the middle ages and made bold to take a fresh look at man and nature. Finally, a great religious upheaval now broke the universality of papal power and brought about the establishment of national churches.

All four developments went forward simultaneously and in close interaction with each other. No one of them can be fully understood until all have been studied. We make a beginning with a chapter on the rise of national monarchies and the modern state system. If it seems to the reader that the dynasties and politics with which this chapter deals in part are surface facts of secondary importance, let him reflect that at the very least they supply us with a chronological framework in which we may fix, for better understanding, the enduring achievements of the period—in thought, in religion, and in economic life.

finally reduced the imperial authority to a shadow. By the close of the thirteenth century the dream of a united Christendom ceased to occupy the minds of practical men, though it still appealed to the imagination of poets and philosophers. The political organization and the political ideas of the later medieval centuries were in closer touch with realities. What were those realities?

### The Empire in the Later Middle Ages

The Empire of late medieval and early modern centuries was synonymous with Germany. And what was Germany? Little more than a geographical expression. Bound to the chariot wheel of the imperial idea, the German state had been broken into many pieces. Most of the fragments were still loosely held together by the German monarchy, but the kings of Germany as such no longer had a revenue or an armed force. A French writer of the sixteenth century defined a sovereign as one who has "power to give laws to each and every one of his subjects and to receive none from them." The feudal barons of Germany answered better to this definition than did the emperor.

The feudal principalities in Germany had become more and more numerous, partly because of the custom of equal division among the male heirs, each son being invested with his father's title. Each noble family sought to root itself in the soil, be its holding only a few square miles in extent. The German bishops and abbots, whose estates of course were not subject to such subdivision, were no less zealous for power than the lay princes, and the ecclesiastical states of Germany became increasingly important. Besides the princes of the church and the lay barons there was an increasing number of "free cities" in the Empire, cities which had won many of the rights of self-government. All in all, there were more than three hundred political particles in Germany by the close of the middle ages.

A form of unity was maintained through an imperial Diet, an assembly of all the princes together with the representatives of the free cities. This body sat in three houses. The first was composed of the greater princes, ecclesiastical and lay, who elected the emperor, the second of the lesser princes, and the third of delegates from the cities. The Diet met infrequently. It had no authority save what its members might give voluntarily, and any decision of the Diet, to be of effect, had to be practically unanimous. Delegates often came late, or not at all. Those who came promptly were frequently obliged to leave, after some months of expensive delay, before dilatory delegates had arrived. A motion to adjourn was sometimes debated for weeks. Not until late in the fifteenth century could

a majority bind a minority and it was even later before absent members agreed to be bound by the decisions of those present.

It need hardly be said that no German dynasty had ever established an hereditary claim to the throne. The kingship remained elective. The ancient tribal custom of election by the people had given way, with the advent of feudalism, to election by the princes. As the number of princes great and small increased to a swarm, confusion arose and disputed elections multiplied. In 1356 it was established that seven princes should constitute the electoral body; namely, the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trèves, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine. The archbishop of Mainz was invested with the functions of secretary. It was his duty, within three months of the death of an emperor, to summon the electoral college to Frankfurt. Election was by simple majority, each elector having the right to vote for himself if he so desired. The king-elect was given the title of King of the Romans, and was to be known as emperor only after coronation by the pope. Loss of power south of the Alps made it increasingly difficult for successive kings to make the journey to Rome; indeed, many of them omitted to do so. In 1508 Maximilian I secured the sanction of Pope Julius II for the use of the title Roman Emperor Elect while waiting to be crowned. This established a precedent. Thenceforth kings of Germany were known as emperors without further ado, and if in later times someone came across the fuller phrase Roman Emperor Elect in a formal document, he took it as a reference to the elective character of the German monarchy.

The emperors of the later medieval and early modern centuries were chosen for their mediocrity. It was well understood that they would not attempt to increase their authority over their fellow German princes. The emperors of this period generally devoted themselves to extending the private possessions of their families, freely using the prestige and the few remaining rights of the imperial office to that end.

Weak and divided as was the German state, there were occasionally faint stirrings of consciousness in the German nation. In the latter part of the fifteenth century a reform movement sprang up. Count Berthold of Mainz with other princes of the second rank laid certain proposals before the Diet of Frankfurt in 1485. They proposed the abolition of the private war of prince against prince, with a supreme court of justice to enforce the prohibition, a single national system of currency, and an imperial tax called the "common penny," the proceeds of which were to be used in part to finance an imperial army. But these increases in the power and resources of the emperor were to remain under the supreme control of the Diet, in the view of the reform party, and this the emperor found



quite unacceptable. Reform failed, and we have in Germany the strange spectacle of a movement toward national unification supported by the barons and opposed by the monarchy. In the Lutheran movement, a little later, the German nation almost found itself, but in the end civil wars left Germany more divided than ever, though the German people had begun to speak, however discordantly, a common language.

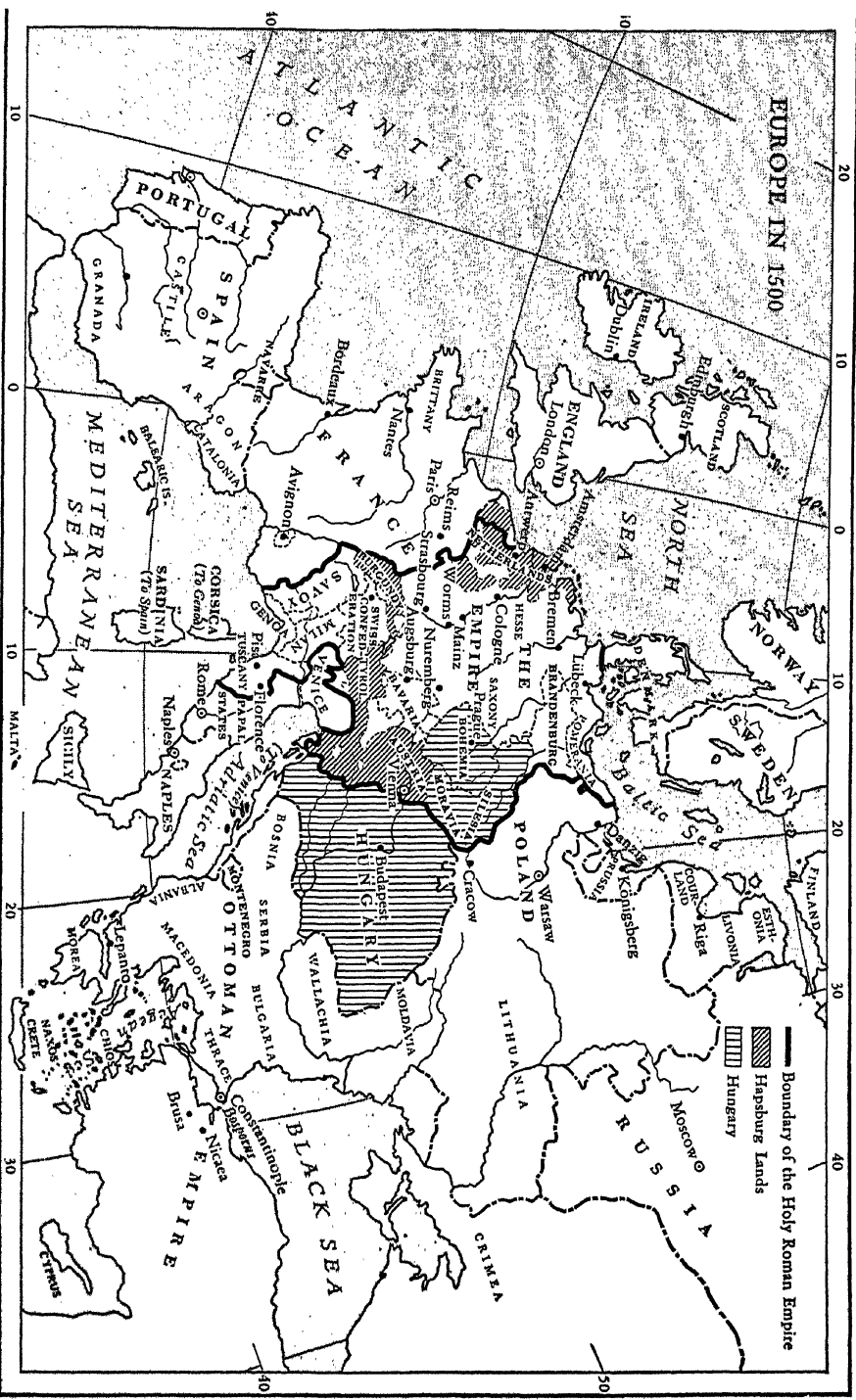
### The Hapsburgs

Greatest of German noble families in this period were the Hapsburgs. The founder of the family was Rudolph, who was chosen emperor in 1273. He was one of the smaller princes of Germany at the time and he owed his election to that fact, as well as to the tacit understanding that he would be a "good" emperor, not troubling the German barons nor fighting windmills in Italy. Rudolph's patrimony was a bit of the old duchy of Swabia. As emperor he enjoyed the feudal rights of escheat and forfeiture. When in 1278 the king of Bohemia, Ottocar II, who had built up an extensive empire of Slavic and German lands, fell in battle and his holdings were dispersed, Rudolph, exercising his feudal rights, skillfully gathered in some of the dead king's lands. In this way the archduchy of Austria, with Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, passed into Rudolph's hands, a compact block of territory stretching from the Adriatic northward to the Danube. Thus began the famous association of Austria with the house of Hapsburg. By slow accretion and not without painful reverses the holdings of this family increased. The Hapsburgs were famous for extending their lands by marriage with well-endowed families. Hungary was thus acquired, and Bohemia. In 1477 occurred the marriage of Maximilian I of Hapsburg to Mary of Burgundy, heiress of that "middle kingdom," lying along the Rhine and including the Netherlands, which the dukes of Burgundy had for some time been putting together. Then in 1496 Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary, married Joanna of Castile, heiress of Spain. The son of this marriage was Charles V, who was chosen emperor in 1519. Through the deaths, successively, of his father, his father-in-law, and his grandfather, young Charles at nineteen came into the possession of all the vast holding of the Hapsburgs in Europe and the New World. He was Europe's greatest political figure since Charlemagne.

### Origin of Switzerland

A notable feature of German history in the later middle ages was the rise of Switzerland. In the Alps, along the St. Gotthard route from Germany to Italy, lived isolated communities of peasants whose sole oc-

# EUROPE IN 1500



cupation was cattle raising. A thirteenth-century emperor, the better to secure the pass into Italy, established three of these communities, Uri and Schwyz and Unterwalden, as self-governing cantons with himself as immediate overlord. The rise of the house of Hapsburg half a century later threatened the privileged position of the three communities, and in 1291 they joined in a "Perpetual Compact," pledging mutual cooperation in defense but reserving full powers, under the Empire, in other respects. This is the germ of Switzerland. Other peasant communities and several neighboring towns, Lucerne, Zurich, Basel, and others, joined the confederation. The land-hungry Hapsburgs repeatedly sought to reduce the cantons from the status of self-governing members of the Diet to one of dependence upon themselves as dukes of Austria. This the cantons resisted, heroically and in the end successfully. As against the armored and mounted knights of Austria, the Swiss defense was foot soldiers armed with pikes. Formed in a hollow square with their pikes projecting horizontally the Swiss peasants and burghers were more than a match for the feudal array of the Hapsburgs. The Swiss pike became a standard weapon of western Europe.

### The Italian States

More clearly defined physically, Italy was farther than Germany from the goal of national unity at the close of the medieval period. The Italian peninsula was the most populous region of Europe; its cities were numerous, progressive, and wealthy. There was, however, no semblance of political unity in the peninsula, nor the faintest suggestion of national self-consciousness. A dozen states maintained themselves in complete independence of each other.

This condition was the natural result of a conflict of forces of which Italy had been the battleground for centuries. The Eastern Empire from its seat in Constantinople had striven throughout the early centuries of the Christian era to maintain itself at Ravenna. In Rome and its environs the papacy had established itself, and it was the objective of papal policy to maintain a completely sovereign status in central Italy. Successive kings of Germany, inheritors of the imperial ideal, fought with all their strength and skill to maintain their authority in northern Italy and even in Rome. Meanwhile, as the medieval centuries wore away, a powerful state was established in southern Italy and Sicily by a Norman dynasty from north of the Alps, displacing the earlier authority of the Eastern Empire. At the same time a revival of industry and commerce brought wealth and population to a score or more of the cities of the north. Self-government followed, and after a long struggle the claim of the German emperors to lordship over the Lombard cities became a mere form.

The city-states of Italy were the most effective political organizations known to the middle ages. As a political type the city-state has well-nigh vanished, but from ancient times through the middle ages many successful and even brilliant examples have appeared. The city-state belongs to an age when the freest flow of traffic, whether of men or goods, was confined by lack of adequate facilities or the insecurity of the times to a limited area around individual cities. There industry and trade, social intercourse, intellectual and political life, could be carried on with such intensity that a well-integrated community could be established and maintained. During this time, moreover, the nation-state with its monarchical leadership and wide patriotic support was, for the most part, unknown.

The strongest of the city-states of northern Italy was Venice. Exploiting with fine intelligence the many natural advantages of her location, the merchants of Venice by the middle of the thirteenth century had built at the crossroads of medieval trade a great commercial state. Two centuries later the spread of Turkish conquest in the Near East extinguished the Venetian trading posts one by one and closed many avenues of Venetian commerce. An even greater catastrophe was to come in the gradual relocation of the great highways of trade as Europe faced about and sought the Far East by western and southern routes. The astute rulers of Venice saw the handwriting on the wall and began the slow process of transforming Venice from a commercial to a land power. The republic had long since ceased to be a democracy and all authority was vested in a Great Council of nobles, mostly merchant princes. The number of nobles was large, but the formulation and execution of most business was reserved for small groups of elected councilors, usually men of superior ability. Of these groups the Council of Ten was famous for its swift and secret action. The doge, titular head of the state, was a mere puppet in the hands of the nobles. The masses were encouraged to remain in a state of complete political indifference.

Neighbor and bitter rival of Venice was Milan, at first a city-state ruled by a guild of merchants, then a great territorial power covering most of Lombardy and ruled by hereditary princes. For a century and a half the Visconti family maintained itself in Milan by sharp and crafty statesmanship. Then in 1450 the famous soldier of fortune Francesco Sforza, son of a plowman, rose to be captain of the Milanese mercenaries and hero of a victory over Venice. He married a daughter of the Visconti and became duke of Milan, the first of a succession of Sforzas. Their government was what we should call a dictatorship, but it was the promoter of prosperity in the state, the patron of art and letters, and it was not unpopular.

Like Milan, Florence had formerly been an exclusively industrial and

trading city governed by her guilds, and then became a territorial state controlled by local princes. Though republican in form, the government of Florence was dominated, in the middle of the fifteenth century, by Cosimo de' Medici, head of a wealthy family of bankers. He pulled the wires behind the scenes. Under his brilliant grandson Lorenzo (d. 1492), Medici control was franker and more complete. During the fifteenth century Florence became the greatest center of Renaissance art in Italy. Masterpieces of Florentine art are today the prized possession of art galleries throughout the world.

### Savonarola

One remarkable Florentine of the period was neither an artist nor a patron of art; to him, indeed, the current passion for art was sinful. Savonarola was not a native of Florence. Born in Ferrara, he had been trained as a Dominican monk at Bologna. In 1491, however, he became prior of the convent of San Marco at Florence. He proceeded to identify himself closely with the life of the city. He was deeply stirred by the godless life of the wealthy classes, by their utter worldliness. The poverty of the masses moved him to eloquent protest. Savonarola reached the conclusion that the root of all evil in Florence was the dominance of the Medici. In a series of bold and dramatic sermons the Dominican monk, like a prophet of old, pronounced the doom of Florence unless she changed her ways. Among his sympathetic listeners were the artists Botticelli and Michelangelo. Luckily, or unluckily, the prophecy of the militant monk was fulfilled. Italy was invaded by the French in 1494.

Piero de' Medici fled to Venice, and the Florentines under the leadership of Savonarola set up a republic "with Christ as king." Unfortunately the prophet was not a statesman. His constitution gave no recognition to influential families. His taxes, based upon unsound principles, and his imprudent budgeting led to the levying of forced loans and to tampering with the currency. Savonarola, in fact, was more concerned with moral objectives. Under his leadership a code was drawn up which abolished gambling, horse racing, blasphemy, and even bonfires and dancing. The monk issued decrees regulating women's dress. Drastic penalties were assessed and rigid enforcement attempted. His fanatical followers, called "the weepers" (*piagnoni*), cleansed the city and made a great bonfire of objectionable books and pictures, wigs, and other "vanities." Children were especially active in this campaign.

Savonarola's enemies were not idle; nor were they confined to Florence. Much of the responsibility for the evils of the time had been laid by Savonarola at the door of the pope. This does not mean that this monk was a precursor of the Protestant Reformation, as Luther later claimed.

Savonarola was a loyal son of the church, but like many another loyal son he felt that the church needed a thorough cleansing at the hands of its friends. A graver matter was that the pope of the day, Alexander VI, found himself on the side opposed to Savonarola in the game of Italian politics. Savonarola's Florentine enemies finally won over the mob, and the valiant Dominican was hanged (1498) in the very square where the famous bonfire of vanities had taken place only a year before. The Medici returned.

### The Papal States

The papal states stretched across the peninsula in a northerly direction from Rome to the Adriatic. Included were the districts of the Campagna, Spoleto, Ancona, and Romagna. Successful in maintaining their claim to these territories against the world at large, the popes had been far less successful in organizing their authority at home. The Italian vassals of the pope were powerful and unruly. The Roman populace had more than once made Rome impossible as a papal residence.

Following the trend of the times, successive popes sought to consolidate their holdings and centralize their authority. This preoccupation with local politics was accompanied by a comparative neglect of the spiritual interests of the church, a situation which contributed not a little to the Protestant revolt. The most successful of a series of "political popes" was Alexander VI (1492-1503), already mentioned. Of Spanish birth, originally named Roderigo Borgia, Alexander VI differed little as a ruler from the other princes of Italy save that he was a more efficient administrator and a more practical statesman than most of them. He pursued a family policy in his plans for centralization, utilizing the charms of his daughter Lucrezia and the craft, perfidy, and military skill of his son Cesare. An even greater asset than his children was the pope's own diplomatic art. It is known that at one and the same time he was negotiating with the Spaniards to drive the French from Italy, with the French to drive out the Spaniards, and with Venice to drive out both. Well advanced when Alexander VI died, the unifying work was continued by his successor, Julius II (1503-1513), a pontiff whose worldly ambitions were scarcely less ardent. Leo X (1513-1521) was the third pope in succession who looked upon himself primarily as an Italian prince. As a Medici he found it natural to be a patron of art.

### Naples and Sicily

In southern Italy and Sicily a Norman dynasty had extinguished the last remnants of imperial authority in the tenth and eleventh centuries

and had welded the discordant elements of the population, Latin, Greek, Moslem, and Jewish, into a semblance of unity. This same dynasty then organized a strongly centralized monarchy, the first in Europe, and fostered a culture which was in some respects the precursor and inspirer of the Italian Renaissance. This culture found little to sustain it in the land of its birth, however, and the kingdom of Naples, which usually included Sicily, fell far behind the north of Italy in enlightenment. This southern kingdom was the poorest section of the peninsula, though the most populous. It was the fate of Naples, earlier than the other states of Italy, to be ruled by foreign dynasties. Normans gave place to Hohenstaufens, and the German dynasty in turn, through opposition of the papacy, to the French house of Anjou (thirteenth century). The Spanish house of Aragon, already in possession of Sardinia and other islands of the western Mediterranean, got control of Sicily in 1282 after an uprising of the inhabitants, the "Sicilian Vespers," had driven out the hated Angevins. Later on the Aragonese extended their authority to the mainland, although it was not until the sixteenth century that France gave up all claim to southern Italy. In 1504 Ferdinand of Aragon was formally recognized as king of "the Two Sicilies."

Among the five "great powers" of Italy there was no semblance of a common Italian patriotism. Each state was against every other state, though there might be a "triple alliance" or a "dual entente" from time to time. The only principles recognized in their international relations were expediency, treachery, and force. Conquered states were held in helpless dependence. The art of statecraft and the art of diplomacy were highly developed, and they were studied and practiced by Italian rulers with as much gusto as the contemporary art of architecture, each ruler striving to make his authority absolute within his own dominions. Italian concepts of statecraft, diplomacy, and international relations, keen instruments of national advancement, became well known north of the Alps.

### Machiavelli

The Italian who more than any other succeeded in popularizing this science of politics was Machiavelli (1469-1527). He was a Florentine and had played a modest part in the government of his native state. Machiavelli wrote various treatises on the art of war and other topics, but the work upon which his fame rests is *The Prince*, written in 1513. The principles of politics which Machiavelli expounds in this famous book were derived from his experience and from the facts of history. The history to which he appealed, when it was not that of his own time, was that of classical antiquity; medieval experience he ignored.

Machiavelli seems to have intended his book as a practical manual for the guidance of the rulers of his day. He begins with the assertion, based upon "experience," that men are born bad and that they will not do good unless obliged to do so. The essential quality of a ruler, then, is strength. Of course, a ruler should not neglect to win the love of his people if he can, for it is good economy to do so; but he must not scruple to break a promise or to make use of cruelty. Those rulers who have not been overscrupulous have fared best, he thinks. As for the state itself, when its peace and safety are in danger "no consideration of justice or injustice can find a place, nor any of mere cruelty, or of honor or disgrace; every scruple must be set aside and that plan followed which saves her life and maintains her independence." A ruler must, therefore, have "no other design nor thought nor study than war and the art and discipline of it."

Born in Italy, the new political science was of little value to the land of its birth. Florence and Venice united against Milan. Then as the balance of power slowly shifted, a triple alliance of Milan, Naples, and Florence arose, in 1484, to "maintain peace" in the peninsula. Gravely threatened by this combination, the Venetians invited the young and eager Charles VIII of France to invade Italy (1494). This invasion proved to be a mere "military promenade," so divided and so weak were the states of Italy, and Charles proceeded southward as far as Naples. Rich, glorious in her culture, and helpless, Italy by irresistible attraction drew invader after invader from the north. With a foothold already in the south of Italy, Spain contested with France for the dominance of the peninsula, and for sixty years unhappy Italy was the battlefield of those two great powers.

### The Nation-State

Wealthy, populous, cultured, and intelligently administered as they often were, the city-states failed to perpetuate themselves as the dominant political form in modern times. Their sphere of action was too small in an expanding Europe, their economic base too slight. A new type of political and social organization was slowly evolving, the nation-state. We of the present are quite familiar with this unit. The modern nation has become a community whose members are united by a common memory of their country's past and by faith in its future. Its citizens may differ about national objectives from time to time, but they generally conduct their party warfare within the limits of certain great principles in which all believe.

Many factors contributed to the first differentiation of national groups. Among these were geographical environment and the evolution, through-



out a given area, of a common language. To these was soon to be added in many cases the compelling power of a national church. Leadership in the integrating process was supplied in almost every case by a feudal family which became the national dynasty. The early modern dynasties were more concerned to extend and organize their authority than to foster the culture or develop the self-consciousness of the national group. The Tudors, the Bourbons, and the others were state builders, but the states they built were powerful aids to national integration and the dynasties of early modern history rightly bear the title of national monarchies. City-states, however intelligently and effectively administered, could not compete with the nation-states. Medieval armies became increasingly mercenary in their composition rather than feudal, and a national monarch could hire a larger body of professional fighting men and equip it with a more expensive artillery train than could any city-state.

### France

Most fully developed of the nation-states was France. By the beginning of the modern period she had achieved the greatest unity and national self-consciousness of any country in Europe. This considerable achievement had been the work of several centuries. Nowhere, perhaps, had cultural dissimilarities been so marked; *langue d'oc* and *langue d'oïl* represented practically separate nationalities. Nowhere had feudal disintegration proceeded to greater lengths, or depths. In the tenth century France had seventy thousand feudal divisions, more than one hundred of which were practically sovereign states. The kings of France in those days had but little authority outside their own small duchy, the Ile de France, from which all France was to take its name. The story of the growth of the French nation-state centers around the leadership of the monarchy. "France was conquered by her kings." The fiefs of France, great and small, during the course of long centuries passed into the direct possession of the crown. It became and remained the objective of successive French kings to win control over all lands within the "natural boundaries" of France—the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Atlantic, and the Rhine.

This policy was the enduring cause of the Hundred Years' War with England. Since the days of William the Conqueror the English king had been one of the principal feudal barons of France. The relationship was not thought of as anomalous until the fourteenth century, when there was a first faint beginning of self-consciousness among the English people. This took the form of the support by all classes of Englishmen of their ruler's design to enlarge his holdings in France and shake off the feudal overlordship of the French crown. In the end it was the aroused patriotism

of the French which proved decisive. Frenchmen, stirred by the example of Joan of Arc, supported their monarch in his successful efforts to expel the English from the soil of France (1453).

The governing authority of the crown kept pace with the extension of its domain. At the close of the middle ages Louis XI (1461-1483) could say with perfect truth, "To us alone belongs and is due the general government and administration of the realm." His revenue was varied and ample. To income from the royal domain had been added a lucrative *gabelle du sel*, or salt tax, and a general land tax, or *taille*, besides seaport duties and inland tolls. The total revenue of Louis XI was more than sufficient to meet the expenses of his court, his administration, and his army. The French nobles counted for little politically, though they still enjoyed important privileges, such as exemption from the *taille*, and though they monopolized the higher posts in the army and in the civil administration.

Nowhere was the authority of the French monarchy more manifest than in ecclesiastical affairs. France was the first of Europe's nation-states to rebuff the papacy, when Philip IV flouted the authority of Pope Boniface VIII early in the fourteenth century. A century later, when all Europeans were questioning the prerogatives of the Holy See, the French clergy led by the national monarch secured a large measure of freedom from papal jurisdiction and papal taxation in the so-called Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438). The next step was for the French crown to secure what the pope had lost, and this was done in 1516 when the king of France was granted the right of nominating to all clerical posts and of deciding all ecclesiastical cases in return for financial concessions to the papacy. Clerical abuses were at least as prevalent in France as elsewhere when this bargain was made, but neither pope nor king gave them more than a passing thought, it would seem. It was a foregone conclusion that the French monarchy thereafter would be opposed to reform, having nothing to gain and much to lose.

Their battle won in France, in the political sense at least, and unresponsive as yet to the social and spiritual needs of the time, the kings of France looked abroad. Seven times between 1494 and 1557 French armies invaded Italy. It is impossible to discover today any rational basis for these invasions. Not only were they futile, they were disastrously expensive. Italy was indeed "the tomb of the French."

## Spain

The political union of the Spanish peninsula, even now not complete, progressed but slowly during the medieval centuries. Overrun by the Moslems at the beginning of the eighth century, Spain was long the seat

of a brilliant Saracenic civilization. From the Moors Europe learned many things, economic, scientific, and philosophical. The political structure of the Moors was as brittle, however, as their civilization was brilliant, and by the twelfth century a swarm of practically independent and mutually hostile emirates had appeared. Meanwhile the group of tiny Christian principalities which had been able to survive began to develop strength and push to the south and west. Chief among them were León, Castile, Navarre, Aragon, Barcelona, and Portugal. Consolidation kept pace with expansion. León merged with Castile in the eleventh century and Barcelona with Aragon in the twelfth. Aragon turned to the development of her industrial and commercial opportunities and became an important factor in the western Mediterranean, with maritime bases in the Balearic Islands and in southern Italy and Sicily. Castile concentrated on expansion against the Moors and became by far the largest land power in Spain. Then came the famous marriage which formed the basis of the modern Spanish state: in 1469 Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile. Not that the two sovereigns concerned had any prevision of the result, for they had not. The two kingdoms continued to be as separate administratively as they were culturally distinct, and only the death of all save one of the children of the marriage prevented the two kingdoms from continuing in their separate orbits. Indeed, much provincialism exists in Spain to this day and Catalan, the language of the Aragonese, still flourishes as the rival of Castilian. After their marriage Ferdinand and Isabella sought to complete their personal control of the peninsula. In 1492 the last Moorish principality disappeared with the fall of Granada, and in 1512 Ferdinand conquered that part of Navarre that lies to the south of the Pyrenees. Ferdinand then married his eldest daughter to the king of Portugal. Her death, followed by that of her son, sent Portugal again upon its separate course, and to this day Portugal stands aloof. This little kingdom, occupying about one seventh of the peninsular area, owes its independence in part to its geographical position. A fragment of the great central plateau is here sunken and thus cut off from the rest.

Following the trend of the times, both Ferdinand (1479-1516) and Isabella (1474-1504) sought by every means, in their respective kingdoms, to consolidate the power of the crown. The nobles were deprived of their political power in return for an enlargement of their social and economic privileges. The wealthy and powerful military orders, by-products of the long crusade against the Moors, were subjected to the crown when the pope was prevailed upon to make Ferdinand the hereditary grand master of them all. Bishops and abbots were reduced to submission by Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo and private confessor to the

queen. Finally, the pope transferred to the two monarchs the right of presentation to bishoprics and the headship of the Spanish Inquisition. King Ferdinand used the sleepless vigilance and ubiquitous terrors of the Inquisition to stamp out political disaffection as well as heresy. When word came that his subjects in the Pyrenees were selling their livestock, and especially their horses, to his enemy the French, Ferdinand effectively checked the process by branding such sale a heresy.

Lately and still imperfectly united, Spain came forward very rapidly as a great power. Before the death of King Ferdinand the wealth of the New World was flowing into her coffers, and her armies and her ministers were winning triumphs in the field of international affairs. Under Charles V (1516-1556) and Philip II (1556-1598) Spain became the foremost state in Europe.

## England

Everyone recognizes the importance of England and the British Empire in the world of today. Five centuries ago the situation was very different. There was no British Empire, and England itself was one of the minor powers of Europe. Its population was about one sixth that of France. For its contact with the outside world it was dependent upon the ships of the city-states of Italy or of the Netherlands. England was important not for what it was but for what it was to become.

England's greatest contribution to Western civilization has been its constitution and its law. A representative assembly had been a characteristic development in each of the medieval monarchies. These bodies, the German Diet, the French Estates-General, the Spanish Cortes, and the English Parliament, gave representation to three classes of medieval society—clergy, nobility, and a "third estate" corresponding roughly to our term middle class. These medieval legislatures had exercised a limiting control over the medieval monarchies. In Germany the princes became so strong and the monarch so weak that the Diet failed to function for lack of leadership. In France and Spain the monarchy became so powerful that the medieval legislature became an empty form, the Estates-General and Cortes being rarely summoned. Only in England did monarchy and assembly both survive to become vital and powerful factors in the modern state. England's law, the famous common law, was also unique in that it embodied to an unusual degree the usages of the people.

In the fifteenth century, monarchy, Parliament, and the law had all been threatened with disaster if not destruction. Long war with France (the Hundred Years' War) had demoralized English society, and two factions of nobles with bands of hired ruffians as retainers fought for con-

trol of the government. Parliaments were "packed," judges were bought or bullied, juries were overawed. The crown became the prize first of the Lancastrians (Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI, 1399-1461) and then of the Yorkists (Edward IV and Richard III, 1461-1485). The "sickness" finally wore itself out. The nobles, decimated and impoverished, became less and less able to continue the conflict. The middle class of merchants and yeoman farmers had long been impatient of a feud so senseless and destructive. Indeed, the merchants made the most of an opportunity to end the strife by refusing further credit to the side that looked like the loser. Richard III, last of the Yorkists, having endeavored to maintain himself by a reign of terror, met the fate of most tyrants, and leaders of both factions combined to defeat and kill him (battle of Bosworth Field, 1485). A last surviving Lancastrian, who had taken little part in the contest and had dwelt in exile, was called to the throne. By his speedy marriage to Elizabeth, the heiress of the house of York, he did much to lay the foundation for an enduring peace. Henry of Richmond, taking the name of Henry VII (1485-1509), thus became the founder of a new family, the house of Tudor, the most brilliant of England's many royal lines.

Henry VII was something more than the founder of a new family. He was the inaugurator of a new political policy, better adapted to meet the needs and dangers of the time. This was a strong-monarchy policy, sometimes called, rather exaggeratedly, "Tudor absolutism." What England needed, in Henry's opinion, was leadership and that he meant to supply. The nobles were controlled both directly and indirectly. Henry caused to be passed through Parliament a statute which branded as illegal the maintenance of private armies. Since the courts were still controlled by the magnates, Henry set up for the enforcement of his new statute a special court. The judges of this court were all members of his privy council. The sessions of the court were held in secret and information was sometimes extracted by torture. In action this Court of Star Chamber was swift and ruthless, and King Henry found it an effective weapon in his fight for power.

By close attention to details and by prudent economies Henry managed to finance the work of government without having to depend greatly upon parliamentary grant. An especially artful dodge was the following: first, the king would excite Parliament with the prospect of a foreign war and then secure a large grant payable at once; next, he would agitate the enemy (France) with the prospect of an invasion, at the same time letting it be known that any reasonable offer would be accepted; finally, he allowed himself to be bought off by the foreign foe for a round sum. This profitable coup the king was able to carry through on two different oc-

casions. Henry handed over to his successor a government with all bills met and a surplus on hand of over one million pounds.

This successor was Henry VIII. In addition to a treasure and a policy, Henry inherited a title which no one could question, since he represented both of England's dynastic factions. The new king was only eighteen years old when he ascended the throne, but he was eager to play an important part in national and international affairs. Handsome, athletic, well educated, and accomplished, he was the English counterpart of the dashing young Italian of the day. The Venetian ambassador wrote home the following description of the English king: "He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom. . . . He is very accomplished; a good musician; composes well; is a most capital horseman; a fine jousting; speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish; is very religious; hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. . . . He is very fond of hunting, and never takes this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses. . . . He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture." The long duel between France and Spain which had just begun presented an attractive and profitable opportunity for the young king of England. So completely and so cleverly did he exploit the opportunity that he established England in a position of lasting leadership. This statesmanlike achievement, as we shall see, was really the work of Henry's great minister Thomas Cardinal Wolsey.

### Scotland

England's neighbor on the north, though small and poor in resources, had successfully maintained its independence under the leadership of the house of Stuart. Taking advantage of England's wars with France, Scotland had become the traditional ally of the latter. The border warfare of English and Scotch, renewed almost annually, fed the flames of a bitter hostility between the two peoples. Even so, the northern kingdom was half Saxon as well as half Celtic, and the cultural influence of England continued to be so strong that the two lands were drawn together willy-nilly. In 1513 in yet another battle, Flodden Field, the English won a victory so decisive that Scotland lost all power to do further harm to her neighbor.

### The Scandinavian States

The peoples of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have always had much in common, both culturally and in their political history. The raids of the Northmen in the earlier medieval centuries constitute a romance

of history. Their commercial and colonizing activities carried them to Constantinople, overland through Russia and by sea through the Mediterranean. They made their way, by Iceland and Greenland, to the coasts of North America. After their conversion to Christianity these peoples confined their activities to the region of the Baltic. In 1397, by the Union of Calmar, the three countries were united under the Danish dynasty. This family was of German origin; as duke of Schleswig-Holstein the Danish king was a member of the German Diet. Early in the sixteenth century a nationalist movement took Sweden out of the union under a dynasty of her own, the famous Vasa family. (See Chapter VIII.)

### The Slav States

The old home of the Slav peoples was the region of forests and swamps in the basin of the Pripiet River, one of the western tributaries of the Dnieper. The westward migration of the Germans in the later centuries of the Roman Empire left vacant a vast tract of land to the east of the Elbe, with the Danube and the Baltic as its southern and northern limits. Into these vacant lands moved the Slavs, a gradual process that occupied the time from the German withdrawal, about A.D. 200, to the year 1000. In the ninth century some of these tribes, the so-called Western Slavs, were cut off from their fellow Slavs to the east and southeast by an invasion of Magyars, the Asiatic ancestors of the modern Hungarians. For some centuries thereafter the Western Slavs were subjected to a process of colonization and conquest by their German neighbors, a process which seemed destined to end only with the total assimilation of the Slavs. In time, however, resistance stiffened, and two Slav states were formed as the constant hammering of German attack welded together the separate tribes.

The first of these states was Bohemia, which occupied a large and fertile plateau in the upper valley of the Elbe. This land was open to German attack on two sides, though mountain ranges afforded a measure of protection. As early as the tenth century Bohemia was constrained to accept the overlordship of Germany, and in time the kingdom of Bohemia became a state of the Empire, with her king one of the greater princes and electors. Although preserving her political identity in this way, Bohemia suffered a slow infiltration, through the centuries, of German priests and monks, of German nobles, merchants, and peasants. The native Czech nobility eventually adopted German ways and married German wives. Successive kings of Bohemia helped the Germanizing process along by employing German peasants to clear the forests and redeem the waste lands in the Sudetes Mountains which border the kingdom on the north.

It was the descendants of these pioneering Germans who were "rescued" by Hitler in recent times. By the fourteenth century the national language of Bohemia was no longer spoken by anyone who pretended to be anyone, and the crown itself had passed to foreign princes. Czech national consciousness was saved from extinction by a fifteenth-century renaissance. Huss, the prophet (d. 1414), and Ziska, the soldier (d. 1424), were the leaders of the movement. The Czech tongue again became fashionable, a university was founded at Prague to foster Czech national culture, and for a time a native dynasty occupied the throne. The full tide of the anti-German reaction receded somewhat toward the end of the century and a Hapsburg secured the crown of Bohemia, but the Czech renaissance of the fifteenth century gave the national consciousness a strong hold on life.

More numerous than the Czechs and less closely beset by the expanding Germans were the Poles, who occupied a rich plain in the lower valley of the Vistula. Here a strong military state had been organized by the year 1000. The ruling prince adopted the title of king; and he became a convert to Christianity, partly with a view to depriving the German invaders of the missionary motive. By the eleventh century all the Poles had been converted to the Roman Catholic faith. With Western Christianity came Western institutions and Polish society became feudal. As German merchants settled in the Polish towns, the middle class in Poland was Germanized; the nobility, the peasantry, and the priesthood, however, remained solidly Polish. Meanwhile a great colonizing enterprise of the Germans had followed the shores of the Baltic eastward and cut off Poland's access to the sea. By the close of the fourteenth century the order of the Knights of the Cross (Teutonic Knights), missionaries with a mailed fist, occupied lands bordering the Baltic on both sides of the Vistula, that is, West Prussia and East Prussia. For a time Polish rulers accepted this and turned their expansive energies to the southeast. In 1386, however, the seventeen-year-old queen of Poland was persuaded to marry the pagan duke of Lithuania, an event of first importance in the history of central and eastern Europe. Ladislas Jagello and his people accepted Christianity, and the new king of united Poland and Lithuania was the founder of a great Polish dynasty. The eastward progress of the Germans along the Baltic was checked. In 1410, at Tannenberg, the forces of Poland-Lithuania completely defeated the knights in a battle near the spot where Hindenburg annihilated the Russians in 1914. Half a century later, by the Treaty of Thorn (1466), West Prussia was ceded to Poland outright, and East Prussia, which was to be held by the Teutonic Knights as a fief of Poland, likewise passed out of the German orbit. In 1500 Poland stretched across eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea, her territory being three times the size of France.



## Hungary

Mention has been made of the Magyars, who drove a wedge into the center of the Slav world, dividing the Western Slavs from their other kinsmen. The Magyars were Asiatics, and of the Mongoloid race originally. They settled in the wide valley of the upper Danube, forming a solid military state called Hungary. They were converted to the Roman Catholic faith about the year 1000, when a native dynasty was founded by St. Stephen, the first king of Hungary. Like the Germans, the Magyars pursued a policy of expansion against their Slav neighbors. Magyar rivalry in this field might have meant much for Germany had not Hungary been called upon to fight for its life against the Turks. A brilliant chapter of Hungarian history was written by John Hunyadi, hero of the siege of Belgrade in 1456, and his son Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary from 1458 to 1490. Even a little cooperation from western Europe during this half-century might have saved much of eastern Europe from a Turkish domination of centuries. But it was not an age of international cooperation in any realm. In 1526 the Hungarians were crushed by the Turks at Mohacs. The greater part of Hungary fell to the Turks, and the remaining fragment to the house of Hapsburg.

## Eastern Europe

Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary are usually classed as Western states because they became Roman Catholic in religion and because Rome was the source, however dim and distant, of their culture. Their political development, however, as compared to that of France, Spain, and England, was retarded. Poland found it difficult, and Bohemia impossible, to escape the crippling constriction of German expansionism. Hungary was too new as an organized society and too alien to Europe culturally to model herself upon the nation-states of the West.

As we move farther east in our survey of the continent at the beginning of the modern period, the ways of the West are less and less in evidence. Eastern Europe was mainly Christian, but its preferred form of Christianity was the Greek Orthodox. Its political model was not the Western nation-state but the despotism of the Orient. The whole of the life of Russia was profoundly affected by Asiatic influences during the later middle ages, and the Balkan peninsula was overwhelmed by conquerors direct from Asia itself. It is only in quite recent times that the social and political forms and the culture of the West have acquired in eastern Europe such prevalence as they now have. Throughout modern history, however, the two areas of Europe, east and west, have had relationships of the greatest importance.

## Russia

While some Slavs moved westward from their old home in the Pripet marshes, others turned to the east and northeast. When the Eastern Slavs reached the valley of the Dnieper, they came in contact with the remains of an ancient Hellenistic civilization that had developed in the towns along the old trade route between the Black Sea and the Baltic, a route as old as Herodotus. Various Slav principalities were formed, centering about these towns. In the more important principalities the leadership was supplied by Norse adventurers, who began to make their way across the great "isthmus" between the Baltic and the Black Sea in the middle of the ninth century. Rurik founded a state at Old Novgorod, about one hundred miles south of the present Leningrad, and his successor moved to Kiev on the middle Dnieper, then the southern outpost of the Eastern Slavs.

At Kiev the house of Rurik built up the first great Russian state, and the principality of Kiev, or Russ, as it was then called, gradually extended its authority over all the Eastern Slavs. By the twelfth century, expansion had brought the rulers of Kiev into touch with the Baltic on the north and the Black Sea on the south. Meanwhile, between 980 and 1000, the Russians and their rulers had accepted Greek Christianity, though not without giving a friendly hearing to Roman Catholic missionaries from Germany and to apostles of Islam from the Bulgars. The conversion of the Russians, the "great deed" of the Greek church, was a momentous event. It made Russia Byzantine in civilization and thus helped to set her apart from western Europe.

The grand principedom of Kiev reached its height under Yaroslav (d. 1054), whose marriage alliances with Poland, Norway, Hungary, and France justified his claim to be one of the leading princes of Europe. After his death disintegration set in. Someone has enumerated eighty-three civil wars in the century and a half that followed the death of Yaroslav, besides forty-six invasions of nomads from the south and east. A movement of population set in to the north and northeast, and a swarm of new principalities was founded in the upper valley of the Volga and its tributaries.

In the thirteenth century both Kiev and the newer Slav principalities were overwhelmed by a catastrophe of the first order, the Mongol invasion. A Mongolian chieftain of genius, known to history as Genghiz Khan, had established, before his death in 1226, the greatest Asiatic empire in history. The sons and grandsons of Genghiz Khan proceeded to extend his empire in every direction. The whole of Russia was overwhelmed between 1237 and 1243, and Tartar horsemen pushed westward

through Poland to Saxony and through Hungary to Vienna and Venice. The capture and sack of Kiev came in 1240; it was six centuries before that city recovered its former prosperity. Western Europe was saved by the diversion of Mongol interest to China and Persia; indeed, China became the center of the Mongolian state and Kublai Khan, grandson of Genghiz, established his capital at Peking. The Mongols withdrew from Poland and Hungary but maintained and consolidated their hold on Russia.

For two centuries Russia was a part of the Mongol empire. Like other nomad conquerors, the Tartars did not interfere with the laws, customs, language, or religion of their subject peoples. Indeed, the Russian princes were allowed to remain at the head of their principalities, provided only that they make proper submission to the Great Khan and answer promptly all charges brought against them. The payment of a heavy poll tax and the supplying of contingents of troops were the principal demands made upon the Russians by their Mongol lords. Nevertheless, the Mongol occupation left an indelible imprint upon Russia and the Russians; and this, like the conversion to Greek Christianity, helps to explain the non-European character of Russian society and government. The Russian state which arose after the Mongol withdrawal remained Tartar in its autocracy and in its insistence that all Russians were the "slaves" of the state; it remained Tartar in its military organization and methods, and Tartar in much of its law, with its use of mutilation, torture, and flogging, to mention only a few of the evidences of Mongol influence.

The leadership of the Russians in throwing off Mongol rule was assumed by the principality of Moscow. There a family of great ability had established itself in the twelfth century. The geographical situation of the city was favorable both for security and for trade, and the principality grew steadily in population all through the long period of Mongol rule. The grand dukes of Moscow, deeming it expedient to cooperate loyally with their conquerors, became the official and trusted taxgatherers in Russia for the Great Khan. The prestige of Moscow was greatly enhanced when the primate of the Russian church moved his capital to that city, and the grand dukes of Moscow gradually assumed the religious leadership of all the Russians.

Meanwhile the Mongol empire slowly disintegrated and the Mongol hold on Russia weakened. The attitude of the grand dukes of Moscow gradually changed from deference to defiance. Under Ivan the Great (1462-1505) Russia was freed from the Mongols altogether. Not only so; Ivan succeeded in uniting all the Russians under his authority and thus became the founder of the modern Russian state. His marriage to a niece of the last of the Eastern emperors gave to Ivan and his successors a pre-

text for the claim that they were the protectors of all the Greek Catholics of eastern Europe.

### The Southern Slavs

Slavic tribes known as the Southern Slavs began to cross the Danube into the Balkan peninsula in the sixth century of the Christian era, and eventually penetrated as far south as the Peloponnesus. Two leading Slav kingdoms were formed in the Balkans — Serbia and Bulgaria. The later middle ages in the Balkan peninsula are occupied by the story of the struggle between these two Slav states for dominance, a contest in which the Eastern Empire was obliged to take a hand from time to time. The contest was brought to an abrupt close when the tide of Turkish advance swept over the whole peninsula.

### The Decline of the Eastern Empire

After its fall in the West the Roman Empire lived on in the East for many centuries. Through these centuries it performed a great service for eastern Europe as the civilizer of the Slavs. Its cultural gifts to western Europe are scarcely less important. To Westerners the Byzantine Empire was the Old World, and Constantinople the Paris of the middle ages. Not the least of the services of the Eastern Empire to the West was to interpose a bulwark between Europe and Asiatic invaders. In the eighth century, when Mohammedans were overrunning vast provinces in three continents with a swiftness unparalleled in history, the Empire effectually closed the door of Europe to their advance. Constantinople twice withstood a siege. That of 717 lasted an entire year, and the repulse of the Arabs at that time may be regarded as a turning point in history. Byzantium saved Europe but at great cost to herself. Egypt and Syria were lost in the seventh century, much of Asia Minor in the eleventh century.

The West itself then dealt the Eastern Empire a staggering blow. The Fourth Crusade, led astray by commercial greed and feudal ambition, turned against the Eastern Empire and, in 1204, captured Constantinople. In the division of the spoils that followed, Venice secured such islands, trading posts, and commercial quarters as ensured her commercial supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean. The collapse of the Eastern Empire was followed by the founding of the Venetian empire. The western barons who had established themselves in the East at this time were gradually expelled, it is true, and a Greek dynasty was installed again at Constantinople. But the restored Empire was a purely local and provincial affair. Feudal disintegration now made rapid progress, and the internal history of the Empire until its fall two centuries later is an

unedifying tale of meaningless squabbles among the magnates. What was really of interest in the Christian East in the later middle ages was whether Serbia or Bulgaria might not unify the Balkan peninsula and bring the decrepit Empire to an end.

### Rise of the Ottoman Turks

The Turks began coming westward and southward out of the depths of Asia in the ninth and tenth centuries. For hundreds of years they had dwelt in a zone of steppes and they had, therefore, all the nomad's fierce distaste for settled ways of life. Emerging from the steppes, the Turks laid waste the trading centers and agricultural areas. Plundering raids were succeeded, in agrarian regions, by the establishing of garrisons of Turkish cavalry under military governors, by whom tribute was regularly exacted from the native population. As they came in contact with the Mohammedan world, the Turks were converted and became fanatically devoted to the Faith. In the eleventh century their conquest of Syria and Egypt from the Arabs and of Asia Minor from the Eastern Empire goaded the latter into an attempt to check their advance and regain the lost provinces with the aid of Christian Europe. The Crusades followed, and though they were a failure the Turkish advance lost momentum as decentralization set in.

The earliest conquests of the Turks had been made in Asia Minor, and it was there that they made their permanent home. A fundamental population change gradually took place, as the whole interior of Asia Minor was repopled by nomadic tribes of Turks filtering through from their native Turkestan. Literally scores of independent Turkish principalities, or emirates, were established in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the year 1289 a warlike and vigorous young Turkish chieftain named Osman succeeded his father as emir of one of the northwestern provinces of Asia Minor on the border of the Greek Empire. Osman saw in the visible decay of that Empire an opportunity for military expansion. He made war upon the petty Greek principalities to the west and north and added them to his dominions. The year of his death, 1326, saw the high point of his success when the important Greek city of Brusa passed into his hands. The great chieftain's followers began to call themselves Osmanli, or "Sons of Osman," a word which we have corrupted into Ottoman. Osman's son and successor, Orkhan (1326-1359), pursued the policy of expansion into Greek territory even more brilliantly. Nicaea, second city in the Empire, fell into his hands, followed by Nicomedia, as the Turkish forces reached the Bosphorus.

In 1354, fateful year in the history of Europe, the Turks crossed the

Straits of Bosphorus and established themselves south of Constantinople in the peninsula of Gallipoli. Under Murad I (1359-1389), son of Orkhan, the westward march of the Turks continued. Leaving Constantinople on one side, Murad captured Adrianople, key to the interior of the Balkans. In 1366 Murad took the bold step of setting up the Turkish capital in Adrianople. This significant move was followed by a direct challenge to Serbia, the one Christian power in the Balkans then capable of making a stand against the Turks. In 1389, at the battle of Kossova, the Serbian power was crushed, and Serbia passed into Turkish hands. Most of Thrace, Macedonia, and Rumania had meanwhile succumbed, and the inhabitants of Constantinople saw themselves hemmed in on every hand, "like wild beasts in a cage," as a contemporary put it.

Turkish conquest of Constantinople, and indeed of eastern Europe, was postponed by a diversion from an unexpected quarter. Out of the East rode a Tartar conqueror called Timur the Lame, or Tamurlane. Rising to power swiftly, as was so often the case among nomadic chieftains, Tamurlane exercised authority, by 1400, from India to Hungary, and through Arabia and Syria as far as Egypt. Asia Minor was held in a vise, and the old home of the Ottoman Turks was menaced. In 1402, at Angora in central Asia Minor, the Turkish leader Bayezid, successor to Murad I, was defeated and captured. It was his tragic fate to be carried in a cage in the baggage train of the Tartar conqueror until he died.

The empire of Tamurlane fell as quickly as it rose, however. After his death in 1405 Ottoman rule was re-established, and at the end of an interim of fraternal conflict among the sons of Bayezid, the Turkish state was unified once more. Under Mohammed I (1413-1421), youngest and ablest of the sons of Bayezid, Turkish advance in Europe was renewed. Full of menace as this was for Christendom, no adequate attempt was made to stop it. Western Europe was in schism, and once the schism was healed, the Hussite wars broke out. Moreover, the Hundred Years' War between France and England was on once more.

### The Fall of Constantinople

Though the Ottomans held important provinces in Asia Minor, their holdings in Europe were, by the middle of the fifteenth century, much more important. The same logic that had made Adrianople the capital in 1366 had long pointed to Constantinople as the ultimate seat of Turkish authority. For some years it was only their lack of a navy that had stayed the Turks' assault on a city long deemed impregnable save by sea. In the spring of 1453, with an army of 150,000, including the best engineers and the finest artillery to be found in Europe, and with a fleet of four hundred

vessels, Sultan Mohammed II invested the city. It was doomed from the start. Completely cut off from the outside world, with a garrison of but eight thousand, Constantinople put up a defense which was none the less spirited and heroic and which was worthy of the best days of the Roman Empire. Like a real Roman, Constantine XI, last of the emperors, fell fighting in the final assault. Leaving his soldiers to enjoy freely the fruits of their victory, the sultan hastened to St. Sophia to return thanks for his triumph. His thanks, of course, were offered to Allah, and the church of St. Sophia, the glory of Christendom, became a Mohammedan mosque.

### The Nature of Turkish Rule

The better to understand the importance of the establishment of the Turks in Europe, we should consider the character of the Ottoman state. The Turks were nomads and they long retained certain nomadic characteristics. Indeed, their rule of conquered peoples, and especially those of an alien religion, is best understood if we use the analogy of the nomads' flocks and herds. These, it will be noted, were carefully tended. The animals were encouraged to pasture at will, paying their tribute of milk and wool. Trained horses and dogs assisted the Turkish masters in keeping the flocks and herds in order. The conquered Christians were merely another species of cattle. After submission they were at once disarmed. Their fortifications were dismantled, the walls of their cities torn down. The laws, the religion, the economic life of the Christians were not interfered with; indeed, the lot of the Greeks was rather better under the Turkish conquerors than under the Byzantine Empire. Annual tribute, however, must be paid, and this usually took the form of a head tax on all non-Moslems.

A grave criticism of such a scheme of government is that it admits of no assimilation of conquered and conquerors into a single people. The Christian subjects remained *rayahs*, sheep to be shorn. They might live happily enough for years, hardly seeing a Turkish official in their towns and villages save at the annual tribute gathering. But suddenly, if a restive movement was detected or suspected, Turkish soldiers would descend upon the unarmed Christians, slaying men, women, and children in indiscriminate fury. After this another long interval of easy-going tolerance might ensue.

The Ottoman state, however, was not merely nomadic; its solid and lasting success makes that clear. It will be remembered that the Ottoman conquests had been made first at the expense of the Byzantine Empire; other Christian states of the Balkans were annexed later, but in these states too, Byzantine culture predominated. Successive Ottoman

rulers had the genius to fashion their institutions, military, administrative, and legal, on Byzantine models. In a very real sense the Turkish Empire became the successor of Byzantium, and the later sultans, like Mohammed II, consciously adopted the imperial and maritime traditions of the expiring Eastern Empire. Byzantine models were followed in the organization of the Turkish army, the finest in Europe, and in the Turkish administrative system, the most efficient in the world. An annual tribute of young boys was gathered from Christian towns and villages. These boys, completely cut off from home and kindred, were carefully trained at government expense in schools maintained for the purpose. Drafted into the army or the civil service after the completion of their training, these young officers and officials served the state, their foster parent, with impersonal efficiency. Even so had the nomadic ancestors of the conquering Turks kept their flocks and herds in order with well-trained horses and sheep dogs. As in all Oriental despotisms, however, the health and energy of the Turkish state was much too dependent upon the caliber of the ruler of the moment.

### Turkish Conquests

As the successors of eastern emperors the Turkish leaders strove mightily to regain the Empire's lost provinces. To advance further, nay even to defend what he had won, Mohammed II (1451-1481) felt that he must command the Aegean Sea. There began an "irrepressible conflict" between the Ottoman state and Venice, mistress of the Mediterranean. Venice found the Turks irresistible as well as irrepressible, and in 1479, having lost all her holdings in the Aegean together with Scutari on the Adriatic coast, she sued for peace. In return for a heavy fine, really tribute money, the Venetians were to have the privilege of trading in Turkish waters. With startling rapidity Mohammed then launched his fleet into the western Mediterranean, and in 1481 surprised and took the city of Otranto in Apulia, massacring the entire population. Returning from this bold venture, Mohammed assembled a great fleet in his Adriatic ports and told his Janissaries that he would next review them under the walls of Rome. Suddenly he died of apoplexy, aged fifty-two.

There ensued for western Europe a breathing space of forty years which she had done nothing to earn. Bayezid II (1481-1512) was a weakling, preferring the pleasures of the palace to the hardships of the camp. Deposed at last, and perhaps poisoned by one of his sons, Bayezid was succeeded by a man of great energy and ability to whom eastward expansion seemed more important than western. Selim I (1512-1520) managed to double the size of his empire in a campaign of four years, the principal



new provinces being Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, lands still in Turkish hands at the opening of the twentieth century. In conquering Egypt Selim also annexed the title of caliph, or head of the Moslem world in succession to Mohammed. The Turks turned to the west again under Suleiman I, the Magnificent (1520-1566), ablest of all Turkish rulers, a man of culture and honor. Under him the Turkish Empire reached the greatest height it has ever attained and made its strongest attack on Christendom. Suleiman set his face westward in 1526 at the head of a combined force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. It was now that Hungary was annihilated at Mohacs. A hundred thousand Christian captives were driven eastward to the slave markets of Constantinople. Continuing to the west, the sultan laid siege to Vienna in 1529. Fortunately for Christendom, the Hapsburg state was then at the height of its power, and embarrassed though he was by his contest with France on the one hand and a revolt of Lutheran princes on the other, Charles V had the strength to stand firm against the tide of Turkish advance. After a long siege the Turks retired. Never again were they to press so far to the west, though on a desperate raid, one hundred and fifty years later, Vienna was again attacked (1683).

Solidly in possession of the whole of the Balkan peninsula and most of Hungary, the Turkish Empire had reached its greatest extent in Europe. Before his death, however, Suleiman had extended Turkish authority westward in another quarter—from Egypt along the northern coast of Africa to the Atlantic. The great sultan was now "the master of many kingdoms, the ruler of three continents, and the lord of two seas." The boundaries of his empire were approximately those of the Roman Empire under Justinian.

From a military point of view, the success of the Turks was due to a skillful combination of infantry with cavalry and artillery. For many centuries Turkish commanders had depended solely on their horsemen armed with the lance and carrying a short bow, but they quickly assimilated and even improved upon the more advanced military art of the Western peoples with whom they came into conflict. Cavalry remained an important force in their armies. When Christian lands were conquered they were subdivided into fiefs, each just large enough to support a horseman. This fief, called a "timar," was held by the lancer on condition of his serving the sultan whenever and wherever he raised his banner, not merely for forty days as in feudal Europe. Unlike the Western fief, also, the timar was held for one life only. If a lancer had sons who followed their father's profession of arms, they were given fiefs elsewhere, to prevent the formation of local attachments and loyalties. Turkish infantry consisted in the main of the famous corps of Janissaries armed with the

longbow, powerful and of deadly accuracy. The corps was recruited chiefly from the annual tribute of Christian boys levied from the villages and towns of conquered lands. In the sixteenth century the Janissaries numbered 100,000; they were the best fighting force in Europe. The Turks made use of artillery in their siegecraft, as did Europeans generally at this time. Turkish engineers led the way, however, in the development of lighter cannon for use in the field. In his remarkable victories on the eastern front, Selim I simply blew the enemy cavalry to pieces, squadron by squadron, as fast as they were launched against him, holding his own cavalry in reserve for mopping up.

Turkish conquests came to a standstill in time because of the decay of the military system. The timar system, despite every precaution, became hereditary and the lancers no longer cared to fight so often or so far away from home. The Janissaries were allowed to marry, and thus to found families to whose welfare they turned their principal attention. First financial matters, and then political, came to occupy the minds of the warriors. The corps became a kind of Praetorian Guard with a policy of its own, especially as regards the succession to the sultanate. Corruption soon honeycombed the civil administration and even the harem took a hand in government. The successor of Suleiman the Magnificent was Selim the Sot (1566-1574). Later Sultans when not vicious were often weak.

### International Relations, 1494-1559

The year 1494 is sometimes said to mark the beginning of modern times. That was the year of the first invasion of Italy by the French, led by Charles VIII. This invasion proved to be the prelude to a struggle for the control of the peninsula, in which France and Spain were the principal contestants but which finally involved nine tenths of the continent of Europe. Wars involving the whole or nearly the whole of Europe have been especially characteristic of modern times. As has been remarked, little or no rational basis can be found for these Italian wars. Italy was merely the battleground where two rival dynasties, the Valois and the Hapsburg, struggled to maintain or increase their prestige. All the resources, economic, military, and diplomatic, of each family were drawn upon and used, at times with a skill and craft truly Machiavellian.

The decisive phase of the contest fell in the time of Francis I of France (1515-1547) and Charles V of Spain and the Empire (1516-1556). The dominions ruled by Charles were much larger and more varied than those of his rival. As king of Spain he was the head of a land forging rapidly to the front to become one of the dominant powers of Europe. The long and successful fight with the Moors had stimulated a warlike spirit in the

Spanish peoples and had led to advanced developments in military art. Furthermore, the Spanish government was already tapping the sources of quick and easy wealth in the New World. As king of Aragon Charles was established in Naples and Sicily; as emperor he had a strong claim to the duchy of Milan. Besides all this, Charles could draw upon the homelands of the Hapsburgs in central Europe. Finally, as lord of the Netherlands he could command the resources of that rich industrial and commercial area. Charles had been born in Flanders and counted himself a native son and was so accounted by the Flemings. On the other hand, there was no semblance of union among these varied territories. France, virtually encircled with Hapsburg lands on every front, had the military advantages of more compact organization and shorter lines of communication. Charles himself was serious and hard-working, and though he was slow, he was persevering. Francis was frivolous and, though ambitious, was lacking in resolution. Both men were exceedingly interested in the contemporary developments in art and literature, and both were intelligent and munificent patrons. Neither monarch understood or was much concerned about the rapidly expanding revolt against the Roman church.

Another youthful monarch, ambitious but with slender resources, found in the evenly balanced contest an opportunity to play an important part in the game of war and diplomacy. Henry VIII of England was pleasure-loving as well as ambitious, however, and had already learned to depend upon his father's minister Thomas Wolsey. This remarkable man was of middle-class origin, gifted with a good voice, a ready tongue, and great ability. He had risen rapidly to be number-one man in the king's government; indeed, he was Henry's whole cabinet. Wolsey had also attained to the rank of cardinal in the church and was entrusted by the pope with the government of the church in England. At first Wolsey's policy was pro-Spanish. Henry's queen was the Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon, aunt of Charles V. In 1525, at the battle of Pavia, Francis was defeated and captured by the Spanish forces. Carried off to Spain, the French king, to secure his release, gave his assent to a treaty in which he signed away all his claims to Italian territory, besides such French possessions as Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy. To redress the balance, Wolsey threw the weight of England's diplomatic influence upon the side of France. The new pro-French policy became more pronounced when, in 1529, Henry VIII decided to divorce his queen. As head of the house of Hapsburg and nephew of Catherine, Charles firmly opposed this move. His position in Italy made it possible for him to block Henry's project, for Charles through his capture of Rome in 1527 was able to control papal policy.

The criminal stupidity of this first of modern wars is well illustrated

by the sack of Rome, an event which had no influence whatever upon the course of the conflict. Two years after their victory at Pavia the emperor's Italian army, chiefly Spaniards and Germans, without pay and short of food, suddenly mutinied and marched on Rome. They took the city with ease and for eight days gave themselves over to slaughter and pillage. Among the German soldiers were many Lutherans who took occasion to profane as well as to destroy, violating nuns and holding cardinals for ransom. For nine months the leaderless troops terrorized the city and its neighborhood.

To carry the story of the wars further would be a waste of time. England withdrew from the whole affair when Henry, unable to secure his divorce through the Roman Curia, broke with the pope. Francis I died and Charles V retired to a monastery to prepare himself for death, as the senseless struggle continued. Finally it was ended by new monarchs who had come at last to realize that the great question of the hour was not dynastic prestige but the widespread revolt against the church.

The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) established Spanish dominance in the Italian peninsula. The king of Spain ruled directly at Naples and in Milan and, through relatives, in Tuscany and Parma. Spanish control of Italian politics lasted for a century and a half (1559-1713). But there were other more important results of the long struggle for pre-eminence. The Protestants during nearly half a century of freedom from interference had established themselves so firmly that it proved impossible to reduce them to obedience. Moreover, the Turkish Empire, which might easily have been driven back upon Constantinople by a united Christendom, overspread the Balkans and Hungary and threatened Vienna. The fact that more than once during the period Christian France cooperated with the Turks is convincing proof that we are in touch at last with modern times.

## CHAPTER II

### *Economic Revolution and Expansion*

SERFDOM WAS never quite universal in western Europe. The manor of the textbooks, with its three-field system, intermingled strips, and throngs of serfs bound to the soil through labor service, was suitable only for the wide-stretching lowland plain of Europe, where grain may be grown year after year. In the hilly uplands, such as those of the north and west of England and the *midi* of France, a pastoral economy prevailed; serfs were few and they paid rent in kind, not in labor. In some regions still more remote the peasantry maintained themselves practically free from any superior. When a lord did venture into such an upland valley to collect his rents, he was accustomed to exact hostages for his own safety. Free communities such as these were exceptional, however; rural freedom became practically extinct as feudalism settled down in western Europe.

#### Emancipation of the Serfs

The emancipation of the serfs was not the result of successful revolt, still less of an "emancipation proclamation." There were revolts in plenty, it is true, but they came late in the process and made no special contribution to it. Emancipation was the result of a slow economic evolution to which many factors contributed. Broadly speaking, the movement began in the thirteenth century and continued through the fifteenth.

The manorial system was economically wasteful. Its consumption of human labor was enormous. This was due partly to the system of open-field farming. The intermingling of the strips made it practically impossible to introduce any improvements in agricultural methods. Furthermore, the serf was a reluctant laborer. He came to his lord's domain tired from labor on his own land. It is estimated that hired labor was at least three times as productive as was servile labor. Progressive landlords, therefore, began to commute the labor service of their serfs into a money payment. With funds thus derived these lords could hire the labor necessary to cultivate the demesne, or "home farm"; better still, the demesne could be leased for a money rent. Landlords who held many manors—and this was usual—would no longer have to "eat their way" through them one

by one; they could enjoy the vastly superior convenience and comfort of a settled home which a money economy would make possible.

Probably not many lords were so progressive; most of them were slow to see the point. They soon found themselves under pressure, however. First, there was the agricultural pioneering of colonizing that went on for so many centuries—that of the Germans east of the Elbe, of the Flemings in the Lowlands, of the English in their fenlands, of people all over western Europe, in fact, wherever there were forests to clear, swamps to drain, or lands vacated by war or pestilence to be resettled. This colonizing movement was at its height in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some measure of the vastness of the colonizing movement may be seen in the estimate that the population of western Europe, some thirty million in the fifth century, was sixty million at the end of the thirteenth. To attract settlers to their lands, colonizing lords had at their disposal two of the greatest inducements ever held out to enslaved humanity: cheap land and freedom. There was only one way in which old-fashioned landlords could hope to keep their peasants from running away to the frontier; namely, to offer them a free status and lessened services at home. Thus did the frontier liberalize Europe.

But there was pressure, in medieval Europe, from another quarter also. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a great growth in the number and the size of cities. Thriving industries required the labor of many hands, and the free air of cities made free men as feudal landlords found the cities competing with them in the labor market at their very doors. Furthermore, the growth of cities directly influenced the evolution of medieval farming. As a city grew, there came to be an increasing demand upon the surrounding countryside for the products of market gardens and dairy farms, and serf-filled manors could not adjust themselves to this demand. Not only were initiative and resourcefulness lacking in serf labor, but the crop-rotation economy of the manor was singularly inflexible. The towns also entered the picture in another way. In the many cities of northern and western Europe where the textile industry had established itself, there developed a considerable demand for wool. Some landlords, more especially in England, found it more profitable to sweep the serfs off the land and raise sheep. Sheep raising requires only a few laborers, and pasture farms with a handful of shepherds thus began to take the place of manors crowded with serfs. The great development of winegrowing in Guienne, Gascony, and elsewhere brought freedom to the serfs in those regions; for vine culture, like market gardening, calls for qualities which medieval serfs did not possess. All in all, however, the medieval city was the greatest liberating influence. The rapidity of emancipation in western Europe depended on the rate of growth of urban population.

Emancipating landlords did not waive all their rights at once. French lords were especially tenacious of the time-honored incidents of feudal tenure, and right down to the Revolution of 1789 the peasants of France had to put up with irksome and inconvenient exactions. Their lands were continually overrun by hunters; pigeon lofts and rabbit warrens were maintained at the peasants' expense; the peasants had to grind corn at the lord's mill and in many cases bake their bread at his bakehouse. The landlords of France continued also to exact tolls on goods passing through their lands. At their worst, however, these vestiges of the feudal regime were trivial in comparison with the great gains which emancipation brought. The hateful death duties and marriage rights were generally abolished. Greatest of all was the moral gain. The former serfs became free men, not bound to the soil and subject to their lord's jurisdiction. They could leave their village and go elsewhere if they chose. In some regions, in the south of Europe particularly, the peasants were able to buy their lands outright.

Both the period during which emancipation was achieved and the rate at which it proceeded differed greatly in different parts of Europe. Emancipation came very early in northern Italy and in Flanders because of the number and size of the towns in those regions. The process was slower in England than in France, though fewer of the hateful incidents of the feudal tenure remained in England at the end. In Germany emancipation was slowest of all; even in the eighteenth century much remained to be done. In eastern Germany, indeed, among the free colonizers beyond the Elbe, a feudalizing tendency was noticeable in the later middle ages. The central government had broken down, large estates were being built up, small men were seeking protection, and eastern Germany was more feudal in the fifteenth century than in the thirteenth. Austrian peasants had to wait until 1848 for emancipation; in Hungary it remained for the First World War to sweep serfdom from the soil.

It is well to recognize that emancipation was not an unmixed blessing. Men were free to fall, economically, as well as to rise. There was a mad scramble for land. Great landlords seized the common land, monopolized the pasture rights and waste lands formerly enjoyed by the peasants, or swept the peasants from the land entirely in building up huge ranches. Among the peasants themselves a cutthroat competition ensued in which the stronger and more ruthless wrested the land away from their fellows, forming a class of rich peasants, like the kulaks of modern Russia. In general, we may say that emancipation was of economic benefit to those who were able to hold on to their land. Its by-product was to create a considerable class of landless laborers, pitilessly exploited by the landlords. The labor problem of the later middle ages, then, was one not of

serfdom but of freedom. Emancipation led to the problem of unemployment.

### Agrarian Revolt

Late medieval and early modern times were characterized by frequent and violent agrarian revolt. Doubtless the break-up of the medieval labor system gave the rural masses a taste of freedom which made them eager to improve their position still further. A situation existed somewhat similar to that in our capitalistic age when a substantial upturn in business is marked by an outbreak of strikes as wage earners seek to gain a larger share of the profits of industry. The unrest of the rural masses in medieval Europe was increased by a series of visitations of the bubonic plague, or Black Death, chiefly in the fourteenth century, which carried away about one half of the population. A sudden and prolonged labor shortage ensued, of which the workers sought to take advantage. This effort was bitterly resented by the landlord class, which sought to maintain existing levels of wages and rents and even to revive obsolete labor services. The English Parliament enacted statutes to fix wages at "pre-mortality" levels, and similar legislation was enacted in France and in various parts of Germany and Italy. Armed conflict followed as the rural workers under local leaders organized a scattered resistance. In 1358 came the Jacquerie in France; in 1381, the Peasants' Revolt in England; in 1395, the first of a series of similar revolts in Catalonia. In 1437-1440 the free peasants of Sweden rose against their landlords, who were attempting to reduce them to serfdom again; and in Germany a long series of flare-ups culminated in a general rising of the peasants in 1524. In no one of these struggles were the issues strictly economic; in England and in Germany religious discontent was a prominent factor. In all of them, however, there was evident a growing class consciousness and a clear emphasis on social equality.

When Adam delved and Eve span  
Who was then the gentleman?

Nearly all these revolts failed of their immediate purpose. Like most revolutionary outbreaks, these "green revolutions" of late medieval and early modern times did not put things right. They merely indicated that something was wrong.

Emancipation apart, the agricultural life of medieval Europe showed remarkably little change until the eighteenth century. Self-sufficient households grouped together into somewhat more self-sufficient village communities continued to be the way of life for a large majority of the population. Very little improvement was made in agricultural methods



from generation to generation. Indeed, change of any sort was practically impossible so long as the villages of Europe continued the cooperative farming of their arable lands, rotating the accustomed crops among the three great fields and keeping their flocks and herds in a common pasture. In England an important modification of agricultural life took place during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when wool growing partly displaced the plow. But the uproar raised by the displaced tenants seems to have been out of proportion to the numbers involved, for probably not more than half a million acres were grassed over. Some modification of the village map was inevitable as ambitious and unscrupulous peasants built up their leaseholds at the expense of their less fortunate, less able, or more restless neighbors. It was well known that by separating his acres from the land farmed by the village community a man might increase his return by one third. But "capitalist farming" such as this, while not unknown, was practically confined to the neighborhood of the larger cities. On the whole, European farming was and long continued to be farming for subsistence, the peasantry consuming what they produced down to the last grain.

### Commerce and Industry

Predominantly rural as Europe was, it had many and important cities in early modern times. The period of their most rapid growth, once city life revived after the fall of Rome, was the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Growth continued through the next century, though at a slower pace, after which most European cities stood still up to the nineteenth century. Northern Italy remained the urban center of Europe, with well over one hundred cities. Venice in the fifteenth century had 200,000 inhabitants; Florence, Milan, and Genoa, half as many each. Flanders remained the Lombardy of the north, its eight provinces constituting almost a "continuous town." In the province of Brabant a quarter of the population was urban. Bruges had 100,000 inhabitants; Ghent, 80,000. In France incomparably the largest city was Paris with 300,000; Rouen, Amiens, Lyons, and Bordeaux were much smaller, though the last was the queen city of the south. The relative slowness of economic development in England is reflected in the size of London, her one large city, with its 46,000 (1378). In Germany there were literally scores of cities; urban life was the one bright spot in Germany's later medieval history. Orderly and prosperous as they were, however, German cities were small. The population of Cologne, largest by far, was about 50,000.

In Europe's urban life, changes occurred that were more drastic in nature and more sweeping in extent than in its agricultural life. Industry

and commerce were reorganized on capitalistic lines. Medieval men had a prejudice against individuals who got an income from their funds. This was due in the main to the attitude of the church but it was due also to the fact that borrowed money was frequently used to finance wars and other unproductive enterprises. Such loans, obviously, were repaid slowly and incompletely; interest charges were very high. Then, too, a considerable proportion of medieval moneylenders' were Jews, who had taken up that profession partly because other means of livelihood were denied them. During the later middle ages various subterfuges were employed by Christian moneylenders to avoid the prohibition against usury, a favorite one being the formation of a company. The fulminations of the church could have little effect upon an impersonal corporation. In the fifteenth century, however, all restraints were thrust aside and all subterfuges abandoned. Businessmen had finally learned that money no less than labor could be hired.

### Rise of Capitalism

The rise of capitalism accompanied the discovery of new ways of productively employing capital and of employing it on a larger scale. Commerce had always afforded a certain limited field for capital; a man could invest his money in a cargo of merchandise, transport it to a distant point, and sell it at a profit. During the fourteenth century, however, capitalists began to get a foothold in industry. In Florence important wool, silk, and cloth industries gave employment to thousands. The workers were organized in guilds, membership in which was limited to those actively engaged as workers in the industry itself. Florentine merchants built up a market for Florentine products all over Europe, and became regular and large purchasers from the Florentine guilds. They were therefore in a position to dictate to the guilds in matters of quality, price, and output. In short, the merchants of Florence came to be capitalist employers. They limited the number of shops, and therefore of master workers. The number of unskilled employees was greatly increased. Thus capital and labor became the basis of the Florentine textile industry.

From merchandising to banking is but a step, and the Florentines soon took it. The banking houses of Florence financed the princes and the prince-bishops of all Europe in the fourteenth century. Their interest charges varied from 4 per cent to 175 per cent, according to circumstances. Much of modern banking practice derives from the methods of these early houses—the letter of credit, for example, the invention of which was of immense importance in European economic history. The Florentine banking houses of the fourteenth century—Riccardi, Bardi, Peruzzi,

and others—were soon put in the shade by the Medici. When Cosimo de' Medici died in 1464 he left a fortune of 225,000 gold florins. Like a good many big banks today, the house of the Medici played a decisive part in the political life of the times.

What happened in Florence was happening in other cities on both sides of the Alps. Capitalists were appearing everywhere. In Venice some two thousand merchant princes owned most of the wealth; at Freiburg thirty-seven burgesses owned half the wealth; at Basel 4 per cent of the population had nearly all the wealth. Jacques Cœur, a French merchant prince of the fifteenth century, amassed a fortune of twenty-seven million francs. William de la Pole of England and the Fuggers, the Baumgartners, and the Hochstetters of Germany are other examples of fifteenth-century millionaires.

### Mercantilism

A second line along which the reconstruction of Europe's economic life proceeded was the substitution of the nation for the city as the basis of industrial life and commercial policy. Here again Italy was the teacher of Europe. Several of the Italian cities had become important territorial powers. The necessity of controlling their food supply explains the first expansion, and industrial and commercial rivalry carried the process further. Then came a period of adjustment to new conditions. The development of the textile industry north of the Alps brought about a rapid decline in the clothmaking firms of Italy. Changing trade routes diverted trade to the north. There followed economic depression, both in industry and in commerce, and Italian capitalists and merchants turned their stored-up wealth into other channels. Banking was developed, as we have seen, and investment in land became universal among men of wealth. The swarm of city-states in central and northern Italy was replaced by a few large "country-states." Venice, Milan, and Florence were especially successful in these transition policies.

The rulers of such states naturally thought of the economic problems of the state as a whole. To promote domestic industry, extend foreign commerce, and accumulate a treasure with which to carry on war became the objectives of all Italian rulers. The exaction of protective tariffs, the use of bounties and subsidies, the safeguarding of industrial processes, and the conquest of new sources of food supply and raw materials were some of the means they employed. This mixture of politics and economics is known as mercantilism. Italian writers on statecraft helped to spread a knowledge of the theory and practice of mercantilism to the larger country-states north of the Alps. At the close of the Hundred Years' War Charles VII of France began to shape French economic policy along

national lines. Italian bankers were dropped and native merchants favored. Jacques Cœur became the royal adviser and treasurer. Similarly, Edward IV of England began to drive foreigners out of English industry and commerce and to organize English companies and build up English shipping. The importance of mercantilism as a factor in the integration of nation-states is obvious. Before long the beginning of overseas expansion opened up opportunities for national enterprise on an unprecedented scale.

### The Age of Discoveries

The later middle ages brought a great increase in geographical knowledge. So great, in fact, were the advances made in geography during this period that it has become known as the Age of Discoveries. The geographical knowledge of the ancient world had been summed up by the Hellenistic scholar Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria in the second century of the Christian era. For some centuries thereafter little progress was made. "Bible Geography" held sway, and on such maps as there were the earth was represented as a circle of land with Jerusalem at the center. The surrounding ocean was full of unknown terrors. In the thirteenth century, however, a great forward step was taken.

The conquests of Genghiz Khan and his successors resulted in the establishment of a vast overland empire stretching from China to Russia. Traders and missionaries from western Europe were tolerated and even welcomed by the officials of the Great Khan. The accounts of these travelers circulated throughout the West, and scholars could thus become fairly familiar with the geography of central Asia. The most famous of the Asiatic travelers was the Venetian Marco Polo (1254-1324). Having made his way to the capital of the Great Khan as a lad in the company of his two uncles, merchants of Venice, Marco won the favor of the Tartar authorities and entered their service. For twenty years he traveled the length and breadth of the Mongol empire and beyond, visiting Burma, Siam, Cochin China, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Madagascar, and Abyssinia. Returning at length to his native city, he was drawn into the never ceasing wars between Venice and Genoa. Captured and held a prisoner, Marco whiled away the time by relating his travels to a fellow prisoner, who appreciated their importance and gave them to the world in written form. This manuscript became the most famous travel book of the middle ages.

But the greatest triumphs of the new geography were won on the sea. Improvements in the science of navigation were so numerous and so important in the later middle ages as to be revolutionary. The Mediterranean was the principal nursery of the "new navigation." The compass, known to Europeans in a rudimentary form in the twelfth century, was

rapidly improved in the hands of Italian sailors. Ships, no longer confined to coasting along familiar shores, could now launch forth boldly toward their objective. Improvements were made also in the arts of measuring time and of calculating latitude and longitude. The scientific knowledge of the Arabs had long been familiar to the Italians, and to this they added the fruit of their own experience and such scraps of ancient learning as they possessed. Before long the Italians began to prepare maps of the coasts with which they had become familiar. These maps were known as port guides, or *portulani*. They are the first maps, in the modern sense, in European history. By 1350 these port guides showed the whole of the Mediterranean coast with almost modern accuracy. At the same time enterprising sailors, especially the Genoese, began to push westward into the Atlantic. The prospect of profit in trade with regions yet unknown was sufficient to lure them on once the science of navigation made it reasonably certain they could find their way back. The northwest coast of Africa was explored for a few hundred miles, and the Canary and Madeira islands were discovered. Finally the Azores were reached, 750 miles west of Portugal, one third of the way to America. In the meantime Hansa merchants from the Baltic had voyaged westward to Iceland and learned there of the existence of Greenland and Vineland. All this by the middle of the fourteenth century.

During the fifteenth century the new navigation gained impetus from two sources, the classical revival and the expansion of Portugal. The classical revival we shall examine in a later chapter. Among the hundreds of manuscripts uncovered, copied, and broadcast by the printing press were writings on mathematics, astronomy, and other aids to navigation. The scientific knowledge of the ancient world was thus made known completely and widely. Ptolemy's *Geographica* was printed. His insistence upon the sphericity of the earth and his calculation, or rather miscalculation, of the earth's size became commonplaces. Scholars interested themselves in working through the mathematical and astronomical knowledge of the ancient world and adding to it. Two German mathematicians, Purbach of Vienna and Regiomontanus (as Johann Müller preferred to call himself) of Nuremberg, published notable works in this field about the middle of the fifteenth century. Navigators eagerly seized upon these products of the printing press. Columbus carried German astronomical tables in his charthouse.

### Portuguese Expansion

Having expelled the Moors from her natural frontiers by the close of the thirteenth century, Portugal was chiefly concerned thereafter with

maintaining herself in the face of the growing power of Castile. Toward the end of the fourteenth century King John I of Portugal married the daughter of John of Gaunt, the English magnate, whose son, Henry of Bolingbroke, became king of England as Henry IV. Thus began an alliance, the most permanent in European history, which helped Portugal to stand on her own feet. Portugal's windows now opened on the Atlantic. The internal resources of the country were not great, and with the Moors expelled, the Portuguese grandees and their followers looked for new worlds against which to direct their crusading ardor. In 1415 an expedition was launched against the Moors across the straits in North Africa and the important stronghold of Ceuta was taken. This feat of arms marks the beginning of the overseas expansion of Portugal, and indeed of Europe.

The hero of the Portuguese attack upon Ceuta was Prince Henry, King John's third son (1394-1460). The young prince was made governor of the captured city. Chosen grand master, about the same time, of the powerful military Order of Jesus Christ, Prince Henry conceived the design of leading the order in a campaign against the Moslem power in Africa. His plan was not to attack the Moslems of North Africa directly but to bypass them, and skirting the long Atlantic coast of the Sahara to the west and south, to establish a "greater Portugal" in the rich and populous valley of the Senegal. Not that the Portuguese knew much about what they would find when they got there. They had seen maps made by Arab geographers centuries earlier whereon the coastal plain southwest of the Sahara was labeled simply *Bilad Ghana*, or "land of wealth." The river which watered this fertile tract was supposed to be a "western Nile" whose waters came down, like those of the real Nile, from the highlands of Abyssinia. What triumph for Christendom if the Portuguese could occupy the valley of the western Nile, effect a juncture with the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia and thus encircle the Moslems of Africa! It might be that Jerusalem could thus be recovered. Furthermore, it was believed that slaves were to be had for the taking on the *Ghana* or Guinea coast. Buyers could be found among the grandees of Portugal and Spain, for much land lay empty as a result of the long wars. The bitter plight of the slaves would turn to blessedness, it was thought, through their conversion to Christianity.

For nearly half a century Prince Henry labored at his task. Bigger and stronger ships were built to withstand the heavier seas of the Atlantic and the square-rigged sailship displaced the Mediterranean galley. Genoese navigators were employed, and western Europe was ransacked for mapmakers and mathematicians. As steppingstones to the south, the Canary, Madeira, Azores, and Cape Verde islands were occupied and colonized. Most of these island groups had long been known by Europeans

but they had lain neglected. The mouth of the Senegal was reached at last, and gold and ivory as well as slaves were brought back to Portugal. Plans were laid for building churches and dividing the land into parishes. Not much progress had been made in colonizing the valley of the Senegal when Prince Henry died (1460). It is doubtful whether this famous prince had dreamed of going farther south; the efforts of his later years had been concentrated on completing the colonization of the Azores.

After Henry's death Portuguese sailors, from their bases on the west coast of Africa, began to push farther and ever farther to the south. Within a quarter of a century three times as many miles of the African coast were charted as in the prince's whole lifetime. In 1486 Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope and landed on the southern coast of Africa. The whole purpose of the Portuguese was transformed, for it was now clear that the great eastern trade was within reach.

Prince Henry had sought to found in Africa a crusaders' state which should be a step to the recovery of the Holy Land. This medieval ideal was cherished also by Columbus, whose zeal to open up a new way to India was sustained by the hope of investing his profits in a crusade. His discovery of the New Isles changed all that. Still earlier, however, and even more clearly, we may see the transition from medieval to modern in the changing viewpoint of the Portuguese during the quarter-century following the death of Prince Henry. Not the establishment of a base for a crusade but the opening of a new trade route to Asia became the goal of Portuguese policy. Indeed, the news of the successful voyage of Dias effected something like a revolution in European thought. It was evident that the medieval world had burst through its shell and that Europe was face to face with changes of unknowable magnitude. The professor of classical literature at Florence, Politian, wrote a flowery letter of congratulation to the king of Portugal saying something much to that effect. It was a graceful tribute of the new learning to the new navigation.

While some were pushing ever farther to the south in the attempt to round Africa, others were sailing directly westward. The notion that the East could be reached by way of the West was some eighteen centuries old. It had never been completely lost sight of even in the middle ages. The revival of classical learning brought a renewed interest in the westward route, and the scholars of the later middle ages gave the matter much thought. Following Ptolemy, the mapmakers of the fifteenth century drew their world much too small, making it appear that Asia was but a few days' sail westward from Lisbon. Various islands were indicated as halfway stations; the existence of the American continents was not dreamed of. In 1474 a famous map of this sort was brought to the Portuguese capital. It was the work of the Italian Toscanelli, the greatest physicist of

his day. Similar maps were in the hands of sailors and students of navigation in Spain, France, and England.

The sensational success of the Portuguese in rounding Africa set Europe ablaze with excitement. If Asia could be reached by rounding Africa, how much more easily could it be reached by sailing to the west! For the Cape of Good Hope was a good three months' sail of more than four thousand miles from Portugal, and even then India was far away. Sailors from Portuguese, Spanish, and English ports scoured the Atlantic searching for the mysterious islands which might serve as halfway stations.

### The Voyages of Columbus

Cristoforo Colombo, a Genoese sailor, had gone to Portugal as a youth, drawn thither like so many others by the seafaring enterprise of the western kingdom. He married a Portuguese wife and took part, year after year, in the exploration of the African coast. He also made voyages to Bristol, in the west of England, and followed the trade route of the Bristol sailors to Iceland and beyond. There were few men who understood the navigation of the Atlantic, north and south, as did this Genoese sailor. Well versed in the theory of the western route, Columbus resolved to set his course boldly for Asia without bothering to look for the elusive islands which were supposed to mark the way. His plan called for a minimum of three ships with provisions for a year. It remained to get financial backing for his daring enterprise. The story of the negotiations of Columbus with Portugal, Genoa, England, and Spain, and of his final success, is one of the most familiar in history and need not be retold here. It will be recognized, of course, that the discovery of America was really due to the maritime enterprise of the Portuguese, and that the winning of the honor by Spain was accidental.

Spain's success, in 1492, in finding what was apparently a western route to Asia inspired the Portuguese to push their own project to completion, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama reached India by a voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, a voyage more arduous if less brilliant than that of Columbus. The Portuguese cargo on the return trip, consisting of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and precious stones, was sold at a profit of 600 per cent. Meanwhile English sailors caught the fever. The merchants of Bristol had long carried on a flourishing trade with Iceland. Learning of the existence of a "Vineland" far to the west, Bristol sailors began to scour the northern Atlantic in search of it. Knowing of this interest in westward exploration, Columbus had sent his brother to England to secure the backing of her king for his projected voyage, and an invitation to visit England and talk things over finally reached Columbus



just as he was signing his agreement with the Spanish sovereigns. The success of Columbus stirred the English to employ a Venetian named Cabot to lead a western expedition, and following the old Norse route, Cabot landed on the shores of Labrador in 1497.

### The Portuguese Empire

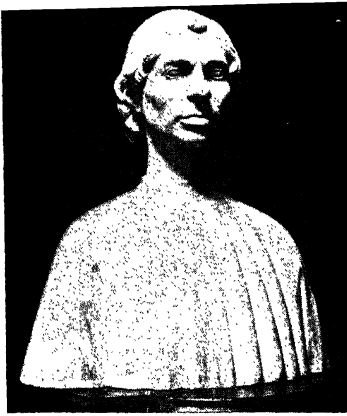
The immensely profitable voyage of Vasco da Gama stirred all Portugal. A rush for Eastern wealth ensued, in which every class joined according to its ability. So many Portuguese were engaged in trade or were serving in garrisons overseas that the land was half depopulated. By the middle of the sixteenth century Portugal had established trading ports along both the western and the eastern coast of Africa, at the mouths of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, on the west coast of India, on the island of Ceylon, at Malacca on the Straits, throughout the Spice Islands, and in Canton, China. This had not been accomplished without a struggle. The diversion of eastern trade to the all-water route around Africa roused the sultan of Egypt and his Arab intermediaries to quick and strenuous resistance, which Venice, Egypt's intermediary on the west, was active in organizing. Certain Indian princes joined the combination, and a fleet was assembled which seemed destined to sweep the Portuguese from eastern waters. The conflict took on something of the character of a religious war, for the Portuguese regarded all Moslems as Moors, their hated enemies for centuries, and treated them accordingly. Girding themselves for a decisive battle, the Portuguese sent a large fleet into the Indian Ocean and closed with their enemies off Diu on the northwest coast of India in 1509. A great victory secured for Portugal the control of the Indian Ocean for a century. In the following year a military and naval base was established at Goa, on the west coast of India, from which the Portuguese policed their sea lanes.

In their headlong pursuit of wealth the Portuguese neglected to build firm the foundations of national prosperity. In the East they were traders, not planters, at no point penetrating into the interior to secure a firm grip on the political and economic life of the areas they were exploiting. Furthermore, the Portuguese were content to take a quick profit on their cargoes at Lisbon, leaving to other Europeans the less spectacular but in the long run more profitable trade between Lisbon and the north. Flemish merchants, quick and active, secured this trade and Antwerp was shortly a wealthier city than Lisbon. Moreover, the absorption of the Portuguese in trade led to their neglect of agriculture and home industries. These solid bases of national prosperity crumbled into ruins. When Portuguese monopoly of the Eastern trade was broken and profits dwindle-



EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I (p. 6)

The emperor's armor, like his empire, was more ornate than useful.



NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (*p. 12*)



PRINCE HENRY  
THE NAVIGATOR (*pp. 43-44*)



THE BANKER AND HIS WIFE

From a painting by Quinten Massys (*c. 1460-1530*), an important representative of the early Flemish school of painting. This picture illustrates the varied interests of the more prosperous inhabitants of the Netherlands.

dled, a long and difficult period of economic readjustment was necessary. Furthermore, in the contest for world trade and world empire which finally ensued, Portugal was at a disadvantage despite her early start and strategic location. Her population was no more than two million at the opening of the sixteenth century, and such was the drain of her man power overseas and its wastage through war, disease, and disaster that at the close of the century the figure stood at about one million. Nor had Portugal the capital to finance her own ventures; she depended from the first upon Italian, Flemish, and German bankers. Naturally these financiers soon demanded and obtained a directing voice in Portuguese enterprises.

Meanwhile, however, Portugal was slowly laying the foundation in another part of the world for another kind of empire, less showy and less profitable, but more enduring. The year after Vasco da Gama's return from India, Cabral set sail from Lisbon for the East with a fleet of thirteen ships and 1200 men. Bearing a bit farther to the west and south than usual, the sooner to catch the trade winds, Cabral was surprised to find land. This was the coast of South America, which the Portuguese promptly claimed for their king. Some years elapsed before this claim was followed up, since Portugal's eyes were set in a different direction, but eventually colonies were planted and the possibilities of the new land explored. Sugar cane and other tropical plants were introduced from the Orient, and an important market for Negro slaves from the settlements on the west coast of Africa was thus assured. Indeed, Brazil early became a valuable sugar colony. The discovery of gold and diamonds further sharpened Portuguese interest in the new colony.

### Spanish Expansion

On the return of Columbus from the New World a messenger was hurriedly despatched to Rome to secure the pope's confirmation of the Spanish claim. Alexander VI was of the Spanish family of Borgia. Portugal also appealed to the pope, fearing that Columbus was grasping at some of its own sphere of interest in the Indies. Claiming the overlordship of the world in matters temporal as well as spiritual, the pope did not hesitate to hand down a decision reconciling the conflicting claims. This was the famous Line of Demarcation (1493), which drew a meridian 100 leagues beyond the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, assigning to Spain all lands to the west of that line. Fearful that this line would not give his sailors along the west coast of Africa enough sea room, King John II of Portugal a year later secured from Spain a modification of this arrangement. The Treaty of Tordesillas fixed the line 170 leagues farther west.

It will be noted that this revision gave Portugal an undisputed title to its settlements in Brazil.

The first two decades after the famous first voyage of Columbus were spent by Spanish sailors in a feverish effort to find the Spice Islands and other greatly coveted areas of the Indies which Columbus was supposed to have reached. In this activity Columbus himself joined. The islands of the Caribbean became well known to these early sailors, and they touched upon the coast of South America, the peninsula of Florida, and various coastal regions of the Gulf of Mexico. In 1513 Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and from an eminence viewed the broad expanse of the Pacific. It began to dawn upon the Spanish that they were in contact not with Asia, but with a continent which blocked the way to Asia. Then began the frantic search for a passage through, the Spaniards pushing farther and farther southward along the coast of South America year by year, as the Portuguese had done along the African coast a hundred years earlier. Finally a Portuguese sailor named Fernando Magellan decided to sail westward to the Spice Islands round the southern cape of South America, claiming that the islands were within the hemisphere assigned to Spain by the treaty of 1494. Long experienced in the Eastern trade, Magellan had left the Portuguese service in anger at unfair treatment and offered his services to the Spanish sovereign, Charles V. With the backing of the Spanish king he set sail with five small ships September 20, 1519. More than a year elapsed before Magellan found that the enormous estuary of the Rio de la Plata was not the passage he was seeking. Pushing farther southward, he discovered the strait which bears his name and emerged into the Pacific after a stormy passage lasting a month, during which he lost one ship by desertion and another in a gale. Launching out into the unknown vastness of the Pacific, Magellan and his men sailed on and on for thirteen months and twenty days, encountering in all that weary waste of water only two small and uninhabited islands. At last the flotilla arrived at the Philippines, which were promptly claimed for Spain. In a clash with the natives Magellan was killed. Of the three remaining ships, one was burned; a second sought to return to Spain by recrossing the Pacific, was forced to turn back, and was eventually captured by the Portuguese. The sole surviving ship, the "Victoria," continued westward and finally reached home September 8, 1522, three years, lacking fourteen days, after it had set forth. Its cargo of twenty-seven tons of cloves more than paid for the entire cost of the expedition. This first circumnavigation of the globe is surely the greatest voyage the world has ever known.

While sailors were searching the American coasts for a passage to the Indies, other Spanish adventurers were seeking for hidden wealth in the

interior. In 1519 Cortes with a few hundred men marched through the heart of Mexico and there laid the foundation for Spanish rule. The natives were far more numerous here than farther north, and they had built up a higher civilization, whose treasures now fell into the lap of Spain. Mines were discovered more valuable than any Europe had known. In 1531 Pizarro made a conquest of Peru. Thousands of Spaniards left their homeland and settled in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere in the New World, a race of aristocrats exploiting the natives and their wealth. A new and composite civilization was quickly improvised. Its foundation was slave labor, first Indian and then African Negro.

From Peru Spanish conquest spread to Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Argentine. From Mexico an expedition was sent under Coronado, in 1540, to find other rich lands to the north and east. It wandered through our own Southwest and finally reached what is now eastern Kansas before turning back, having failed to find the easy wealth it sought. Other expeditions followed the Pacific coast as far north as the present Oregon. Finally, in 1564, the Philippines, named in honor of Philip II of Spain, were systematically occupied. Thus were laid the foundations of a Spanish empire.

### French and English Enterprises

The pope had declared the whole of the undiscovered world to be a monopoly of the Spanish and Portuguese, and both peoples set out to make that grant an accomplished fact. Francis I of France asked to be shown the clause in Adam's will which excluded France from a share in his inheritance, but he was content in the main to leave it at that. In 1521, it is true, the French king sent Verrazzano to look for a northeast passage, away from the region of Spanish-Portuguese activity, and in 1534 Jacques Cartier set forth under the French flag on a similar mission to the northwest. Both ventures failed, but Cartier established for France a claim on Canada which was taken up a century later. Increasingly preoccupied with his Italian wars, Francis I turned his back on the New World for the rest of his reign. There followed, after a brief interval, a series of civil wars which postponed for more than half a century all overseas enterprise on the part of France.

England was more active and upon the whole more persistent than France in her efforts to break through the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly. Beginning with John Cabot, a succession of sailors in English employ—among them Davis, Frobisher, Baffin, Gilbert, and Hudson—searched frantically for a northwest passage. The possibility of such a route interested the English, since it seemed to promise a shortened way to the

Orient. For half a century English sailors refrained from poaching on Spanish preserves. Spain was a great power and England a small one. Moreover, the dynasties of the two countries were interrelated, and for the most part friendly, until the death of Mary in 1558. Englishmen were more and more restive, however, as they saw the easily won wealth of the New World pouring into Spanish pockets. After 1558 their national church, if not their national monarchy, was under the menace of attack from Spain, the self-designated champion of the Roman Catholic Church. English sailors began boldly to attack Spanish ships, first in the English Channel, then in Spanish waters, and finally in the New World itself. The doings of these Elizabethan seamen are highly romantic. They may be dealt with more appropriately a little later.

### The City of Antwerp

Symbolic of the economic and commercial revolution of early modern times is the rise of the city of Antwerp. On the banks of the Scheldt but not far from the sea, Antwerp was conveniently located with respect to both ocean-borne commerce and inland trade. Even more important than her location was her policy. Antwerp had not been prominent in medieval trade, and hence her merchants had not developed those rigid regulations so characteristic of the successful cities of the middle ages. Sensing the opportunities offered by the age of discovery, the merchants of Antwerp, with the friendly encouragement of their Hapsburg overlords, established a free port, inscribing above the portal of their exchange in 1531, "For the use of merchants of all nations and tongues." The growth of Antwerp's trade was phenomenal; she became the recognized distributing center in the north for goods brought from the Old World and the New. German, Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian merchants thronged the quays and the markets. A brisk trade soon sprang up in bills of exchange and other credit instruments. Borrowers flocked to this new money market and Antwerp became the financial center of Europe. As a money market Antwerp exhibited all the familiar characteristics of a modern financial center with its bulls and bears, its close study of foreign news, and its wildcat investment schemes. Antwerp was the first great "seat of unbridled capitalism," profiting to the fullest extent from the commercial opportunities afforded by the age of discoveries. Venice, medieval mistress of the Mediterranean, was cast in the shade.

Antwerp's boom lasted less than a century. A possession of the Spanish Hapsburgs, she suffered a blight from Philip II's religious policies, as we shall see. Heresy-hunting in her streets drove merchants and money-

lenders northward. In 1576 the "Spanish Fury" left her in ruins. First Amsterdam and then London succeeded to the post of primacy in commerce and finance, and each in turn saw to it that the river approach to Antwerp was sealed. Napoleon freed her harbor at last and Antwerp has now recovered her former prosperity, but today she is only one commercial center among many.



## CHAPTER III

### *The Awakening in Learning, Art, and Science*

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES the learning, the art, and the literature of Europe were but channels through which the church poured forth her teachings. Civilization was consciously shaped toward ends chosen by the church. Scholasticism, medieval learning's greatest product, was man's attempt to justify the dicta of faith to his reason. The technique was Aristotelian logic, and in the work of St. Thomas Aquinas the scholastic method achieved its culminating triumph, a faith rooted and grounded in reason. The synthesis of St. Thomas was of such vast proportions, such skyward-reaching aspirations, and such elaborate detail as to call to mind a Gothic cathedral. The great doctor was scarcely in his grave, however, when other scholastics began to find flaws in the structure.

#### The Modernists

The most brilliant of these critics was Duns Scotus (c. 1265-1308). Of Scotch birth and Oxford training, he taught in the University of Paris, then the greatest center of learning in Europe. With an acuteness of mind seldom equaled, the subtle doctor, as he was called, found serious defects in much of what had passed for sound reasoning. In attempting to strengthen weak points, the conscientious Scot carried logical processes to such a stage of overelaboration as to make the scholastic method appear ridiculous. Duns Scotus was succeeded and superseded by his pupil William of Ockham (c. 1300-1349). Born in England, Ockham like his predecessor was trained at Oxford and became a lecturer at Paris. Here he boldly threw overboard the whole scholastic method, averring that it was impossible to attain any part of Christian truth through the process of reason alone. A new basis must be found for truth, he declared, in observation and experience through the senses. William's influence remained dominant at Paris throughout the fourteenth century. His followers, known as the "sons of Ockham," or *moderni*, "remained Christians only by an act of faith."

The contributions to modernism of another English scholar were of a more positive character. Roger Bacon (d. 1294) had also gone from Ox-

ford to Paris, where he won the doctorate. He then gave twenty years to scientific research in mathematics, physics, optics, and chemistry. He spent much money on instruments, and it is known that he constructed several microscopes for his own use. More remarkable than his studies was the spirit in which he made them. In forty years of listening to the scholastics he had learned nothing, he said. Bacon insisted that firsthand knowledge was the sole basis of truth. He maintained that even in the study of the scriptures the scholar must have access to the original Hebrew and Greek. Bacon's scientific work stood unsurpassed until the seventeenth century.

Thus had begun, in the world of learned men, a vigorous pursuit of facts. Many of the scholars of the later middle ages achieved a new attitude toward life and displayed a fresh and unashamed interest in nature and in human nature. These scholars are known as humanists, and their contributions to culture constitute one of the most important features of the brilliant civilization of the times which we call the Renaissance.

Humanism was not a wholly new thing by any means. Humanists were to be found, as exceptions to the general trend, in each of the medieval centuries. Above all, humanism had characterized the thought and culture of Greece and Rome. It is not surprising, therefore, that scholars who were in revolt against medieval institutions, who were denouncing the standards of their day, turned to the life and culture of classical antiquity for support and inspiration. Seeking to rid their minds of medievalism, the leaders of the Renaissance found in the classical writers men whose minds had never been medieval. Plato and Aristotle are modern; their writings are informed by a scientific spirit—that is, by a determination to push an inquiry as far as the mind can carry it, overriding all conventions, inhibitions, and taboos.

### Revival of Classical Studies

In the revival of classical studies Italian scholars took the lead. Far more than any other land of western Europe, Italy was strewn with the monuments of classical antiquity. Indeed, the tradition of classical studies had never quite died out in the Italian peninsula. Northern Italy, particularly, was a region of urban culture and secular spirit, less than other regions under the influence of the feudal and ecclesiastical traditions characteristic of medieval Europe. Moreover, the Italian cities could supply in numbers the wealthy patrons which humanism required. Here were many old families of great wealth whose members had both the means and the leisure to give free rein to their love of life. Fighting and love-making were universally popular and even monopolized the energies of not a few

of the idle rich, but there were others who began to collect manuscripts and practice the arts, or who at least began to encourage others to do so.

Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374), or Petrarch, a Florentine, has been called the first modern scholar, even the first modern man. The classics, Petrarch believed, should be studied as records of concrete facts and experience. A few medieval scholars had been as well acquainted with the Latin classics as Petrarch, but they had been far too prone to take a professional view of their studies, searching the classics for support of Christian dogma or merely perfecting themselves in the use of Latin with a view to professional advancement. Petrarch wanted to know what the Greek and Roman scholars thought and felt. He seems to have studied for the fun of it. "My tireless spirit pores over the pages," he writes, "until it has exhausted both fingers and eyes, and yet I feel neither hunger nor cold but would seem to be reclining on the softest down. I labor while I rest and find my rest in labor." Petrarch became an enthusiastic student of classical archaeology and a collector of manuscripts and coins. Cicero was his favorite author, and Petrarch strove to perfect himself in an elegant classical style, in contrast to the careless style common among his fellow clergymen. The changing temper of the times is revealed by the fact that Petrarch's ideas were immensely popular. He was extravagantly welcomed and feted everywhere he went, and he may be said to have achieved the position in his own day of intellectual arbiter of Europe.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) was a devoted friend and admirer of Petrarch. He began his literary career as a follower of Dante, of whom he wrote a biography. From the medievalism of Dante, Boccaccio turned to the classics and he became as zealous a collector of manuscripts as Petrarch himself, busying himself also with exhaustive compilations of extracts from the classical authors. Following the bent of his genius finally, and yielding completely to the humanistic spirit of the times, Boccaccio turned from books about life to life itself, employing as his medium of self-expression a living language. The literary framework of his famous *Decameron* is provided by an imaginary group of cultured ladies and gentlemen of Florence who shut themselves off from the world for a time as a means of escape from the plague. They whiled away the days by telling stories. Boccaccio got his stories from everywhere. Scarcely one of them was new; it is his way of telling them that was new. He did not aim to edify or instruct, in the medieval fashion; indeed, many of his tales are definitely unedifying. Boccaccio's aim was sheer pleasure and entertainment, objectives which he achieved largely through literary artistry. The *Decameron* is the first great work of Italian prose and a landmark in the

history of Italian humanism. In the contrast between the *Divine Comedy* of Dante and the very human comedy of Boccaccio we have another good example of the transition from medieval to modern.

The collecting and copying of manuscripts, the study of Roman remains, and the unearthing of classical sculptures soon became a major passion among the Italians. There was hardly an Italian prince or noble, scarcely a cardinal or pope, who did not devote energy and fortune to this fascinating pursuit. They were assisted by an increasing number of professional scholars whose talents were ever in demand among the wealthy patrons. The monasteries not only of Italy but of Switzerland, Germany, and France were ransacked for neglected masterpieces of classical literature. Letters of Cicero, treatises of Pliny, histories of Livy and of Tacitus, were discovered. The libraries of Constantinople were brought under requisition and hundreds of Greek manuscripts found their way into western Europe. Great collections began to be formed, such as those of the Medici in Florence and of the popes at Rome. Nicholas V founded the papal library with a gift of five thousand manuscripts. An especially enthusiastic and successful collector was a papal secretary named Poggio Bracciolini. He had had a thorough training in both Latin and Greek, and his duties carried him on journeys north of the Alps during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Convinced that there were manuscripts of great value lying forgotten in monastic libraries, this scholar succeeded in finding twelve of the comedies of Plautus, two of Cicero's orations, and a complete edition of Quintilian. Such finds to such a scholar must have been thrilling indeed.

A special feature of the renewed interest in the classics was a revival of the study of Greek. The knowledge of Greek had practically died out in western Europe. Boccaccio is accounted the first modern Italian to have learned it. If the young enthusiasts who were at war with medievalism found solace and support in Latin literature, still more would they find them in Greek. A Byzantine scholar named Manuel Chrysoloras taught Greek at Florence, Milan, and Venice toward the end of the fourteenth century and, about 1400, wrote a Greek grammar much used thereafter. With this teacher the modern study of Greek may be said to have begun not only in Italy but also in the Western world. With their emphasis upon a free spirit of inquiry in science, a range of philosophical speculation that knows no limit, and a love of the beautiful in every aspect of life, the Greeks had much to teach the world. The revival of Greek contributed to the collapse of scholasticism. It became clear that many of the premises of the scholastics were based upon mistranslations of Aristotle as derived from Arabic sources. There was, indeed, a general revolt from the empire of Aristotle. The works of Plato were translated, and a Platonic cult

sprang up. Aristotle was logical, dogmatic, prosaic; Plato imaginative, idealistic, poetic. Many enthusiasts made the teachings of the great humanist their rule of life.

The universities were not at first friendly to the new learning. After all, the medieval universities were themselves the creations of medievalism, and it was but natural that they should be strongholds of the old order. Centers of the new learning were a number of academies which were now founded. These were voluntary associations of learned men, the first being the Platonic Academy of Florence, founded by Cosimo de' Medici in 1438. Pico della Mirandola, Alberti, and Michelangelo were among its more famous members. Other academies were established in Rome, Naples, and Venice. Later on, similar societies were established in the cities north of the Alps.

### The Invention of Printing

Far more important than the founding of academies as a means of advancing the new learning was the invention of printing. The greatly increased demand for manuscripts made it certain that some ingenious person would hit upon a device for mass production. In fact, several inventors did so almost simultaneously. A certain Lourens Coster of Haarlem (Holland) may have been first in the field, about 1430, but his work was experimental. John Gutenberg seems to have been the first practical printer, producing a Latin Bible of 641 printed leaves about 1456. The invention spread with a swiftness that was astonishing for those days. Within a quarter of a century every country of western Europe had its printing presses and some thirty thousand editions had been issued by the end of the century. Naturally the attempt to manufacture books in large quantities would have failed had men still depended on sheepskin for book making. Fortunately paper had come into general use in western Europe by the end of the thirteenth century. The Moslems had learned the art, probably from the Chinese, and had made paper from cotton fiber. Europeans substituted flax and rags, still used in the manufacture of some of the finer papers today.

The Italians seized upon the German invention with especial eagerness, as might be expected. Venice became the first great European center of the book trade. By 1500 there were more than two hundred presses in that city and over three thousand editions had been issued. The most famous of the early "publishing houses" was that of Aldo Manuzio, who settled in Venice in 1490. His books were noted for their scholarship, their beauty, their convenience, and their cheapness. Aldo made friends for his firm by making his books small enough to be easily handled. He published critical editions of practically all the masterpieces of Greek

literature and many notable works in Latin. To him we owe the introduction of italic type, still commonly used, a cursive type said to have been modeled on Petrarch's handwriting.

The whole world is in debt to the early Italian printers for substituting for the gothic type of the German printers the lighter and more easily legible roman type still in use. Coming at the time it did, print became the highway of culture. Copies of manuscripts could now be multiplied indefinitely. The price of books was cut by four fifths and their circulation enormously increased. What printing has meant, and means, for the advancement of civilization is beyond calculation.

It is interesting to recall in this age of cheap machine-made books that all the early printers sought to make their books as nearly as possible like the manuscript books of the day. Much handwork was expended on the early printed books, especially in the illumination of initial letters. Bindings were beautifully hand-wrought of leather. These facts will help to explain the high prices which early printed books still bring. Not long ago the Congress of the United States appropriated the sum of \$3,000,000 for the purchase of a single lot of incunabula, as books printed before the end of the year 1500 are called. The prejudice against printed books died hard. A fifteenth-century Italian scholar wrote as follows of the library of his ducal patron: "In that library the books are all beautiful in a superlative degree and all are written by the pen. There is not a single one of them printed, for it would be a shame to have one of that sort."

With one exception the names of the scholars of the Renaissance are scarcely known today. Not that their work was unimportant, but they were pioneers in a new field, new to the medieval world at least, and later scholars, continuing their labors, have surpassed them. The exception is Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457). His work on *The Refinements of the Latin Language*, which was republished sixty times in as many years, marks the highest point reached in the critical study of Latin during the Renaissance. But Lorenzo is even more famous as the founder of historical criticism. In 1440, while in the employ of the king of Naples, then at odds with the pope, Lorenzo convincingly demonstrated the spurious character of the celebrated "Donation of Constantine." A few years later a great patron became pope in the person of Nicholas V. He summoned Valla to Rome as a secretary in the papal court, thus inaugurating a close alliance between the papacy and the new learning that endured to the Reformation. Under papal patronage Valla continued his exposure of historical frauds, correcting mistranslations in the Vulgate and stamping as worthless the popular accounts of the origin of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed.

### Humanism North of the Alps

From Italy the renewed zeal for classical studies spread northward. Ironically enough, the printing of the classics by the Aldine press of Venice helped to destroy the Italian monopoly in learning. Northern scholars no longer had to come to Italy to learn Greek.

New universities were founded north of the Alps when the older ones proved resistant to humanistic learning. To Germany's nine universities nine more were added in the last half of the fifteenth century. In Spain, also, nine new universities were founded, chiefly in the sixteenth century, however. One of these, Salamanca, could boast of 6778 students (1584). In England many new colleges were founded in the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge. In France Francis I, the "king of culture," founded the Collège de France (1530) as an offset to the famous University of Paris where scholasticism still held sway. Francis also laid the foundations for the Bibliothèque Nationale, the largest and one of the most famous libraries in the world. To the list of new universities in the north should be added Louvain in the Netherlands, Aberdeen in Scotland, and Upsala in Sweden. All these newer schools instituted a system of education based upon the classics.

Northern humanists were scarcely less numerous or less important than those of Italy. Johann Reuchlin (d. 1522) studied philology at Paris, law at Orléans, and Greek in Florence. Impatient with medieval translations and commentaries, the young scholar resolved to return to the sources of Biblical literature. Settling at Stuttgart in his native Germany, Reuchlin devoted his life to the study of Hebrew. His first tutor, for lack of any other, was a Jewish physician. Reuchlin's book *De rudimentis Hebraicis*, a combined dictionary and grammar for use in Old Testament studies, was published in 1506 and marks the beginning of modern Biblical scholarship. At Oxford John Colet (d. 1519), a scholar of active mind and great industry, began to lecture on the Epistles of St. Paul in a new way, going back to the early centuries of the Christian era for his background and authority. To establish close contact with his sources, Colet learned Greek. Henry VIII, a patron of the new learning, made Colet dean of St. Paul's, in London, and there the new dean founded a school for boys on new principles, with a governing board of family men, not priests.

After the first invasion of Italy by the French, in 1494, intercourse between France and Italy was constant for nearly one hundred years. During this lengthy period of close contact, elements of the Italian Renaissance slowly filtered through the medieval culture of France. A Greek named John Lascaris began to teach his native tongue in the

University of Paris in the reign of Charles VIII. A Greek press was established in Paris in 1507. A French scholar named William Budé (d. 1540) became known as the foremost Greek scholar of Europe, publishing his commentary on the Greek language in 1529. In 1530, as we have seen, Francis I founded the Collège de France, chiefly for the study and teaching of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Other French scholars turned from the medieval commentators on Roman law to a fresh study of the text itself.

Spanish students, visitors to Italy in the fifteenth century, carried the seeds of the new learning home with them. Antonio Lebrixa, returning to Spain in 1473 after ten years in Italy, taught Greek and Hebrew at the universities of Seville, Salamanca, and Alcalá. His many pupils carried classical studies to other centers of Spanish learning. Cardinal Ximenes, master, under the crown, of the church in Spain, was so far responsive to the new learning as to cause the New Testament to be printed in the original Greek (1514). Unfortunately this promising beginning of Spanish humanism proved to be illusory. The powerful hostility of the priests and monks and the unenlightened point of view of the crown soon placed a check on the movement.

### Erasmus

Greatest of all humanists north or south of the Alps was Desiderius Erasmus. He was born at Rotterdam about 1466. Though well taught in the schools of his time, he was practically self-educated in the new learning. As a youth he displayed marvelous quickness and intellectual power, and to these endowments he added extraordinary industry. He achieved a remarkably fine style in Latin; his facility in Greek was even greater. Erasmus studied and taught not only in his native country but in England, France, and Italy. As great a scholar as any in Italy, he differed from the Italian humanists in his motives. To him learning was not something to be pursued for one's own personal enjoyment and culture; it must have a social value and be directed toward the banishment of ignorance and the uplifting of humanity. Erasmus believed profoundly in the liberating effect of knowledge. He had a positive genius for popularizing the results of scholarship. Hardly any writer has been more widely read or known during his lifetime. A translation of one of his works, the *Enchiridion*, or "Manual of Christian Ethics," was seen by travelers in the rural hostels of Spain. A rumor that his *Colloquia*, or dialogues, was to fall under the ban of the church inspired a Paris bookseller to rush through the press a "final edition" of 24,000 copies of the work. "Of all scholars who have popularized scholarly literature Erasmus was the most



brilliant, the man whose aims were loftiest, and who produced lasting effects over the widest area."

Generally speaking, humanists were not reformers. Montaigne said, "There is nothing for which I wish to break my neck." Erasmus, however, was sensitive to the need of reform, especially the reform of the church. Characteristically he felt that education, in the wide sense, was the only effective means of lasting change. In his famous *Praise of Folly* he ridiculed certain abuses of the church with a sly wit more effective than loud polemics. In polished Latin, with Greek words and phrases interspersed, Erasmus wrote this treatise, so he said, for his own amusement. In a letter to Sir Thomas More, at whose home he finished the work, Erasmus asked, "Is it not unfair that we should permit those in all walks of life to play except the scholar?" Of the theologians he wrote, "They hedge themselves about with such an array of magisterial definitives, conclusions, corollaries, propositions explicate and implicate, and so abound in subterfuges, that chains forged by Vulcan himself could not hold them so firm but that they could escape by one of those destructions which enable them to cut all knots as easily as with a two-edged ax, so readily do they think up and rattle out new and prodigious terms and expressions." Not theologians only but priests and princes were subjects of his satire, sharp as Voltaire's, for their superstitions, follies, and lack of regard for the welfare of the people. Holbein illustrated the book, which passed through twenty-seven editions during the lifetime of its author. Over a hundred years later John Milton, at Cambridge University, found it "in everyone's hands."

A more serious contribution to the cause of religion were the editions by Erasmus of the works of St. Jerome and other Latin Fathers, and his translations from the works of the Greek Fathers. Eager to make known to all just what the Bible says, Erasmus published (1516) the New Testament in Greek, with his own Latin translation printed in a parallel column. He hoped that a flood of translations into the national languages would follow this publication of the Scriptures in convenient accessible form. "I long that the husbandman should sing them to himself as he follows the plow, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveler should beguile with them the uneasiness of his journey."

The many portraits of Erasmus by Holbein have made his features familiar. He was of medium height and graceful figure, highly organized nervously, and sensitive to his environment whether physical or intellectual. His fame was so great and his personality so attractive that Erasmus was the favored friend of popes and cardinals, emperors and kings. His correspondence entailed the writing on his part of as many as forty letters a day. Writing and reading brought him constant and increasing pleas-

ure. His refusal to take sides in the religious controversy of the day brought the charge, still made, that he was a trimmer. Erasmus himself said, though he was alluding to his physical abhorrence to the taste and even the smell of fish, "My heart is Catholic, my stomach is Lutheran." It would seem that active partisanship was impossible for this man.

Erasmus and later educators made classical studies the core of the curriculum of the schools of Europe. Even among the illiterate masses a species of classical knowledge became current, and parents named their children after the men and women of Greece and Rome: Vergil, Homer, Caesar, Aeneas, Diana, Julia, Lucretia, etc. This particular vogue has diminished, but the tradition of classical studies is still a living one. Moreover, we are still to some extent under the spell of the humanists' contempt for things medieval. Their self-centered and complacent view was that between their own brilliant civilization and that of antiquity there had been a long, dark, and dismal period of Gothic barbarism. This they called "the middle ages." In reality, the light of learning has never gone out. If there ever was a revival of learning, after the fall of Rome, it came in the twelfth century. Since then the trend has been steadily upward.

### Beginnings of Renaissance Art

Art has been defined as "the right way of doing right things." In learning what the men of any age thought were right things and what they thought was the right way of doing them, we can learn more than a little about the period in which they lived. In the middle ages men thought that the right thing to do in art as in life was to glorify God. Furthermore, in their art forms as in their worship they bowed to the authority of the church and followed its teaching. Indeed, an early church council had decreed (A.D. 787) that "the composition of religious imagery is not left to the initiative of artists, but is formed upon principles laid down by the Catholic Church and by religious traditions."

The greatest of medieval arts, the art around which all others centered, was architecture. Medieval men were devoted enthusiasts in building, especially the building of monasteries, churches, and cathedrals. The arts of painting and sculpture were pressed into service to decorate and adorn the house of God. Other arts not so closely related to architecture were nonetheless stamped with its impress—the making of furniture and jewelry, carving, the designing of seals and even of dress. Medieval art passed through two main phases, an earlier one known as Romanesque and a later and more mature phase called Gothic. Romanesque is to art what Romance is to language; both were Roman in origin. This early phase of medieval art lasted from the revival of building in stone, after

the fall of Rome, to the middle of the twelfth century. Massiveness is the principal quality of Romanesque cathedrals. The walls are thick and the windows small. The arches are semicircular. The piers and columns are heavy, as they have to be to bear the weight imposed upon them. The interior is dark.

Gothic, the art of the "high middle ages," that is, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was of northern inspiration, the first independent triumph of European art since the fall of Rome. Its origin was in the north of France and its development paralleled the evolution both of the kingdom of France and of the literature of the *langue d'oïl*. The change from Romanesque to Gothic is one from grand massiveness to airy delicacy. The Romanesque church, it has been said, was designed from the base upward; the Gothic church, from the vault downward. We must understand clearly that Gothic is a development out of Romanesque, however. The ground plan perfected by Romanesque builders was taken over intact by their Gothic successors. Gothic represents a change of spirit rather than of form. From France Gothic spread to England, then a cultural annex of the north of France. Neither in Germany nor in Italy did Gothic ever make itself at home; Roman traditions were too strong.

Sculpture in the earliest churches consisted of scrollwork and carved foliage employed as decorative features; statues were taboo. This prejudice against the use of the human figure gradually weakened and then vanished altogether as thousands of figures were carved in relief or set in niches to adorn the exterior of the larger cathedrals. The earlier figures were architectural in quality, holding themselves stiff and straight; they were conventional in style, conforming to the precepts of the church. With the coming of Gothic art, however, sculptors became more realistic, turning to nature for their models. Within the limits imposed by architecture and ecclesiastical convention the sculptors developed their art with genius; they almost managed to suggest that their figures, enveloped in draperies and anchored to their cathedral base, were living human beings. The carving in stone of leaves, flowers, and fruits was especially free and untrammelled in the later middle ages. Those who think that medieval man took no interest in nature should study the capitals of Southwell cathedral in England. Here is found, carved with great fidelity and beauty, every kind of leaf that grows in Sherwood Forest, on the borders of which this church still stands. In sculpture especially, Gothic realism had half freed itself from medievalism before the end of the thirteenth century.

The contribution of the middle ages in painting was slight and of comparatively little merit. Figures were not correctly drawn; they were forced into conventional, unnatural attitudes, and they were assembled in balanced groups. Color was laid on lavishly but with little harmony.

Landscapes where drawn were without perspective. The pictorial art of the middle ages was at its best in mosaics and stained glass.

It was in the north, perhaps, that a new spirit in art first found expression. There was the true home of Gothic and of Gothic realism. There no overpowering tradition of classicism remained to dazzle, confuse, and restrain. The Flemish cities supplied the essential environment. Here were princes and prince-bishops, merchants and civic bodies, as eager to commission artists, in the later middle ages, as were their Italian counterparts to patronize scholars. The first artist to free himself "with tolerable completeness" from medieval restraints was the Flemish sculptor Claus Sluter. His patron was a younger son of the king of France, Philip, duke of Burgundy, who had acquired the county of Flanders by marriage in 1384. Sluter's earliest work dates from 1385. His masterpiece was a group of statues (1403) in the courtyard of the abbey of Champol near Dijon, the Burgundian capital. The figures of this group are not tied to an architectural base, and their draperies suggest ordinary clothing, not a stone casing. Among the figures was one of Christ on the Cross, of which only the head remains. There is not a trace of the medieval about it; it is simply the head of "a man who has met death bravely and in death found peace."

Flemish painting, also, made steady progress toward the free depiction of man and nature. This is seen in the miniatures with which the manuscripts of the period were embellished. Wealthy patrons were enabled to catch, in the books of devotion to which habit or convention bound them, glimpses of the world they dearly loved. Progress toward realism reached a decisive stage in the work of the two brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck (d. 1426, 1440). In their works we find expressed for the first time the idea that a painting should be a faithful representation of the real world. The princely and commercial aristocrats of Flanders were their patrons, and the brothers worked mainly in Ghent and Bruges. The portrait paintings of Jan van Eyck are especially famous; that of "John Arnolfini and His Wife," for example, is a masterpiece of truth and inspired observation. Other painters of the Flemish school only less famous than the Van Eycks were Roger van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, Dierick Bouts, Hans Memling, Gerard David, and Quentin Matsys. From Flanders the new style spread to France and Germany, and later on to other regions of northern and western Europe, each country gradually developing what may be called a national school.

### Art in Italy

Italy yielded more slowly to the new spirit in art. The artistic prestige of Byzantium stifled innovation. Medieval art in Italy had become a

particularly stiff and formalized presentation of religious dogma in the Eastern fashion, and escape was difficult. Sculptors were the first to break the Byzantine bonds. The German emperor Frederick II had gathered at his court in Sicily a group of artists who went to antiquity for their inspiration, one of them modeling a statue of his patron directly after that of a Roman Caesar. Among these sculptors was Niccola Pisano, who later migrated to the north Italian city from which he takes his name. There he found Byzantine traditions still dominant. Under the influence of his Sicilian experience and training, however, Niccola made artistic history, in 1260, with his pulpit for the baptistery of Pisa. This he decorated with a series of statuettes imitated from those on Roman sarcophagi and scarcely distinguishable in character from the work of ancient sculptors.

Pisa and the neighboring cities of Tuscany were in close touch with the north in those days. Florentine and Sienese merchants and bankers had important connections with the fairs of Champagne and the industries of Flanders. The "capital" of the great international order of the Cistercians, with its many houses in Tuscany, was in the north of France. Gothic sculpture, then at its best, was well known in Pisa, and Niccola Pisano responded immediately to Gothic realism. In 1268 he decorated a pulpit in the cathedral of Siena with figures which faithfully reflected the spirit of the northern craftsmen. His son Giovanni Pisano, who had never worked in the south of Italy, was still more responsive to Gothic influence, and his sculptured figures on the façade of the cathedral of Siena are in the best traditions of Gothic realism.

Meanwhile Italian painting was developing along similar lines. The connection between the art of painting and the art of sculpture is close, and changes in the one are quickly reflected in the other. The earliest signs of the new spirit in painting were seen in Siena. Duccio di Buoninsegna, the first great painter of Siena, was a contemporary of Giovanni Pisano. His greatest work was a religious painting called the "Maesta," representing the Virgin and Child, saints and angels, and scenes from the life of Christ. This work, completed in 1311, was installed in the cathedral with great ceremony. Seven of its panels are now housed in as many different collections outside Siena and five others have been lost, but enough remains to justify its fame. While the framework of the various scenes is still Byzantine, the figures are no longer stiff and dehumanized but natural and lifelike. The buildings in the background are not "Oriental abstractions," but the buildings of Siena itself. Duccio was the first Italian painter to break the spell, and he was followed in Siena by a whole school of painters.

Greater than Duccio the Sienese was Giotto the Florentine (1266-1336), called the founder of Italian painting. He was the illustrator of the

life and works of St. Francis. In his many frescoes adorning the walls of the Franciscan churches of Florence, Assisi, and Padua, Giotto reveals himself as a supreme storyteller. It was the desire to tell his stories with full dramatic effect that led him to break with the conventions of medievalism. One of his great achievements was the creation of three-dimensional space, his murals giving a sense of reality previously unknown. Medieval in his outlook on life and attitude of mind, Giotto was modern in his methods.

Complete emancipation of Italian art came in sculpture first of all; the place was Florence and the year, 1401. A competition was held for the commission to design and cast the bronze door at the northern entrance of the baptistery. Among the seven great artists who submitted designs were Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Jacopo della Quercia. Ghiberti won, and he later cast the eastern door as well—"worthy to be the gate of Paradise," as Michelangelo put it. It cannot be said that Ghiberti's figures are either Gothic or antique; they are merely the free, unhampered expression of his genius, which is what all the moderns of the later middle ages aimed at, whatever their medium of expression. Ghiberti's love of nature and of the beautiful in nature is shown in the charming frieze of fruits, foliage, and animals on the door casings. "I have always sought for first principles," Ghiberti wrote, "as to how nature works in herself and how I may approach her." Della Quercia, an early rival of Ghiberti, later surpassed him. His noble sculptural figures on the portal of San Petronio at Bologna (1425-1438) were destined to awaken the slumbering genius of Michelangelo.

### Full Tide of the Renaissance

The full tide of the Renaissance in the art of sculpture came with the work of Donatello (1386-1466). His principal works remain in his native city of Florence, in his day the center of Italian art. Donatello's bronze "David" was the first nude figure cast in bronze, and designed independently of an architectural setting, since ancient times. The most famous of his works, however, is his marble statue of "St. George," the face and figure of which express to the full the self-confidence and the restless energy of the Renaissance. At Padua is Donatello's statue of the Italian soldier of fortune, Gattamelata. This superb work, which portrays a powerful and spirited horse surmounted by a rider of great strength and majesty, was the first equestrian statue since the fall of Rome.

The greatest sculptor of the Renaissance, and indeed the greatest since the Greeks, was that many-sided genius Michelangelo (1475-1564). His early works show how strongly he was influenced by Donatello. Later, Michelangelo's genius expressed itself in a manner that is of no

period or school but that was native to himself. It is true that the influence of ancient art remains strong in such works as his "David" and the "Slaves." But Michelangelo's figures have a power of suggesting restrained movement and suppressed emotion that may be searched for elsewhere in vain. Perhaps no other sculptor ancient or modern has attained such anatomical perfection in the portrayal of the human body. In the hands of Michelangelo the human form, like a musical instrument, sounds forth the sombre music of his soul.

In painting, the new spirit finally found such full expression as to make it the greatest of all the arts of this period. Giotto's innovations were elaborated by his followers for a full century. Then came a genius whose work was revolutionary. Masaccio, a younger contemporary of Donatello in Florence, was born in 1401 and painted his masterpieces between the ages of twenty and twenty-six. These are frescoes illustrating stories of the Bible, painted on the walls of the Carmelite church in Florence. With the inspiration of genius Masaccio succeeded in painting things the way they look. He saw that in nature form and mass are not defined by lines but by color, light, and shadow. He saw also that distant objects not only seem smaller but less clearly defined. These are fundamental principles in painting. Masaccio's figures have individuality and personality. The broad effects which he achieved in representing naturalness were elaborated by his successors during the next half-century. There is space here for only the barest outline of this fascinating story; the merest mention can be made of the multitude of artists whose eager and strenuous activity have permanently enriched the world. Some studied perspective, others the use of light and shadow (*chiaroscuro*), still others the blending of colors. Fra Filippo Lippi (d. 1469) devoted himself to portraying the beauty to be found in common folk. Botticelli (d. 1510) so far escaped from medievalism as to illustrate classical themes popular among the highly cultured Florentines of his day. That the Italian artists were in love with life is shown by their delight in color and their fascination with form.

The great genius who summed up all the experiments into a complete whole and founded the grand style of Italian painting was Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519). He has been called "the finest intelligence that ever applied itself to the painter's art." His "Last Supper," a fresco painted in 1498, now much damaged, is commonly considered one of the world's greatest paintings. Leonardo's subtlety in the use of light and shadow has never been equaled. His word to the imitators of Masaccio's naturalism was, "Choose the more gracious aspects of reality." Always experimenting, Leonardo has left us very little of his finished product; much of his work was only half finished, some of it barely begun.

The genius of Raphael (1483-1520), a younger contemporary, was confident and unquestioning. He produced a masterpiece at sixteen and was famous at twenty-one. During a short residence at Florence and a longer one at Rome, this handsome and brilliantly gifted young man was the favorite in turn of the Medici and of two successive popes. All the world knows his madonnas, half pagan, half Christian, wholly feminine and lovable. Later and more intellectual are the paintings which decorate the walls of four antechambers (*stanze*) of the Vatican Palace in Rome. In one of these rooms, the Camera della Segnatura, Raphael sums up the thought of his times on religion, law, philosophy, and the arts, "the props of a perfect society."

Michelangelo the supreme sculptor was also one of the greatest of painters; sculptor, painter, architect, poet, he was "four souls in one." He was already famous as a sculptor when he turned to painting. His masterpiece, a group of frescoes on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome, was a work commissioned by Pope Julius II. Michelangelo labored at these frescoes four years under a constant strain of looking upwards that left his eyes distorted and his body temporarily crippled. The series tells the familiar story of the Creation, the Fall, and the Redemption of man. After a lapse of twenty-one years Michelangelo portrayed the Last Judgment on the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel, a seven-year task. As a painter Michelangelo was still a sculptor, employing the human figure to express his moods, not infrequently doubtful, pessimistic, even bitter.

Florence was long the center of the Renaissance. Toward the close of the fifteenth century, however, Rome displaced her. This was due in part to the beginning of the wars between France and Spain and in part to the intelligent patronage of the two great Renaissance popes, Julius II (1503-1513) and Leo X (1513-1521). Still later Venice became, in painting at least, the premier city of the peninsula. Indeed, the contribution of the Venetian school to Italian painting is a most important one. The painting of Venice is more sensual, less intellectual, than that of Florence. The Venetians loved life in all its richness; they delighted in color. As sheer painters they were the best in Italy. Two brothers, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini (d. 1507, 1516), first brought fame to Venice. The older brother was summoned to Constantinople to paint a portrait of Mohammed II, its conqueror. The chief glory of Venetian painting was Titian (c. 1479-1576), whose long life was a series of ever greater accomplishments. His works show the highest technical skill combined with strong though controlled feeling. His portraits are especially notable for their psychological insight—"dramas in one act" they have been called. Tintoretto (1518-1594) was the last of the great painters of Venice and of Italy. Spectacular and grandiose, his works indicate that Italian painting had passed its



best period. It is related that when this intrepid painter was a youth, Titian drove him from his studio.

### Renaissance Architecture

In the architectural history of the later middle ages the Italians were first and foremost. In no aspect of its culture had Italy experienced greater variety than in architecture. Byzantine, Norman, Saracen, Lombard, even Gothic schools, had each had a following in various parts of the peninsula. Some of the most famous buildings in Italy date from the period before the Renaissance. Among these are the Byzantine cathedral of St. Mark (Venice), the Gothic *duomo* of Milan, the Romanesque cathedral and the Leaning Tower of Pisa, and the Gothic bell tower of Florence. For a thousand years, however, no Italian architect had thought of imitating the Roman buildings whose ruins were so plainly to be seen on every hand. Medieval builders were more prone to use Roman ruins as quarries than as models.

The revival of classical culture engendered a revival of classical architecture. Architects became archaeologists and studied ruined arches and broken columns with passionate eagerness. They began by borrowing decorative designs. In Florence, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the wealthy nobles were busily building palatial homes. Palaces were fortresses as well as places of residence in those days. Inspired by their love of classical models, the architects of Florence began to refine the rugged buildings. Dressed stone was used in the upper stories, the windows were enlarged and made more decorative, and cornices were added. In the interiors the architects gave free play to their love of the antique. Rows of columns and pilasters were introduced, with capitals of the classical orders. The beginnings of Renaissance architecture can best be seen in the Florentine palaces of the fifteenth century.

Renaissance architecture produced more secular buildings than churches, but even the churches seem to have been built for the use and delight of man here and now. It is clear that the artists were highly pleased with themselves and with their work. Details of decoration fascinated them. Significantly, most of the early architects began as sculptors.

A recent critic has said that Renaissance architecture is disappointing; its spark of genius was smothered and extinguished by the classical revival. The sculptors, who had few antique models to work with, did better work than architects, he avers, and the painters, who had no classical models at all, produced the greatest of the masterpieces of the Renaissance. There is some truth in this. Many Renaissance architects confessed themselves to be slavish imitators, conscientious copiers, of

classical models. In decorative designs, especially, there was much of exact reproduction but the criticism is too severe. Renaissance architecture was a fresh expression of inventive genius in spite of the fact that it was classical in spirit, as is seen in its emphasis upon symmetry and proportion, its refinement of design, and its avoidance of the exaggerated and the bizarre.

We have space here for mention of but two or three of the many architects of genius. The first of these is Brunelleschi (1377-1446). Defeated in the famous competition of the bronze doors, the young sculptor left for Rome, where he plunged into the study of Roman remains. He returned to Florence in 1403, and this year is commonly accepted as the birth year of Renaissance architecture. Brunelleschi's greatest achievement was the rearing of the dome of the cathedral of Florence, a task that had baffled architects for half a century. More completely expressive of his art, however, is the little chapel he built for the Pazzi family in the cloisters of the church of Santa Croce. This is the first structure to be built in Italy which was completely and consistently Renaissance throughout. No little of its attractiveness derives from the sculptures of Donatello and della Robbia which adorn it. Brunelleschi also submitted designs for the new palace which Cosimo de' Medici was planning to erect and in which he proposed to house his library of manuscripts and his other classical treasures. He was not successful, for the wealthy and cultivated Florentine preferred the designs of a rival.

Next to Brunelleschi in his influence upon the development of architecture in the fifteenth century was Alberti (1404-1472). The Ruccelai palace, which he built about 1450, has in it none but Roman elements. Alberti shaped architectural growth not so much through his buildings, however, as through his writings. He wrote, in all, ten books on the art of building. After Alberti the architectural center of Italy was transferred from Florence to Rome. This was a result chiefly of the work of the great architect Bramante (1444-1514). Beginning his artistic career as a painter, Bramante turned to architecture and won a reputation in Milan. Going to Rome, he was engaged by Pope Julius II (1503-1513) as the architect for the new St. Peter's. Bramante's design was, in his own view, strictly classical. "I want to raise the Roman Pantheon on the vaults of the Temple of Peace," he said. Actually he designed a building such as the Romans had never built and indeed could never have built. Bramante died a few years after the first stone was laid, but he had lived long enough to make sure that a large part of his plan would be carried out. Even in its lessened form St. Peter's has proved to be one of the world's greatest monuments. Raphael succeeded Bramante as its architect, but perhaps fortunately both for him and for St. Peter's, times were hard and the

project stood still. Then came the turn of Michelangelo and he, adopting Bramante's design, erected the dome, St. Peter's best feature.

### Northern Art

In the north of Europe the new art had made an early and important beginning, but Italy soon became a greater artistic center than Flanders. Indeed, the northern artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were overawed by the glories of Italian art, and a long line of distinguished painters and sculptors of Flanders and France during the sixteenth century were imitative rather than original. French worship of Italian culture owed not a little to the leadership of the kings of France, who not only brought back from Italy paintings, statues, and *objets d'art* in general, but also prevailed upon Italian artists to forsake their native cities and follow the French court northward. The greatest of these expatriates was Leonardo da Vinci, who died in 1519 at Amboise. Another was the liar and braggart Benvenuto Cellini, the greatest goldsmith of his age and producer of at least one masterpiece of sculpture, the bronze "Perseus." French architecture became definitely Italianate in the sixteenth century. Here, however, the French national spirit remained assertive; the French had long shown creative skill in architecture. The typical product of French architecture in the new age was a palace, not a cathedral. Charles VIII built at Amboise the palace in which Leonardo died. The French nobility caught the fever, and palace after palace began to take form. The Loire valley became especially famous for its Renaissance palaces, that of Blois being perhaps the best of all. In the last year of his reign Francis I began building what was destined to become, after some centuries of elaboration, the largest and most famous palace in Europe, the Louvre.

Art in Germany during this period was limited in output and of a second order of merit. It owed something to Flemish influence, more to Italian, but most of all to the native ability of a few great artists. Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) would have been the equal of the Italians had he been born in Italy. He was a thinker as well as a painter, a friend of German humanists. His fame today rests upon his engravings, which have never been surpassed. Hans Holbein (1497-1543), like Dürer, owed something to the Flemings but he had visited Italy. His portraits are among the best produced anywhere in Europe. Those of Erasmus are especially familiar. Holbein lived in England for a time, and there painted his well-known portraits of Henry VIII and several of his queens. England could boast of no painter or sculptor of its own at this period, and even in its architecture was still working along medieval lines,

ignoring the Renaissance. Spanish art owed something to the Italians in its beginnings but more to its own environment. Its development and its influence on Europe will be dealt with later.

### Beginnings of National Literatures

It is significant that European literature in the vernacular first appeared in lands farthest from Rome. Anglo-Saxon England, Germany, and Scandinavia were a long way from Rome, culturally as well as physically. Few wrote in Latin in those lands in the earlier medieval centuries because Latin had few readers. Literature in the Teutonic countries, therefore, began in the vernacular. Its first appearance was in the seventh century. It was many centuries before a native literature appeared in France or Christian Spain, where writers in the vernacular had to compete with Latin. Finally, but not until the thirteenth century was well advanced, a native literature in Italian challenged the supremacy of Latin in its last stronghold. At no time did these beginnings of modern literature greatly concern contemporary scholars and men of letters, who nearly all continued to use Latin for literary purposes. Yet the laity, no less than the clergy, had ideas and emotions to express, and it was inevitable that they should find means for the expression of their thoughts and an outlet for their imagination in their native tongues.

Religious feeling, war, adventure, travel, and love were the main themes of this literature of the laity. Poetry was the usual form of expression, and many rhymed verse forms were employed. Poets in various countries and through successive centuries worked over standard themes, employing the same sets of characters and the same incidents to produce the famous romance cycles, Carolingian, Arthurian, and Classical. Transmitted orally at first, these cycles were later written down, but circulation of the expensively produced manuscripts was necessarily limited. Throughout the middle ages a multiplicity of dialects persisted. The masterpiece of medieval literature in the vernacular was of course the *Divine Comedy* of Dante (1265-1321). This great epic sums up the fundamental ideas of the middle ages; indeed, it is the highest and the most complete expression of medieval life.

The revolution in learning had marked effects—not always fortunate—on the new literatures. The humanists had a strong bias against all things medieval, including the crude speech of medieval people. Latin and Greek were regarded as the languages of culture. Petrarch lavished his time and energy on achieving a polished Latin style. He wrote love sonnets in his native tongue but accounted them of no value in comparison with his classical writings, though the present age has challenged this opinion.

Erasmus wrote all his treatises in Latin or Greek. Sir Thomas More, though a layman and writing on a theme so modern that all of its author's hopes have not yet been realized, wrote his *Utopia* in Latin. On the other hand, the influences working for the swift development in the native literatures were strong. Of these the most important, obviously, was not the new learning but the invention of printing. Printing made possible for the first time popular participation in the enjoyment of literature. The first book printed in England (by William Caxton, 1477) was in the English language. Printing also was a great factor in reducing the number of dialects in a given country, a necessary stage in the evolution of a single national tongue. To this standardization the humanists contributed substantially. Recovering in time from their infatuation with Latin and Greek, they began to apply their critical methods to the vernacular tongues, producing dictionaries and grammars of individual languages and comparative studies of various languages. The first great product of the new science of philology was a treatise by the Swiss humanist Konrad von Gesner published in 1553, in which the author displayed his familiarity with over one hundred languages, and printed the Lord's Prayer in twenty-two of them.

### Characteristics of the New Literature

The classical revival supplied writers in the vernacular with an abundance of themes. In the literary masterpieces of the sixteenth century—epics and dramas, for the most part—the characters, the scenes, the plots, and even the forms are frequently classical. Shakespeare's indebtedness to the classical world is too familiar to require illustration. Edmund Spenser (c. 1552–1599) was more truly a child of the Renaissance than was the many-sided Shakespeare. Italian poets responded to the classical stimulus still earlier. Ariosto (1474–1533), following classical forms, produced the famous romantic epic *Orlando Furioso*, a work written for pure enjoyment, which “sensed better the interests of Italy in its day than Machiavelli's statecraft or Savonarola's sermons.” Tasso (1544–1595) wrote *Jerusalem Delivered*, a Christian Iliad, as he called it, on the theme of the crusades. A lesser epic, though the greatest of its own land, was the *Lusiad* of Luís de Camoëns (1524–1580). Here the national poet of Portugal celebrated the heroic deeds of his countrymen in the Indian Ocean, where the writer himself had fought.

One of the more obvious features of the national literatures of the sixteenth century was a delight in all sides of life. The asceticism of the middle ages had given way to a new and healthy freedom. A typical exponent of this phase of literature was the French writer Rabelais (c. 1495–1553). A renegade monk, he enjoyed such fame and favor as humanist and satirist

that no less a personage than King Francis I stood between him and the penalties of the church. He wrote an entertaining book based on a local legend of a giant named Gargantua, and followed this by an entirely original story in four volumes of Pantagruel, the giant's son. The obscenity of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, however characteristic of the century, repels the modern reader, but this element is incidental. The advice of Rabelais to the men of his time was to make the most of the world about them. "Eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow we live" was his motto. Another example of even more unrestrained delight in the things of this world is the *Memoirs* of Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571). Cellini's life, with its many amours and a few homicides, must have been exciting enough without the fanciful embellishments with which the writer decks it out. Cervantes (1547-1616) wrote a merry travesty on the romances of medieval chivalry in *Don Quixote* (see p. 122), which reveals the same love of life that is seen in Rabelais.

The irreligion of some writers was outweighed by a deep sense of religious compulsion which animated many others. Luther's translation of the Bible into German and his three controversial treatises hold a high place in the history of the German language and literature. Luther did much to make the New High German dialect of his writings the national speech of the Germans. His hymns, written in German and translated into other languages, were sung by millions in their own tongue. The *Book of Common Prayer* (1552) of Archbishop Cranmer marks an important stage in the evolution of English literature. The translation of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola were the two most important books of the Reformation in France and Spain respectively, and they have considerable merit as literature as well. The contemporary controversy over religion was waged through rival printing presses as well as by fire and sword, and one authority estimates that nearly a million volumes appeared in Germany in every year of the sixteenth century.

Finally, we should note the very considerable literature inspired by national patriotism and, in turn, contributing to it. Machiavelli wrote his *History of Florence* to throw light on the past of his native city, and *The Prince* as a guide for those who might rule its future. Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540) wrote a *History of Italy* which is notable for its objectivity, but marred by a pessimism which under the circumstances was natural enough. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), "the Herodotus of Art," sought to immortalize the painters, sculptors, and architects of his native land in his *Lives of Italian Artists*. As it happened, they did not need his help. The Frenchman Jean Bodin (1530-1596) wrote a treatise on government still valued as a contribution to the history of European thought. His

conclusion that the absolutists were right was doubtless influenced by his thought of what was best for France, then in the throes of civil war.

For England well-nigh the whole of the sixteenth century was a time of national danger, culminating in the long war with Spain. The patriotic pride of Englishmen, their exuberant self-confidence, helped to make the Elizabethan age the greatest in the annals of English literature. The queen, as symbol of England, was the object of the lavish adoration of Spenser, Jonson, and many others. The adventures of the English seamen, discoverers and explorers of the unimagined wonders of the New World, were collected and preserved by Richard Hakluyt (d. 1616) and by Samuel Purchas (d. 1626) in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages . . . and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over Land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth*. The patriotic fervor of the English reached its most complete expression in the work of William Shakespeare. The ever recurrent theme which has made of his *Richard II* a national epic attained a climax of poetic expression in the following passage:

This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
This other Eden, demi-paradise;  
This fortress built by Nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war;  
This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier lands;  
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

### Science

Of all the fields of knowledge cultivated by the ancients, science was the last to be re-entered by medieval man. Men were taught by the church to strive first of all to attain salvation, and were told that it might be best to close their eyes to the world about them. In this matter, if in little else, the Greek church agreed with the Roman. After Justinian closed the schools of Athens in 529, Greek science expired. In the West, nature remained something of a forbidden book for centuries. The Carolingian Renaissance, of first-rate importance in the field of education, did not bring a new attitude toward nature. There was no real change until the twelfth century.

Meanwhile exiled Greek scholars had made their way to Persia, where they found a welcome at the court of Chosroes I. Persian scholars, grounded in their own scientific learning, chiefly mathematical and as-

tronomical, assimilated the treasures of Greek knowledge. They became familiar also with Hindu science, especially in the field of mathematics, when scholars were drawn to the Persian capital from India. The Persian capital became an intellectual center greater than any in the West. With the conquest of Persia by the Moslems, the whole heritage of Greek, Persian, and Hindu science passed to the Arabs. Bagdad was now the seat of a scientific renaissance in the East, and treatises and translations of the Bagdad scientists were disseminated throughout the Moslem world, the Arabic tongue becoming the language of scholarship. Palermo, in Sicily, and Granada, Toledo, Seville, and Cordova, in Spain, thus came to be important centers for the teaching and the study of science. Translation into Latin followed, much of the work of translating being done by educated Jews resident in Spain who sought a European market for their writings. Thus did Greek science, the door at Constantinople being closed, find its way slowly to the Christian West through Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain.

Let us review the little that medieval man knew about science. In mathematics a really important advance over ancient times was made with the introduction of a new system of notation, the Arabic numerals, the alphabet of modern arithmetic. Algebra, developed by the Arabs as far as quadratics and given its name, was familiar to scholars. To the Greek geometry of Euclid had been added plane and spherical trigonometry. Of astronomy the men of the middle ages had a respectable knowledge. They could calculate latitude and longitude and make use of the sextant; they prepared tables showing the movements of the stars; they attempted to foretell eclipses and work out the precession of the equinoxes. The necessity for a further correction in the calendar was understood. No scientific scholar of the middle ages believed that the earth was flat.

In the field of medicine the knowledge of medieval man was small, but he made considerable use of it in practice. The works of Galen the Greek were recovered entire through translations from the Arabic. The Arabs themselves had used Galen extensively and had established a school of medicine at Salerno. The original contributions of the Arabs were in the field of medical herbs and drugs; the whole of the pharmacopoeia as we now have it, excepting chemical compounds, thus came into the possession of medieval Europe. To the sum total of this Greek-Arab knowledge medieval physicians made practically no contribution. Nor is this surprising. Human anatomy, the foundation of all medical knowledge, was closed to research by clerical prohibition. The only anatomy known to the middle ages was that which was learned from poor copies of Greek portrayals.

In public health much advance was **made**, especially in the larger



cities. Milan in the thirteenth century had two hundred physicians, some of them employed by the city itself to minister to the poor. Hospitals were numerous; in fact, many of the hospitals of Europe today are of medieval foundation. In the treatment of contagious diseases medieval authorities were more modern than those of any succeeding age except the most recent. Their treatment was segregation. Plague, tuberculosis, leprosy, anthrax, and other diseases were recognized as such and isolated. Quarantine (*quarantena*, forty days) was first instituted at Venice in the fourteenth century. Finally, and it is a fact that merits undying gratitude, leprosy was stamped out in Europe.

We have noted in many fields the new spirit in life, the secular, inquiring, self-reliant spirit of modern times. It would be natural to expect that in science swift progress would come and epochal changes take place. Progress was made, but it was neither great nor rapid. Most of the best minds of the Renaissance were interested in art and literature rather than in science. Humanism was not a scientific movement. Moreover, religious upheavals soon brought in their train a revival of intolerance which hampered the work of scientists.

### Medicine

In medical knowledge advance came first in anatomy, an obvious field of inquiry. So far as medieval scholars were concerned, Hippocrates and Galen had described the human body once and for all. Their works, incomplete and full of errors, enjoyed a wider authority than ever when printed by the Aldine press in 1525. It was easier for some sixteenth-century scholars to ignore the prohibitions of the church than to doubt the Greeks. The first great anatomist of modern times is Vesalius (1514-1564), a Fleming who became professor of surgery in the University of Padua and the medical adviser, in turn, of Charles V and Philip II. Vesalius preferred his own eyesight to the observations of the Greeks, whose anatomical errors he repeatedly demonstrated. In 1543 he summed up the anatomical knowledge of his age in a book called *De corporis humani fabrica*. Two Italian contemporaries, Fallopio and Eustachio, made discoveries of parts of the body which still bear their names, and a Spaniard, Servetus, announced that the blood circulates through the lungs. Both Fallopio and Eustachio thought Vesalius had gone too far in doubting the Greeks. This was also true of the Frenchman Rondolet, who built at Montpellier, in 1556, the first amphitheater of anatomy. Paracelsus (c. 1493-1541), a popular Swiss physician who dabbled in chemistry, repudiated the study of anatomy altogether and still looked to the stars for help in the treatment of disease. At the close of the sixteenth century,

then, anatomy had scarcely escaped from Galen. The authorities still frowned upon dissection, and for a long time to come medical students felt obliged to resort to body snatching. In the study of the functions of the body, or physiology, little advance was made; there, too, Galen was a stumbling block.

### Astronomy

An important first step was taken in astronomy. The medieval view of the universe was a mixture of Christian theology and Aristotelian astronomy. A sharp distinction was made between things terrestrial and things celestial. Earth was heavy, gross, and imperfect. The heavens, an enclosing sphere in which were imbedded, as it were, the sun, moon, planets, and fixed stars, were superior in quality, of a different order of creation in which all was perfection. The earth stood still, furthermore, while the enclosing celestial sphere turned about, completing a revolution once in every twenty-four hours. To be sure, some of the heavenly bodies, the moon and the planets, pursue varying courses of their own which are apparent to the casual observer; the sun does not always rise and set at the same point on the horizon. The best explanation of these special movements within the one great motion was that offered as early as the second century by Ptolemy, who had devised an ingenious hypothesis of secondary circles (epicycles) geared to a primary circle.

The new navigation stimulated astronomical research, and the printing press made astronomical knowledge available to an increased number of scholars. The German Johann Müller (1436-1476) corrected the astronomical tables of the time, a wealthy merchant having built an observatory for him. It should be borne in mind, of course, that the telescope had not been invented. Then came the contribution of Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543), a native of Poland. Having studied medicine at Cracow and Vienna, Copernicus made his way to the universities of Italy, where he turned to the study of mathematics and astronomy. Returning to Poland, he examined the prevailing theory of an earth-centered universe with the aid of mathematics and in the light of observed phenomena. In his reading of classical authors, he had been struck by the theory of the Pythagorean philosophers that the motions of the heavenly bodies are more easily understood if we suppose that the earth rotates on its own axis and follows an orbit around the sun. Copernicus then began a slow accumulation of data, more mathematical than observational, in support of the Pythagorean or heliocentric view. He did not reject the medieval cosmology as a whole, but it seemed to him that the Ptolemaic view was too complicated and irrational. He took it for granted, furthermore, that the orbit of the earth, as of all heavenly bodies, was a perfect circle.

Copernicus worked at his book all his life, half afraid to publish such a revolutionary thesis. Finally, as he lay dying, the first copies of his work were brought to him (*De revolutionibus orbium*, 1543). The pope pronounced the heliocentric theory "false and altogether opposed to Holy Scripture," and Luther called Copernicus a fool and pointed out that Joshua had commanded the sun, not the earth, to stand still. The few men of science who were interested found the too exclusively mathematical and theoretical data of Copernicus a disappointment. The special effect of the book was to emphasize the need for observational data.

~ This need was supplied to some degree by Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), a Dane of noble birth. Travel and study in Germany first awakened his interest in astronomy, and shortly after his return to Denmark he observed a new star, which he was convinced after careful observation was more distant than the moon and which, moreover, did not share in the motions of the planets. Shortly thereafter he received from the king the gift of an island, with ample funds for the construction and maintenance thereon of an astronomical observatory. There Tycho Brahe assembled the best instruments Europe afforded and for more than twenty years carried on a series of observations which added immensely to the body of astronomical data. He determined with a high degree of exactness the position of 777 fixed stars and estimated the length of the year to within one second. However, he never accepted the Copernican theory, but held that while five of the planets revolve about the sun, the latter with its accompanying cortege moves in a circle around the earth.

A beneficial by-product of the new astronomy was calendar reform. The Julian calendar, under which men had lived for more than sixteen centuries, had provided for a 365-day year with an additional day in February once in four years. This calendar (47 B.C.), itself eliminating an error which had accumulated a deficit of eighty-five days, overshot the mark by the merest trifle, but in sixteen hundred years an error of ten days had been built up. In 1582, under the auspices of the papacy, the days from October 5 to 15 were dropped and, for the future, the number of leap years was slightly reduced. At that particular time Protestant countries were not accepting papal leadership of any kind, and it was long before the Gregorian calendar was introduced in England and Germany. It is only recently that Russia has fallen into line.

## Geography

We have seen that the age of discoveries was accompanied by the development of the science of geography. To represent the world graphically on a flat surface was comparatively simple when the known part of it



POPE JULIUS II (*pp. 5 and 11*)

An engraving from a painting by Raphael. Julius founded the Vatican museum and laid the foundation stone of St. Peter's.

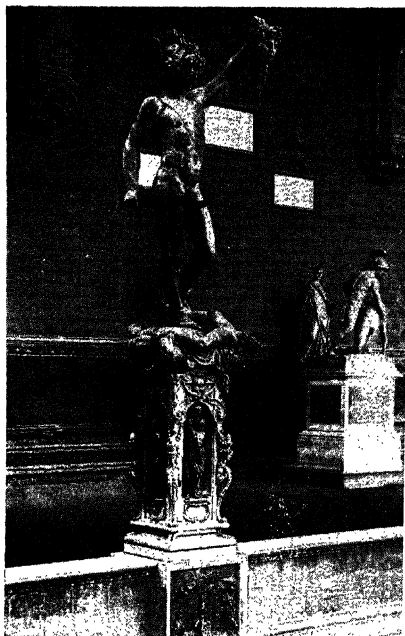


ERASMUS (*pp. 59-61*)

By Hans Holbein the Younger, friend of the famous humanist.



PANORAMA OF FLORENCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (*pp. 9-10*)



PERSEUS

By Benvenuto Cellini (*p. 70*)



GATTAMELATA

By Donatello (*p. 65*)

These works are typical of the Italian Renaissance.



BASILICA OF ST. PETER, ROME (*pp. 69-70, 301*)

To move the 75-ton obelisk from its former place in Rome and erect it on its new site, 800 feet away, occupied the labor of one hundred horses and a thousand men for a year and a half.

was small. New discoveries and explorations produced a body of geographical knowledge with which mapmakers struggled unsuccessfully for half a century. Copernicus turned his mind to the problem and is credited with having evolved the first simple formula of spherical trigonometry. Another mathematician solved the mapmaking problem in a way which became famous. Gerhard Kremer (1512-1594) was a Fleming resident in Louvain, where he spent his life making maps, globes, and astronomical instruments. Adopting the Latin name of Mercator, he published in 1569 a map of the world on a new plan. His method was to project the spherical surface of the earth onto a cylinder tangent to the earth at the equator and with an axis equal to that of the earth. Lines of latitude are parallel to each other, therefore; and lines of longitude, also parallel to each other, are perpendicular to the lines of latitude. Portions of the earth's surface remote from the equator, thrown out of proportion, appear larger than they are, and to this circumstance is due our exaggerated notion of the size of Greenland. Mercator's Projection, however, has been and still remains of especial value to navigators, since a ship or plane keeping a constant course traces a straight line on the map.

On the whole, the scientific achievements of the sixteenth century were only a narrow path through a wilderness of ignorance and superstition. Most men still believed that gold could be derived from baser metals, that there existed somewhere a fountain of perpetual youth, that the stars controlled the actions of men, and above all that the Devil had a personal existence and under many forms led a very active life. The scientists themselves were not sure of their way; their works abound in references to the occult. Indeed, there was a definite increase in one phase of superstition, namely, sorcery and witchcraft. The Bible-reading habit of the Protestants may help to explain the witchcraft terror in northern Europe, especially prevalent in Sweden and Scotland. ("Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.") Belief in sorcery was universal. Scarcely a state trial during the sixteenth century failed to reveal it as one of the important counts in the accusation against the defendant. Many an Italian ruler kept an official sorcerer in his pay along with an official astrologer and poisoner. Charlatans took quick advantage of the general belief in mysterious powers; they stood ready, for a substantial fee, to destroy anyone's enemy by making a waxen image and melting it over a slow fire. Scarcely a government in Europe failed to promulgate laws in repression of witches. A ferocious statute enacted in England in 1541, for example, was re-enacted with still more ferocious penalties in 1603. Old women were favorite victims, and children, out of spite or simple exhibitionism, were the commonest accusers. Torture was the universal technique for eliciting infor-

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## CHAPTER IV

### *The Reformation and the Founding of State Churches*

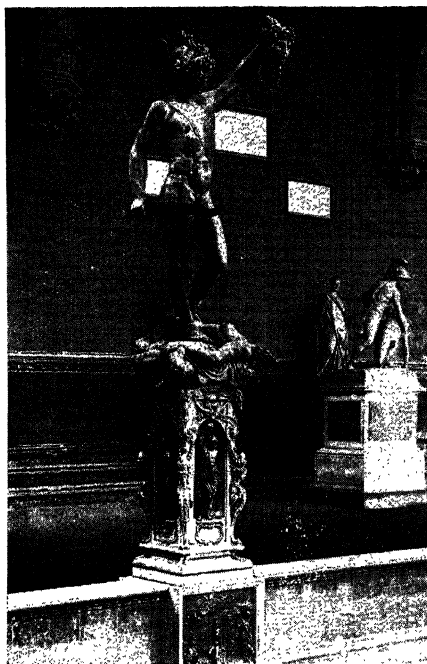
ONE OF THE most striking phenomena of the sixteenth century was the establishment of state churches. In England, Scotland, the Netherlands, the states of northern and central Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, churches were organized which looked to the secular government both as the source of their authority, humanly speaking, and for financial support. In some of these states the national church was little more than a department of the government and the clergy were public officials. Obviously the establishment of a state church would be an important contribution to the authority of the monarchy concerned. It could also be a powerful factor in the achievement of national unity. Needless to say, there was as yet no freedom of religion under the new regimes. It had hardly occurred to anyone that there could be more than one church at a time. The establishment of national churches, however, was evidence of widespread revolt against the authority of the Roman church, a revolt that was not confined to the countries in which full success was finally achieved.

#### The Medieval Church

It is only with an effort that we can picture today the religious situation in the middle ages, and yet the medieval system was simplicity itself. In Russia, it is true, there were a few million Christians who adhered to the Greek, or Orthodox, church, and in the Balkans a ruling class of Moslem conquerors had established itself, though the subject peoples remained attached to the Greek church; but central and western Europe was the domain of the Catholic Church. No other church was tolerated, or indeed dreamed of. In those days one was born into the church almost as literally as one becomes a member by birth of a state at the present time.

The salvation of souls was the great business of the church and an essential means to that end was a system of sacraments. These are defined as "outward signs instituted by Christ to give grace," and, again, as "visible forms of invisible grace." Individually the sacraments have a long





PERSEUS

By Benvenuto Cellini (*p. 70*)



GATTAMELATA

By Donatello (*p. 65*)

These works are typical of the Italian Renaissance.



BASILICA OF ST. PETER, ROME (*pp. 69-70, 301*)

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history, going back to the earliest days of Christianity. Limitation to the sacred number of seven came in the twelfth century, and this limitation was generally recognized throughout the middle ages, though the first official declaration on the subject came in 1439. In baptism the taint of original sin was washed away in the pouring of water. A white cloth was placed upon the head of the baptized person as a symbol of purity. He was given a candle to hold ("Ye are the light of the world"), and a few grains of salt were put in his mouth ("Ye are the salt of the earth"). The baptized person was also given a Christian name—whence our word "christening." For an adult and a pagan, baptism would involve dropping the pagan name; infant baptism became the practice of the church very early, however. Confirmation normally took place during adolescence and was usually performed by a bishop. By this sacrament the young person was strengthened by divine grace to resist evil. Penance was for sin committed after baptism. A priest had power through this sacrament to absolve penitents of their sins.

An essential element of penance was contrition, a turning of the heart away from its sin, a feeling of compunction and a sense of shame. Another element was oral confession to a priest. At the Vatican Council of 1215 Pope Innocent III directed that every person should confess once a year to his own priest; failure to comply with this requirement might entail exclusion from church or refusal of Christian burial. A third element of penance was satisfaction, by which the penitent made good the wrong he had done in whatever way his confessor deemed best. Prayers, visitation of churches, fasting, and almsgiving might be required of him. Regular schedules were drawn up for the guidance of confessors, in the course of time, in which all the usual sins were listed and a schedule of "good works" was appended.

Most important of the sacraments was the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper. The full teaching of the church regarding the Eucharist was set forth at the Council of 1215. The dogma of "the real presence of the incarnate Christ by the process of transubstantiation" was there affirmed. At the prayer of the priest, the bread and wine were miraculously transformed into Christ's Body and Blood. The elevation of the Host, which was then signalized by the ringing of a bell, constituted the most dramatic part of the ceremony of the Mass. To all outward seeming the bread and wine remained as they were; but following a distinction drawn by Aristotle, men drew a line between the "accidents" of a thing—that is, its taste, touch, color—and its "substance." The substance might be altered while the accidents remained as before. Partaking of the Eucharist endued the recipient with divine grace, whereby his soul was nourished and fortified. The church taught that "Christ was present entire in both bread and

wine." Consequently it came to be customary to offer the laity bread alone, owing in part to the danger of spilling the wine.

Not only did the priest celebrate the Eucharist for the benefit of those assembled in the church or chapel; he might also do so for the remission of the sins of some particular person or for the benefit of the soul of a person deceased. For such a service the priest received compensation from the person benefited or, in the case of the dead, from some interested friend or relative. It became quite customary to leave by will a sum sufficient to pay for the celebration of a certain number of Masses for the repose of one's soul. Thousands of priests drew their entire support from such stipends.

A fifth sacrament, and the last in which all men might participate, was extreme unction. This was administered to anyone in peril of death and consisted of an anointing with oil that had been blessed. When possible, extreme unction was accompanied by the partaking of a consecrated wafer, or viaticum, in a last Communion.

Marriage was deemed a sacrament, and a religious ceremony was compulsory. Marriage within certain degrees of relationship was strictly forbidden. Divorce was not allowed. A marriage was sometimes annulled by an ecclesiastical court, but this was only when the court, upon inquiry, was convinced that some element in the sacrament had not been present and that the marriage had never been valid. In all these respects the attitude of the church in the earlier centuries had been by no means so uncompromising as it later became.

Finally, there was the sacrament of ordination, through which a man became a priest, with power to offer the sacrifice of the Mass and absolve penitents of their sins. The first rite of ordination was the tonsure, in which a spot was smoothly shaved on the top of the candidate's head. This signified that he had been admitted to the clerical order. Then followed rites by which he was admitted to the several minor orders, such as those of lector, or reader, and acolyte, or assistant at the altar. The holy orders of subdeacon, deacon, and priest followed with rites of increasing solemnity, concluding with the bishop's laying his hands on the candidate's head and saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit. Whose sins ye remit are remitted; whose sins ye retain are retained."

Founded by Christ and designated by Him as the sole channel of divine grace, the church lay under the heavy compulsion of giving access to the sacraments and other means of grace to all men, women, and children. It accepted this obligation and redeemed it in full, building up in the course of the medieval centuries the most extensive, the most elaborate, and upon the whole the most successful organization the world has ever seen.

## Ecclesiastical Organization

The smallest subdivision of the church was the parish. Since medieval society, predominantly rural, was made up of the social and economic unit known as the village, the parish was usually coterminous with it. The parish church was the center of village life, and the churchyard was the abode of the village dead. The maintenance of the parish priest was a charge upon the village. He had a legal right to a tithe of the grain, cattle, eggs, milk, and other produce of the farming community; the right to exact fees for baptism, marriage, and burial services; and a right to the income from any lands or goods with which the church might be or become endowed. This revenue had early excited the cupidity of the landlord class, however, and all over Europe the right of appointment of parish priests passed into the hands of that class. This right was abused, with the result that the spiritual needs of the people were often neglected.

Parishes were grouped into dioceses, each with a bishop at its head. A diocese was usually the territory centering round a city of importance, and there the bishop had his seat (*sedes*, whence "see"). By tradition a bishop was elected by the clergy and people of his diocese, the election thus testifying to the close relationship between the bishop and his people, the shepherd and his flock. Early in the middle ages, however, the people ceased to have any direct share in the election of their bishop, and the clergy came to control the election, more especially the clergy associated with the cathedral of the diocese. Finally Boniface VIII declared in the bull *Ausculat filii* (1301) that the right of appointment to all vacant sees belonged to the pope alone, the chapters having power to nominate only. Thus was a very great step taken toward establishing the absolute monarchy of the papacy.

A number of dioceses made up a province, at the head of which was an archbishop who was invested with a certain amount of authority over his fellow bishops. In each country of western Europe one archbishop, usually the one whose episcopal foundation was the oldest, was called the primate. The archbishops of Rheims, in France, of Mainz, in Germany, of Toledo, in Spain, and of Canterbury, in England, were so designated. At the head of the whole Catholic Church stood the bishop of Rome. It was an accepted tradition that St. Peter, divinely commissioned to found the Catholic Church, had been the first bishop of Rome, and that all later bishops of the Eternal City were therefore in the line of apostolic succession. Pope was the popular name of the bishop of Rome. Vicar of Christ was a title claimed by the popes themselves, a title which embodies a Roman concept of authority well stated in the famous bull *unam sanctam*,

issued by Boniface VIII in 1302: "We declare, say, and define, that it is wholly necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

To administer such a far-flung empire as the Catholic Church had become, and to enforce the pope's manifold authority within it, the services of a large staff of experts were required. Secretarial, financial, judicial, and administrative functions were performed by various branches of the papal household. The best known of the papal officials, perhaps, were the cardinals. Originally the actual and active heads of certain churches in Rome, the cardinals were now charged, individually, with administrative duties in Rome or elsewhere, and they were recruited by papal appointment from among the outstanding churchmen of Europe. A function of the highest importance which the cardinals collectively performed was the election of the popes. Taking over the government of the church for the time being at the death of a pope, the cardinals proceeded to meet in conclave; that is, to lock themselves up together. A two-thirds majority was necessary for election.

At the height of the middle ages the papal revenue exceeded that of all the monarchies of Europe put together. Some revenue was derived from the papal estates scattered throughout the Italian peninsula and, indeed, throughout western Europe. More important were the revenues derived from the individual members of the church. These varied greatly from age to age both in form and in amount. In the later middle ages the principal sources were Peter's pence, a tax paid by all Christian householders; annates, or the whole of the first year's revenue of a newly appointed bishop; the proceeds of justice as dispensed in the hierarchy of ecclesiastical courts established throughout Catholic Europe; and the gifts and offerings of the pilgrims who wended their way to Rome from all parts of the West.

### The Clergy

Priests and bishops discharged their duties and lived their lives in the work-a-day world and hence were known as the "secular" clergy. Another important body of clergy, who withdrew from the world, in some measure, to enable themselves the better to imitate the life of Christ and who lived according to rule, were called the "regular" clergy. This group included the numerous orders of monks and nuns and totaled more than half a million persons in the later middle ages, a greater number than in any previous age.

Many of the clergy devoted their lives to professional pursuits outside the church. This was inevitable in a period when the clergy was the only educated class; it was a rare thing, until late in the middle ages, for a lay-



man to be able to sign his own name. The whole body of civil servants in the administrative departments of the European monarchies, the whole diplomatic service, the secretaries, bookkeepers, and accountants of the nobility, the whole lawyer class, all teachers, the entire body of students, and many other sorts and conditions of men were of the clerical order. It has been pointed out that when Luther first raised the standard of revolt, practically every prime minister in Europe was a high ecclesiastical dignitary.

Not only did many of the clergy engage in secular activities, but the Catholic Church itself laid claim to and actually exercised a large amount of secular authority. The medieval church was a vast international state, claiming all persons as its subjects, taxing, judging, and commanding them in temporal as well as spiritual matters, creating in them a sort of ecclesiastical patriotism which transcended local loyalties. In every country of Catholic Europe the church shared with the state the authority now possessed wholly by national governments. Above and beyond its authority over the ordinary laity, the church claimed the right of judgment upon the kings of Europe themselves and, if the case required it, the right to depose them. The history of the middle ages is studded with dramatic incidents illustrative of this claim, and with attempts, not always successful, to enforce it. In general, Christian Europe had acquiesced in the papacy's claim to supremacy in matters temporal as well as spiritual.

### Causes of the Reformation

The history of the church in the later middle ages has some depressing pages. For over a hundred years a faction of French cardinals contended with a faction of Italian cardinals, both responding readily to political influences. French influence prevailed for a time and the papal capital was removed from Rome to Avignon (1309-1377). Upon the return to Rome the French cardinals chose a rival pope, and for several decades the lands of Europe were in schism, Italy, Germany, and England supporting the Roman popes, France, Scotland and Spain, a series of French rivals. During the century and more of the "Captivity" and the "Great Schism" critics of the church appeared, many and outspoken. These ranged from scholars, who declared that the true source of authority in the church is not the pope but the Christian people, to popular writers, who attacked the rapacity and moral laxness of the clergy. The papacy rallied from this sinking spell at length and appeared to regain much of its lost ground, but two movements had been inaugurated which bore fruit in the religious revolts of the sixteenth century.

The first was political. In the early part of the fifteenth century a

number of church councils were held for the purpose of healing the lacerating schism and checking the rising tide of criticism. These councils were organized and conducted as international congresses, the delegates of each nation deliberating separately and voting *en bloc*. Failing in their collective effort to set up a permanent representative council, the several nations proceeded to make separate bargains with the papacy. The stronger monarchies naturally gained the greater concessions. In France the crown took over practically the whole power of ecclesiastical appointment and jurisdiction. In Spain, a little later, substantially the same rights were gained by the crown. England had won substantial concessions from the papacy before the Age of Councils. Without the permission of the crown no Englishman could appeal to Rome, nor could a papal bull be published or a papal appointment made without the king's consent.

When France was making her bargain with the papacy, the emperor made similar demands. Skillfully exploiting the weakness of the German political system, the pope made successful resistance, and the Concordat of Vienna (1448) reaffirmed his right to collect annates from German bishops and to appoint the high ecclesiastical officials of Germany. National feeling was strong in Germany even if government was not, and the concordat aroused widespread resentment. Lists of grievances were drawn up by successive Diets. That of 1502 declared that money raised by indulgences should not leave Germany. The Diet of 1510 inveighed against the tyranny and extortion of the church of Rome. To the Diet of 1518 Pope Leo X sent a legate requesting a subsidy for a crusade against the Turks. The proposal was rejected with indignation, and the Diet declared that the real enemy of Christianity was not the Turk but "the hound of hell" at Rome.

The second movement which appeared during the century of ecclesiastical weakness was religious. Indeed, it is well to recognize that in times when the church is weak the religious life of the people may be stronger than ever. With the papacy in disfavor, the clergy under fire, and heresy rampant, a spontaneous revival of religion broke out among the people. This late medieval revival, an upsurge of mysticism, had its first center in the Rhone valley; its earliest leaders were German monks. Master Eckhart (c. 1260-1327), head of the German Dominicans, preached in his native tongue, attracting large crowds. His preaching, and that of his followers, led to the founding of a religious order called the Friends of God. One of their members, Gerhard Groot (1340-1384) of Holland, organized the Brothers of the Common Life (1381), an order which attained great influence in the Netherlands and in Germany. Erasmus received his early training at one of their schools. The mystics were outwardly loyal to the church, but they believed that the way to God was

the way of the heart. To feel is to know, even if one cannot explain why. Private devotions are more important than public rites and ceremonies. "Behold, neither exercises, nor words, nor works, can help or further us towards union with God." The cardinal principle of the mystics was simple faith and a Christlike life. One of the Brothers of the Common Life was the German-born Thomas a Kempis (1380-1471), whose book *The Imitation of Christ* has been only less widely read than the Bible itself.

Humanism also contributed to the religious revolts of the sixteenth century. The inquiring, self-reliant emphasis of the humanists unfitted them to remain submissive to the authoritarian claims of the church. Their love of the good things of this world disinclined them to prepare for the next. Critical of the church, they were rarely hostile to it. In undermining the foundations of medieval thought, however, they were gravely endangering the structure of the church, which rested in part upon the same bases. A certain lowering of moral tone accompanied the spread of humanism. Under such popes as Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X (see p. 11) the spiritual interests of the church suffered neglect. Even their way of life was an offense to humble folk of simple piety.

Finally, the economic revolution contributed to the revolt of the Protestants. The new eagerness for profits made men restless and inclined them to be unscrupulous. The vast lands and princely revenues of the greater bishoprics and abbeys excited the cupidity of the capitalist class. The conduct of the princes of the church made them vulnerable to attack for, not immune to the capitalist spirit, they affixed a price tag to most ecclesiastical offices and exemptions. Businessmen argued that the fees for baptism, marriage, and burial placed an excessive economic burden on the poor, that the flow of revenue to Rome sapped the national wealth, and that clerical property should be put to more productive use. Such men would give ready support to critics of the church, or even inspire the criticism.

### Backgrounds of the German Reformation

Religious revolt came first in Germany, where conditions in the early sixteenth century well illustrate the political, religious, humanistic, and economic movements of the time. Papal authority and financial exactions bore especially heavily upon the people of Germany because of the political weakness of the country. The feudal princes had begun to fear the centralizing ambition of their new emperor, Charles V, powerful head of the Hapsburg family. The peasants of Germany were restless, not so much because of ecclesiastical burdens, to which they were accustomed, as because the German princes, in an effort to modernize their

estates, were introducing Roman law, which held that a peasant who performed any servile task was definitely a serf. This halted the long, slow climb to freedom of the German rural masses. The learned world of Germany was in a turmoil over the introduction, in certain universities, of the study of Hebrew, following the publication of Reuchlin's *Elements of Hebrew* in 1506. At Cologne the university authorities called upon the pope to burn Reuchlin's books and try him for heresy. Reuchlin defended himself with vigor, and scholars on both sides kept up a merry fracas for several years. As a contribution to his side of the argument Reuchlin published, in 1514, *Letters of Distinguished Men*, which had been written in his support. In the following year there appeared a collection of *Letters from Obscure Men*, addressed to a leading opponent of Reuchlin's at the University of Cologne in pretended support of his views. These letters were really written by friends of Reuchlin. Bad Latin, simple-minded ignorance, and naive assumptions made of the letters "the most effective satire ever written."

Already stirred by the struggle between Reuchlin and the professors of Cologne, the scholars of Germany were excited by the news that a certain Dr. Martin Luther of the University of Wittenberg had launched an attack against Tetzl, purveyor of indulgences in those parts, in his "Ninety-five Theses," tacked to the door of the castle church. Born in 1483, of peasant ancestry, Luther had had a good education, his father intending him for the law. Young Luther first attended a Franciscan school at Eisenach and then proceeded to the University of Erfurt, where he became a good classical scholar. Of an inherently religious nature, Luther as a young man was not satisfied with his religious experience and, suddenly shifting the current of his life, became a monk, joining the Augustinian order at Erfurt. There Luther made steady progress toward a satisfying faith, helped greatly by the head of his order and by his own study and reflection. Achieving, finally, a clear and convincing religious experience, Luther was fired with an irresistible zeal to share it. He plunged eagerly into teaching and preaching at Erfurt, where he had become a professor of theology after securing his doctorate. Salvation, Luther proclaimed, is not a result which a man slowly works out through life with the help of God's grace, but an instantaneous act of God. You are saved at once, wholly saved. By this act Christ becomes your intimate friend. Henceforth you will do Christlike acts. You are not saved by faith plus good works, but by faith alone. Good works are the sign and fruit of salvation, not a part of the process. The close kinship of this view with that of the Brothers of the Common Life will not have escaped notice. German mysticism was not only an important source of Luther's views; its prevalence helps greatly to explain his success.

### Indulgences

Germany was uncommonly plagued at the time by a traffic in indulgences. A prince of the Hohenzollern family had added the archbishopric of Mainz to his other dignities and had paid the pope 30,000 ducats for the office, borrowing from the Fugger family. To meet his installments on the loan, the archbishop secured from the pope the privilege of selling indulgences in Germany, the condition being that half the proceeds go to the building fund of St. Peter's in Rome. Financial transactions of this kind were then numerous, and the drain of bullion to Rome was resented by many Germans. An indulgence was a promise of "remission, in whole or in part, of the punishment to be meted out to a person after his death for sins for which he had been sincerely sorry and had done penance."

The apparent commercializing of the sale of indulgences aroused Luther's ire. He cautioned his students not to buy them. Tetzl, the sales agent of the archbishop of Mainz, attacked Luther, who replied with the Ninety-five Theses. These theses do not reject the authority of the pope, they do not even condemn all indulgences, but they plainly state that the real treasure of the church is not good works but God's forgiving grace. This was contrary to what was then the practice if not the theory of the Catholic Church. A certain Meyer of Eck, a Dominican doctor of philosophy, then entered the fray and in their repeated and heated clash of views Luther began to espouse views clearly heretical. Thus far the learned world regarded the controversy as a harmless exchange of broadsides between academic dreadnaughts. This, apparently, was also the view of Pope Leo X, who in response to repeated pleas to silence Luther sent the legate Cajetan, a theologian of the old school with a European reputation, to compose the "squabble of monks." Luther finally agreed to keep still and beg pardon if the other side would do the same—naturally an impossibility. Finally, in 1520, Dr. Eck went to Rome and came back with a papal bull of excommunication. Luther, surrounded by a large crowd of admiring students, burned the document condemning him, tossing a volume of canon law into the flames for good measure. Luther then wrote three important tracts in which he expounded his views and defended his break with the papacy. The first was written in German, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*. The power of the pope over the state must be abolished, Luther said. "Let the power of the pope be reduced within clear limits, let the secular authorities send no more annates to Rome, let the national churches be more independent of Rome," he continued. The second was in Latin, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. In this he attacked the medieval interpretation of the sacraments, holding that the Bible, his sole authority, taught differently. Only bap-

tism, the Lord's Supper, and perhaps penance should be retained. The dogma of transubstantiation Luther denied. The third tract, *The Liberty of a Christian Man*, is a calm, peaceful, mystical exposition of Luther's theory of salvation. The soul is "justified by faith alone and not by any works." The true Christian is the freest man alive—sins forgiven, right with God, in need of no guidance from the church and under no restraint from it, free to love his neighbor and otherwise to live according to God's wishes.

Luther's defiance of the papacy brought him considerable popularity. The papal legate reported that "nine tenths of Germany shout for him." In the year following Luther's break with Rome the new emperor, Charles V, summoned the German Diet to meet at Worms. Anxious to please the pope, who was making overtures to Francis I, Charles made the condemnation of Luther a primary objective of his policy at the Diet. Luther was summoned to appear under a safe-conduct and went without hesitation. Called upon to retract, Luther repeated his heresies with emphasis. "I do not believe in pope or council alone, since it is clear that they have erred. . . . I am overcome by the Scriptures . . . and my conscience is caught by the word of God." Powerful friends of princely rank were able to ensure Luther's safety. They could not, however, prevent his formal condemnation by the Diet (1521). Since each prince could carry out the edict or not, as he pleased, it amounted to little. On the same day that the edict was issued, the pope and Charles agreed to a treaty of alliance against Francis I, and soon thereafter the emperor, man of many interests, returned to Spain for a stay of several years to direct the war with France. In the absence of the emperor the Lutheran princes asserted themselves more confidently, and the next Diet, at Nuremberg, 1523, suspended the Edict of Worms and called for the reform of the German church by an elective council.

### Spread of Lutheranism

Meanwhile Luther's following in Germany was increasing. Settling at Wittenberg, he worked out more fully the theological basis and the forms and ceremonies of a new church. There also he completed his translation of the Bible (1522-1534), in a dialect destined to become the German national language. It has been remarked that in this famous version of the Scriptures Luther succeeded in making Christ and the Apostles talk German. In all these enterprises he was assisted by a brilliant young professor of Greek at Wittenberg, Philipp Schwartzerd, called Melanchthon (1497-1560), a distant relative of Reuchlin's, who had taken a Greek name like so many of the other humanists of the times. The Augsburg Confession of 1530, written by Melanchthon, remains the basic creed

of Lutheran churches today. Luther's *German Mass and Order of Divine Service*, based on a translation of the Catholic Mass, is still in general use. Luther believed in the congregational singing of chorals, and he wrote church music which inaugurated a pattern of musical composition that culminated in the religious compositions of Bach.

The prospect that the German revolt, already strong in northern and central Germany, might become country-wide was heightened by the appearance of another religious leader in southern Germany, Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531). A few weeks younger than Luther and, like him, of peasant ancestry, Zwingli was educated for the priesthood at Basel and Vienna. The former city was the seat of a university and Zwingli became a keen humanist. He took up the study of the New Testament in the Greek, greatly aided by the new edition just issued by Erasmus (1516). Resolving to preach the New Testament gospel pure and simple, Zwingli arrived at views more heretical even than those of Luther. In 1519 Zwingli was called to Zurich, and he made that city the scene of his life's work. Zurich, as a self-governing canton of the Swiss Confederation, was an autonomous member of the German Empire. Zwingli plunged into the political life of his adopted city and became its leader. Political activity influenced his theology, and Zwingli added to his advanced views about the sacraments the concept of a church organized along democratic lines. Under his leadership the civic authorities of Zurich cleared their churches of all images, paintings, frescoes, and musical instruments, even of bells. The Mass was abolished and the Lord's Supper celebrated in a purely commemorative way around a table in the center of the church, the celebration being the occasion of social fellowship among church members. The Zwinglian view was that everything is forbidden which the Bible does not expressly enjoin. Zwingli's radical beliefs made considerable appeal to the commercial classes of the urban cantons of the Swiss Confederation and to other cities of southern Germany such as Ulm, Constance, Augsburg, and Strasbourg. Elsewhere, however, he met with opposition, and Zwingli lost his life in an effort to impose his views by force on some of the peasant cantons in the neighborhood of Zurich (battle of Kappel, 1531). It was agreed thereafter that each canton be free to make its own decision about religion.

But Germany could no more solve her religious problem along national lines than her other problems. Roused by a threat of the Diet to call a German national council, Pope Clement VII resolved to recruit a party of his own among the greater princes of Germany. To this end he dispatched the skillful and supple Cardinal Campeggio to call a meeting of the Catholic princes. The Cardinal promised to all that clerical fees should be reduced and clerical personnel reformed. To the dukes of

Austria and Bavaria he offered one fifth of the ecclesiastical revenue of their duchies. In one way and another the adherence of a goodly number of princes was obtained and a league of Catholic princes formed (1524). Accepting this challenge, the Lutheran princes of central and northern Germany—the elector of Saxony, the dukes of Brunswick, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Württemberg, and certain lesser princes—together with the imperial cities of Frankfurt, Augsburg, Strasbourg, and Nuremberg, organized a Lutheran league (1526). In successive tests of strength in the Diet, first the Lutherans and then the Catholics were in the majority. An edict passed by the former having been withdrawn by vote of the latter, the Lutherans signed a formal protest (1529) which won for them the name of Protestants. In the same year the Protestant cause received another setback when Luther and Zwingli after considerable argument agreed to disagree. A final test of strength between German Protestants and Catholics, in a parliamentary way, occurred at the Diet of Augsburg (1530). Charles, having at last won the upper hand in Italy, revisited Germany and cast his influence on the Catholic side. It was in preparation for this Diet that Melancthon drew up the statement of faith known as the Confession of Augsburg. After long debate and much parliamentary maneuvering the Catholic majority agreed to accept the twenty-one affirmative articles of the Lutheran creed provided the Lutherans would cancel the seven negative articles. The negative articles included the Lutheran rejection of celibacy, the confessional, transubstantiation, fasts, and penances—cardinal points of the new faith. When the Lutherans failed to agree, the Diet formally called upon them to return to the Catholic Church within six months on pain of extirpation, and both sides prepared for civil war.

### Luther and the German Princes

Meanwhile the Lutheran movement had been limited in scope. Luther's defiance of the papacy had been followed by sporadic outbursts of religious radicalism. Basing their views upon the teachings of the Gospels, as interpreted by themselves, fanatics appeared in various cities preaching the second coming of Christ and advocating community of goods and uniformity of dress, averring that the direct teaching of the Holy Spirit made them obligatory. Schools were closed, images were smashed and churches fired, amid rioting and bloodshed. Luther denounced these Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy Men, as they were called. He was persuaded that the strong arm of the law was needed to enforce order and uniformity in religious matters, and he urged that each prince set up in his own land a supervisory control over the church. This



substitution of the state for the pope as the head of the church became a cardinal feature of the Lutheran sect.

While pruning away theological radicalism, on the one hand, Luther was compelled by the outbreak of a formidable revolt of the peasants to limit the scope of his movement also on the social and economic side. Seething with discontent, as we have seen, the peasantry were inspired by Luther's flouting of papal authority to look in the wide-open Bible for help in the solution of their problems. Peasant leaders, with not a little help from religious radicals, drew up a statement of their demands—the Twelve Articles of Memmingen (1525). Among the articles was the demand that pastors be chosen by the people, "to teach the gospel, pure and simple." There follows this statement: "We take it for granted that you will release us from serfdom as true Christians, unless it should be shown us from the gospel that we are serfs." Rents ought to be fixed in accordance with justice, it was asserted, "so that the peasant shall not work for nothing, since the laborer is worthy of his hire." Finally, the peasants offered to retract any article "if it is proved really to be against the word of God by a clear explanation of the Scripture." Armed violence soon followed, the first outbreak provoked, it is said, by the attempt of a certain noble lady to compel her tenants to spend a holiday "gathering snail shells on which she might wind her wool." The moment seemed favorable for revolt, since many of the nobility were campaigning for Charles V in Italy. Initial gains were followed by wild excesses; one peasant leader compelled a noble captive and seventeen of his knightly companions to run the gauntlet, where they were hacked to pieces by the knives of the infuriated peasants.

Luther's mental outlook was feudal and he penned a savage attack on the Twelve Articles. "Did not Abraham and the other patriarchs and prophets have serfs?" he asked. Vehemently he urged that this challenge to authority be suppressed without pity. "Peasants must hear the crack of the whip and the whiz of the bullet. . . . Dear Lord, smite, stab, and destroy. . . . I pray everyone to depart from the peasants as from the devil himself." All of this fell gratefully upon the ears of the German nobles hurrying northward after the battle of Pavia. (See above, p. 32.) They met violence with violence and matched cruelty with cruelty. Jäcklein Rohrbach, who had made his prisoners run the gauntlet, was captured and flayed alive. In the end the revolt was stamped out with the slaughter of tens of thousands, and the peasants of Germany sank back into conditions of life and work which were the worst in western Europe. There can be no doubt that Luther's prompt and forceful action greatly aided his cause. He had allied himself with the winning side—that of the princes.

Given six months by the Diet of 1530 to "submit or else—," the Protes-

tant princes banded themselves together and prepared to fight. Once more, however, the conflict was postponed, this time for fifteen years. The Turks, after their unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1529, seemed likely to return in even greater strength and resume their march up the Danube. This particular thrust proved illusory; but the Moslem menace then appeared in a new form, as piratical attacks were launched against the shipping of the western Mediterranean. For some years these attacks proved to be very troublesome and occupied the attention of Charles V. In the meanwhile, timing his attacks to take full advantage of the pressure of the Turks, Francis I renewed his Italian wars. Charles had never given up his belief that concessions to the Protestants in certain unessential but vexatious matters would compose the religious controversy in Germany. To this end he pressed continually for the summoning of a general council of the church. To this appeal successive popes refused assent. Meanwhile Lutheranism was slowly spreading in Germany as prince after prince, city after city, cast off their allegiance to the papacy.

Taking advantage of a lull in his wars with the Turks and their Christian ally, Charles at long last returned to Germany to fight. There ensued a full decade of commingled war and politics, the details of which it would be tiresome to rehearse. Suffice it to say that Charles failed to unite the Germans religiously as he had failed politically, and the Peace of Augsburg (1555) is the acknowledgment of that failure. Each secular prince and each imperial city was to decide for itself whether Catholicism or Lutheranism should be adopted as the state religion (*cujus regio, ejus religio*). Thus was German nationalism pushed still further into the background as religious disunion was added to political disunion. Any hope that the Peace of Augsburg would do more than postpone strife was dashed by its famous "ecclesiastical reservation." Prince-bishops and abbots who headed, temporarily at least, the large and important ecclesiastical states of Germany were not to be free to choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism. Or rather, they were free to choose as individuals, but if they chose the Lutheran faith they forfeited their office and their lands.

Weary of it all, Charles retired (1556) and the vast Hapsburg holdings fell apart. Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands passed to his son Philip, Austria and the empire to his brother Ferdinand. The two branches of the Hapsburg family, German and Spanish, were destined "still to intimidate the world with the possibility of their reunion, but never in fact to be reunited."

### Lutheranism in Scandinavia

Lutheranism had only one other important success, namely its conquest of the Scandinavian world. The political, or dynastic, union of

Scandinavia, achieved in 1397 by the Union of Calmar, was broken in 1523 when King Christian II was deposed by a rising of his own nobles. His uncle, Frederick I (1523-1533), succeeded him in Denmark and Norway; but Sweden left the union and a Swedish noble was elevated to the throne by his fellows, taking the name of Gustavus Vasa (1523-1560). Eager to consolidate his authority in the two kingdoms remaining to him, Frederick I gave attention to the Lutheran thesis that the secular prince should be head of the church and that the wealth of the church should be at his disposal. He therefore encouraged the preaching of Hans Tausen, "the Danish Luther," and facilitated the distribution of a Danish version of the New Testament, published in 1529. Frederick's son Christian III (1533-1559) was an enthusiastic Lutheran, in close alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany. He hurried the Lutheran movement to completion in Denmark and Norway, accepting the Confession of Augsburg and establishing the royal supremacy over the church in those lands. Enriched by ecclesiastical wealth and made stronger by its headship of the church, the Danish monarchy became an important factor in the north of Europe.

The revolt of the Swedes under Gustavus Vasa was a nationalist movement, and it was inevitable that the new Swedish king should soon challenge the authority of the papacy. Lutheran preaching was encouraged and a Swedish version of the New Testament distributed (1526). Confiscation of ecclesiastical property followed, Gustavus managing to bring the landlord and mercantile classes to the Lutheran side by judicious distribution of church land. The conversion of the peasants was slower. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, Sweden had become a militant and aggressive Protestant state with definitely expansionist tendencies.

Poland also was strongly affected by the current movement of resistance to papal authority and of hostility to a wealthy and aristocratic clergy. The Polish Diet began by abolishing annates, taxing the clergy, and banning papal appointments. In 1556 King Sigismund Augustus demanded papal approval for a married clergy and a service in the native tongue. This was followed by a demand that a national council be summoned to proceed with further reforms. Soon a variety of sects flourished in Poland, of which the Lutheran was the most important. Indeed, it was the multiplicity of sects and their failure to unite that hampered and delayed the development of the religious revolt in Poland and thus gave the Catholic Church its opportunity. Poland, as we shall see, was wholly regained by Rome.

## John Calvin

France also supplied a great Protestant leader in the sixteenth century, though his influence was greater abroad than at home. John Calvin was born in the city of Noyon, about sixty miles north of Paris, where his father was a legal and financial agent of the bishop. [Destined for the church, the boy was sent to Paris at fifteen and there spent five years in the faculty of arts, winning his bachelor's degree. In comfortable circumstances, young Calvin had made the most of his opportunities and showed marked ability in languages. He learned to speak and write Latin like his mother tongue; and he made good progress also in Greek and Hebrew. The elder Calvin, however, having quarreled with his episcopal employer, now decided to train his brilliant son in the law and, withdrawing him from Paris, sent him to Orléans. Here the youth soon qualified for a degree in law. Meanwhile his father died, leaving his son a competence. Following the bent of his own mind, young Calvin returned to Paris and as an enthusiastic humanist took up the practice of literature. At the age of twenty-three he published a learned commentary on one of the essays of Seneca, in which he quoted from no less than fifty Latin and twenty-three Greek authors. Suddenly, however, the whole current of his life was changed. Young Calvin was "converted," undergoing a religious experience the effect of which lasted through life. Calvin tells us little about his conversion, saying simply that God in his sovereign way laid hold upon his life and turned it about. The University of Paris was ablaze with religious controversy at the time (*c.* 1532), and Luther's heresies were being much debated.

Dropping his classical studies forever and quitting Paris for the second time, Calvin retired to the country to undergird his new-found faith with scriptural authority. For the next few years he employed his fine linguistic skill and humanistic method in an analysis of the Bible and the Fathers. The fruit of his labor was the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), the most important book produced on the Protestant side during the Reformation period. Covering the field of doctrine with logical completeness and organized topically, this work of three good-sized volumes was written with precision, lucidity, and finality. It soon won for its author, aged twenty-seven, a European reputation. Its central thesis is that Christians should return to the simplicity of worship and dogma of the early church, abandoning the "unscriptural inventions of men." Though dedicated to the king, the work brought upon its author prompt and permanent exile from his native land. Francis I was not of a zealous religious temper, but he was under the political necessity of standing well with the papacy and was not to be won over by a friendly preface.

There followed for Calvin a year at Basel, two years at Geneva, and three at Strasbourg as the young exile eked out a bare existence as a pastor of Protestant groups in those cities. It was in this period that Calvin worked out on paper his celebrated politico-ecclesiastical system. Finally the civic authorities of Geneva invited Calvin to settle among them on such terms as seemed to give him a free hand.

Geneva then as now was French in speech. As an industrial and commercial city, however, it had close relations with the cities of southern Germany. A self-governing city-state from medieval times, Geneva had been governed by its bishop in cooperation with the heads of the leading families. In the later middle ages the dukes of Savoy had attempted to extend their authority over the city. It was the failure of their bishop to resist this encroachment which alienated the citizenry of Geneva, and finally provoked them to repudiate the authority not only of the duke of Savoy but of the bishop as well. In furtherance of their revolt against their bishop the Genevans had set up a church of their own. On May 21, 1536, the citizens swore that they would "live according to the holy Evangelical law and word of God." For a few years thereafter they called in ministers from the neighboring Protestant cities of Switzerland. Their invitation to Calvin came in 1541. Having devised a complete system for the government and regeneration of man, Calvin had an opportunity such as comes to one man in a million, that of trying out his scheme in a community free from any superior authority.

Once settled in Geneva, Calvin remained there for the rest of his life, and in those twenty-three years he revolutionized Europe. Throughout the period Calvin preached three times a week and lectured on an average of three to five times a week. He conducted a vast correspondence with Protestant leaders in many parts of Europe, his printed letters extending to some thirty folio volumes. Though he occupied no post save that of minister, Calvin was the real ruler of Geneva. Never in robust health, he limited himself to one meal a day and was much of the time bedridden. Five years before his death he founded an academy from which well-trained preachers of the Calvinist faith went forth to France, southern Germany, the Netherlands, Hungary, Poland, Scotland, and England.

### Calvinism

In the Calvinist system church and state are one. All baptized persons are not only church members but citizens. The citizens elect a civic council, which in turn appoints the ministers and other civic officials. There can be no distinction between church and state under Calvinism

because both have the same objective, namely, the conversion and regeneration of man. This fusion of church and state is well illustrated by the institution known as the Consistory, a body composed of the ministers plus twelve laymen appointed by the civic council with a layman presiding. It was the Consistory's duty to watch over the morals of the community, private as well as public. To this end a great variety of regulations were enacted—of a highly bothersome and doubtful nature, as we should think. Church attendance was made obligatory, and members must be prompt. Swearing was forbidden. Drunkenness, gambling, even quarreling, were prohibited under strict penalties. All regulations were rigorously enforced. Once every six months a minister and layman visited every household in the city to see that all was well. The loose-moraled crowd whose personal freedom was curtailed, and the old families to whom Calvin was an alien, never ceased to give trouble. Distinguished visitors to Geneva fared no better at the hands of the Consistory than the local citizenry. The Spanish scientist and physician Servetus, happening to visit Geneva, was burned for questioning the dogma of the Trinity. Those acquainted with the early history of New England will find this close identification of church organization and town government, with the zeal of both for good morals, very familiar. Calvin conceived of the church "not simply as an institution for the worship of God but as an agency for the making of men fit to worship Him."

Calvinism was also a theological system. More sternly logical than Luther, Calvin repudiated more of medieval theology and the whole of medieval ceremony. Calvinistic theology is a positive affirmation of the fundamentals of the Christian religion as Calvin found them in the literature of the early church. The positive character of Calvin's teaching is what made his system a fighting faith. The nature of man, originally good, was utterly corrupted by Adam. "In Adam's fall we sinned all," the *New England Primer* recites. "By this original corruption," says Calvin, "man is utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to evil. He is no longer free even to will to do good works unless he is helped by God's grace, given only to the elect, whom God, for the manifestation of his glory, has elected and chosen unto everlasting life." God "saves whom He will of His mere good pleasure." Calvin believed that the number of the elect was few, and it is clear that he was not in love with his own doctrine; but there was nothing he could do about it. His answer to the infallible Catholic Church was the immutable will of God. Many Calvinists held that God's choice might be influenced by the evil, or lack of it, in a man's life. Thus, men might help to save themselves. "God caused the Gospel to be preached to them, making the same, through the Holy Ghost, of strength upon their minds; so that they

not merely obtain power to repent and believe, but also actually and voluntarily do repent and believe."

Calvinists were prone to exact from themselves, and demand in others, great particularity of conduct. Never, perhaps, in all history has there been such insistence upon sobriety, honesty, and diligence. The Calvinist was grave, reflective, slow of speech, "ranking his words beforehand," abstemious in food and drink. Sobriety expressed itself in dress; whatever was in style the Calvinist denounced. "Religion is their garment, and their hair cut shorter than their eyebrows." Much of this derives from the central dogma of predestination, strictly construed. Under the spell of this thesis everyone will be impelled to believe himself to be one of God's elect; to doubt it would be to contemplate enduring the fires of hell forever. One cannot, however, be certain of one's election beyond the shadow of a doubt; one can only cling tenaciously and with all one's strength to one's belief. The best way to silence doubts and keep one's morale always high is to act like one of God's elect, in season and out of season, with never a day off nor a night out. Needless to say, the Calvinists took themselves pretty seriously. They tended to become censorious, sour, conceited, intolerant of weakness. Their critics have been numerous, and still are. An Anglican bishop once expressed the wish, it is said, that instead of the Pilgrims' landing on Plymouth Rock, Plymouth Rock had landed on the Pilgrims.

Another derivative of the Calvinist theory and practice was social and political democracy. In an age when feudal distinctions were still sharp the common man was awakened by Calvinism to a consciousness of his own essential worth and dignity. No prince of the church, no lord or lady of high degree, could be greater than one of God's elect. John Knox, Calvin's most famous pupil, used to rebuke his queen publicly from the pulpit. It was said of him that "he never disdained the meanest nor flattered the greatest." A common calling and election, a brotherhood in Christ, destroyed all social distinctions. Calvin also taught that the choice of ministers and magistrates should be made by the people themselves. Society itself, he said, is based upon a covenant with God. All this will explain, at least in part, the fact that Calvinism had its greatest success in the cities and towns. There self-governing institutions were already well established. To be sure, "the people," among the urban dwellers, were likely to be lawyers, merchants, and well-to-do artisans, rather than the proletariat. The strong scholarly traditions of Calvinism made it a favorite dogma also among the better educated individuals of the middle class.

Another element of Calvinism that made a strong appeal to the bourgeois element was its emphasis upon the duty and dignity of labor. Waste of time is a deadly sin. Furthermore, it is a man's duty to employ

his talents as well as his time to the best advantage, for he is God's steward and must use God's gifts as He requires. Thus the profit-seeking motive in man received religious sanction. Some economists profess to find in this emphasis of Calvinism an explanation of the quick growth of capitalism in the Netherlands, in England, in America, and among the Huguenots of France, but perhaps this is carrying the matter too far. England and the Netherlands owed some of their prosperity to their successful inroads on Spanish commerce. It has been pointed out, further, that the wealthiest cities of Holland were not the most purely Calvinistic communities and that the Scotch people, among the poorest in Europe, were among the most Calvinistic.

Calvin's life was cut short in his fifty-fifth year, but this seeming disaster was more than compensated for by the work of Theodore Beza, one of his pupils. A Frenchman, too, Beza succeeded to Calvin's place of authority in Geneva and held it for forty years (1564-1605). Absolutely unoriginal and unambitious, Beza devoted himself to the methodical administering of the Calvinist organization and purpose. More conciliatory than his master, Beza often succeeded where Calvin would have failed. The academy continued to send forth missionaries. Indeed, Geneva continued throughout the sixteenth century to be the center and source of Calvinist propaganda for the whole of western Europe. Italians, Germans, Englishmen, Russians, Spaniards, and above all Frenchmen came to Geneva in throngs and went away with a burning desire to spread their faith.

### Spread of Calvinism

The spread of Calvinism in Europe may be briefly surveyed. In the Swiss Confederation Calvin gathered the fragments of the Protestant party shattered by the death of Zwingli. The eight urban cantons became Calvinist, the five peasant cantons remaining Catholic. In southern Germany, more particularly in the cities of the Rhineland, Calvin made many converts. As an organized church Calvinism was terribly handicapped in Germany because, coming late upon the scene, it failed to gain official recognition in the Peace of Augsburg. Calvinists, therefore, were persecuted by Catholic and Lutheran princes alike. In the thriving cities of the Netherlands, where Charles V had succeeded in checking Luther, Calvinism made converts by the thousands, especially in the more urban north. The Dutch Reformed Church, as the Calvinist church was called, rooted itself so firmly as to resist all efforts to eradicate it. In defense of their faith, as well as of their economic and political liberty, the Dutch in time set up a progressive and democratic state.

A Frenchman by birth and training, and established in a French-



speaking community not far from the frontier, Calvin quite naturally worked with all his heart and soul for the conversion of his native land. The Geneva press poured forth a flood of books and pamphlets. Swarms of young Frenchmen passed through Calvin's academy and then returned home, having refashioned themselves in the likeness of their leader. The number of these missionaries to France must have been large; definite record has been found of 161 of them between the years 1555 and 1566. And they got results. From the first they won converts among the merchant and artisan classes of the French cities and towns. Parish clergy, alienated by the wealth and political-mindedness of their own superiors, were frequent converts. Many of the smaller nobility embraced the "reformed" faith out of hostility to the crown and court. Finally, as the movement gained momentum, a few of the greatest nobles of France became Calvinist, among them Coligny, hereditary Admiral of France, Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre (of the younger branch of the royal family), and his brother the prince of Condé. There were Calvinists in every quarter of France when Calvin died; the total number of adherents was about one sixth of the whole population. The Genevan patriots who fought for liberty against the duke of Savoy had called themselves *eyguenots*, or "confederates," and this is probably the origin of the term Huguenots as applied to French Calvinists.

Calvinism had failed to sweep France, however. One reason for its failure was the steady hostility of the French monarchy. The king was the real head of the French church after 1516 (the Concordat of Bologna). The great offices of the church and even the wealth of the church were placed at his disposal. Francis I (1515-1547) and Henry II (1547-1559) vetoed all projects of ecclesiastical reform not emanating from themselves. Francis persecuted heretics from political motives; Henry II, from religious motives. The latter established a sort of French Inquisition, *la chambre ardente*, to purge France of heresy by fire.

Another reason why the reformers failed to capture France was that their preachments did not appeal to the French intelligentsia. French men of letters and learning had been captivated by the classical Renaissance and they remained in close touch with Italian humanists. Rabelais took no interest in reform by revolution. Even Jacques Lefèvre (d. 1537), called "the French Luther," was never a rebel, though he translated portions of the Bible into the French tongue (1521-1523) and preached the Gospel message in a fresh and appealing way.

Small as it was, however, the Calvinist minority in France commanded resources both material and moral which made it very formidable. As we shall see, the Huguenots withstood an attempt to exterminate them with fire and sword which lasted for half a century.

Calvinism made a complete conquest of Scotland. There the church was more than usually wealthy and corrupt. The higher clergy were scarcely to be distinguished from the lay members of those noble families from whose ranks they came. Scotch clergymen openly acknowledged their children if not their wives; and so late as the battle of Flodden (1513) Scotch bishops and abbots in the armor and with the arms of the period dealt out heavy though unavailing blows against the English. The lay nobles of Scotland were a turbulent lot, making the life of their sovereigns uneasy and even precarious. They lent a ready ear first to Lutheran and then to Calvinist preachers with a mind to what it might profit them in wealth and power. King James V, a mere infant when his father fell at Flodden, died at the age of thirty, worn out and despairing (1542). His queen was a French princess, Margaret of Guise. Just six days before the untimely death of the king his queen had borne him a daughter, famous in history and romance as Mary, Queen of Scots. The queen-mother installed as viceregent the princely, able, and dissolute archbishop of St. Andrews, Cardinal Beaton. In 1546 a handful of rebellious nobles professing to be Protestants invaded the cardinal's castle, slew him, and for good measure, hanged him. Among the supporters of the noble gangsters was a middle-aged and therefore undistinguished Scotch priest named John Knox (1505-1572). When French artillery smashed the stronghold of the rebellious nobles, Knox followed the survivors into captivity and spent nineteen months as a galley slave in the French fleet. Escaping, he made his way to Geneva, where he spent five years assimilating Calvinism. Returning to Scotland, Knox immediately assumed the leadership of the Protestant movement. In 1560, when the Scottish Parliament at the behest of Knox repudiated papal supremacy, he set up the Church of Scotland, which later became the state church. Its creed, the "Scottish Confession," drawn up by Knox, is a clear and forcible summary of Calvinist doctrine.

### A National Church in England

Under the leadership of the strong monarchy of the Tudors England also broke away from the papal empire and established a national church. The secular spirit of the Renaissance was active in England; scholars and men of letters were turning their thought from religion to worldly matters. More's *Utopia* is a contribution to sociology, not theology. Businessmen of London were founding grammar schools staffed by lay teachers, the better to fit their sons for careers in business and the professions. The financial demands of the church were resented by the laity, especially the excessive fees for baptism, marriage, and burial. The exemption of

all clerics from the severer penalties of the law, however grave their crimes, also excited the animosity of laymen. Moreover, as national self-consciousness developed, less and less loyalty was felt toward the papacy, closely identified as it had been of late with the secular politics of Europe.

Almost any incident would have revealed how weak was the hold of the papacy upon the people of England. Henry VIII's desire for a divorce and his failure, finally, to secure it from the papal Curia happened to be the matter that led to the breach with Rome. Henry had lived with Catherine of Aragon contentedly enough for eighteen years and she had borne him several children, two of them boys. All save one child had died in infancy, however, and that one was a sickly girl who did not seem likely to live to maturity. Catherine was now (1527) beyond the age of childbearing, and Henry seems to have been genuinely anxious to provide better for the succession. England had suffered long from a succession dispute, and the reign of Henry VII had been made unquiet by a series of royal pretenders. Some urgency was given to Henry VIII's musings on affairs of state by the fact that he had been smitten with the charms of one of his queen's maids in waiting, a dark-haired flirt named Anne Boleyn. As a matter of fact, Henry was constantly falling in and out of love, but his infatuation for Anne was exploited to the limit by that shrewd and ambitious damsel.

The annulling of a royal marriage for reasons of state was nothing new or even unusual. Henry's own sister Margaret had had her marriage with James IV of Scotland set aside, and the papal Curia had been equally obliging in the case of Louis XII of France, to mention two cases. Two obstacles interposed in Henry's case, however, one embarrassing, the other fatal. The first was that Henry had had to obtain a special dispensation to marry Catherine at all, since she was his deceased brother's wife. It would be decidedly awkward for the papal Curia now to reverse itself. This technical point was cast in the shade, however, by a political factor. The emperor Charles V, Catherine's nephew and head of the Hapsburg family, was unalterably opposed to the divorce. His loyalty to his aunt was understandable and praiseworthy. Catherine had been a loyal and forgiving wife; with appealing dignity and firmness she defended her right to the status and honor of queen of England.

Disappointed in his hope of a speedy divorce, Henry felt sure that the pope would yield to sufficient pressure. Calling Parliament in 1529, he encouraged and indeed organized the anticlerical and antipapal feeling already latent in it. Bit by bit the papal revenues from England were appropriated to the crown. Papal powers of appointment were transferred to the king. Finally all judicial appeals to Rome were cut off and papal jurisdiction in England was brought to an end. The new archbishop of

Canterbury declared Henry's marriage with Catherine null and void, and the king promptly entered upon his second matrimonial venture. So far the movement in England had been wholly political and legal. The statutes of Henry's Parliaments cast off the papal authority as being that of a "foreign prince and potentate," "an exterior person." One almost looks for a formal Declaration of Independence among the English documents of this period.

As head of the Church of England Henry VIII was no less his own master than he had shown himself to be as head of the state. Like the Germans, Englishmen were obliged to conform to the faith of their prince. Henry's own faith was Catholic, never anything else. At the height of the Lutheran agitation in 1521, he had written a heated defense of the sacraments and, ironically enough, had argued cogently in favor of papal supremacy. Pope Leo X had rewarded the royal pamphleteer with the title of Defender of the Faith. Henry showed himself as strongly averse to the other great Protestant system of the continent, and late in his reign banned all Calvinistic literature from his domain.

On the other hand, Henry authorized the translation of the Bible, and a copy of the English Bible was placed in every church throughout the land. The king also issued for use in the churches of England a little volume called the *King's Primer*, containing an English version of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and a few collects and canticles. These steps were welcomed by those who felt that there was something anomalous about a national church which did not use the national language. Henry also dissolved the monasteries and confiscated their lands, which represented about one tenth of the national wealth. Much of the monastic property, the gift of the pious folk of former time, was given by the king to families upon which he could count to fight tooth and nail for the maintenance of the royal supremacy over the church.

### Anglicanism after Henry VIII

At the time of Henry VIII's death in 1547 most Englishmen felt as he did in religious matters. In belief and in form of worship they preferred the ways of their ancestors; but they patriotically upheld the king in his break with Rome. There were, however, two small minorities. One, inspired by Calvinism, wanted so to change the theology and mode of worship of the national church as to make it definitely Protestant. Another minority longed to return to Rome. During the next two reigns each of these minorities ruled England in turn.

Of the numerous children born to one or another of Henry's wives only three remained alive at the king's death in 1547. They were Mary,

daughter of Catherine of Aragon; Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn; and Edward, son of Jane Seymour.

The Protestant changes in the Church of England were the work of a group of nobles who seized control of the Council of Regency which Henry had appointed to rule in the name of the nine-year-old Edward VI. The young king's uncle, the duke of Somerset, first leader of this group, was not greatly interested in religion but saw in radical Protestantism a policy which might make him king in all but name. His rival and successor, the earl of Northumberland, outdid Somerset in his espousal of Protestant changes, coveting for his family nothing less than the crown itself. Out of this welter of politics played for high stakes came the *Book of Common Prayer* and the Articles of Religion, which made the Church of England a Protestant church and which keep it so today. The *Book of Common Prayer* (1552) is basically a translation of the Latin services familiarly in use in the churches of England for many centuries. The work of Archbishop Cranmer, this translation is one of the classics of English literature, and portions of it, at least, have brought and still bring consolation to millions of persons of English speech, whether members of the Church of England or not. The Articles of Religion (1553) constitute the official creed of the Anglican church and are still formally subscribed to by all ministers of that body. The Prayer Book and the Articles reveal a modified Calvinism.

England as a whole followed but slowly in the wake of her Protestant leaders and at the death of Edward VI (1553) preferred the Catholic Princess Mary to the Protestant Lady Jane Grey, whom the desperate earl of Northumberland brought forward. Mary's Catholic policy proved as little to the liking of the majority of Englishmen, however, as had the radical Protestantism of Edward's reign. Eager to vindicate her mother's memory, warmly religious by nature, and feeling that she had not long to live, Mary moved swiftly to undo all that had been done in the realm of religious change since Henry VIII first thought of divorce. England was reconciled to Rome and once more, for a few brief years, formed a part of the papal empire. To consolidate what she had done, Mary sought to extirpate the band of Protestant leaders of the previous reign, and some three hundred executions followed. Among those to die were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Latimer and Ridley. England had never known such wholesale persecution in the name of religion, and Mary's Catholic policy became thoroughly unpopular. This unpopularity was augmented by the queen's marriage to the Catholic king of Spain, Philip II. England was thus drawn into Philip's war with France and promptly lost Calais, the sole remaining English possession on French soil. Mary died in 1558 at the age of forty-two, with a keen sense of having

failed. Under the new queen, Elizabeth, England quickly swung back to the moderate Protestantism which had by this time become the preference of the majority of Englishmen.

More clearly than in any other country of Europe the religious question in England was settled on national lines. The head of the state church, save in purely religious matters, was the crown. The bishops were public officials, receiving their appointment from the crown. Legislation in ecclesiastical matters, as in secular matters, was by king and Parliament. Attendance at religious services was obligatory, a grievous matter for the members of the two minority parties. The Catholics, estimated to number about one fourth of the population, became increasingly suspect of political disloyalty as the war with Catholic Spain drew near. The Calvinistic minority bore the limitations of the law with a patience which lessened as its numbers increased. Its great trial of strength and its brief triumph came in the next century.



## SECTION TWO

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# Religious Wars and National Readjustments 1550-1650

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BY MID-CENTURY the advance of Protestantism roused the Catholic world to thought and action. Lines were drawn and plans laid at the Council of Trent, where it was resolved to roll back the tide of Protestant advance. But Protestantism had by no means spent its force; Calvinism, particularly, had most of its conquests yet to make. A century of conflict ensued; wars, civil and international, fill the pages of history. Though these wars have been labeled "religious," there was not one of them in which other motives, especially dynastic and economic, did not play a leading part. Religion, indeed, became something of a political football. Finally, in 1648, the long century of religious wars ended with the Peace of Westphalia. The religious universalism of the middle ages was gone, displaced by the religious diversity of modern times. Europeans were destined to fight no more wars of religion; but the word "toleration" was still strange, and it appears nowhere in the treaties which mark the close of the bitter conflict.

Throughout most of the hundred years of war and readjustment Spain was the dominant state of Europe. Her armies were the finest on the Continent, her colonial empire incomparably the richest. Even in the realm of culture the age was to a considerable degree Spanish. Spain's royal house was proud of its position as the leading family of Europe, and it undertook to check, single-handed if need be, the advance of Protestantism. At last, however, came decline, and France, recovering from a plague



of civil wars, began to assume that place of predominance in Europe's life to which her population, her wealth, and her culture fully entitled her.

The century of conflict was also one of more complete national integration. In each of the states of western Europe, even in republican Holland, leadership was supplied by a national dynasty. Nobility and clergy, medieval rivals to royal authority, were more and more fully brought under the control of monarchy. The national monarchies moved to strengthen the machinery of government by bringing the religious practices of their subjects under the complete control of the state, and to no small extent the religious troubles of the time derived from these attempts. Progress was made in the establishment of national armies and navies, central taxation systems, and courts of law. Economic life underwent rapid development as trade increased with colonial expansion. Merchants and bankers lent their powerful support to the centralizing plans of the national dynasties. Scholars came forward to argue the social necessity and value of strong government, just as their medieval counterparts had justified to human reason the dogmas of theology. Indeed, strong government was required to save the state from disorder at home and attack from abroad.

By 1648 the state system was fully established in Europe. The Empire was an empty shell. The claim of the pope to temporal sovereignty in Europe was, as an effective force, a thing of the past. Sweden had grown great, and two new states, Switzerland and the Dutch Republic, had attained the status of sovereign powers.



MARTIN LUTHER  
(p. 89) By Lucas Cranach



JOHN CALVIN  
(pp. 97-98)



IGNATIUS LOYOLA  
(pp. 112-113) By Montañes



PHILIP II OF SPAIN  
(pp. 118-120)



WILLIAM THE SILENT (*pp. 127-130*)  
By Mierevelt (1567-1641), whose chief subjects were members of the House of Orange.



HUGO GROTIUS (*pp. 192-193*)  
From *Theatrum Europaeum*, a German historical work published at Frankfort am Main in 1662.



THE QUAY AT AMSTERDAM (*p. 131*)  
By Jacob van Ruisdael (*c. 1628-1682*), a notable painter of Dutch scenes. (*Copyright The Frick Collection, New York*)

## CHAPTER V

### *The Catholic Reformation and the Ascendancy of Spain*

FOR NEARLY half a century after Luther nailed his theses to the door of the castle church the movement of revolt went forward without pause. The whole of Scandinavia, the greater part of Germany, considerable areas of Poland and Hungary, nearly all of Switzerland, the northern half of the Netherlands, and the whole of England had withdrawn from the papacy, and Scotland was on the eve of doing so. In France, Europe's largest and most populous country, a small but vigorous minority was hopeful of winning the whole nation for Protestantism, while in Italy serious disaffection was inhibited only by the total lack of national feeling. About the year 1560, however, the tide of Protestant advance was checked. Its forward movement at an end, the tide measurably receded as the Catholic Church strove to regain its lost provinces. There followed a century of religious wars, at the close of which a line was fixed between the Protestant and the Catholic world of Europe which has lasted to this day.

#### Projects of Reform

The force that checked and then reversed the Protestant advance was a movement of reform within the Catholic Church itself. No good Catholic of the early sixteenth century failed to recognize the grave abuses within the church, or the change in the temper of the times. A fact-finding commission appointed by Pope Paul III called attention (1537) to the scandals in religious houses; to the loose women openly received in the houses of cardinals; to the bishops who neglected their duties, even living at a distance from their dioceses; to the excess of indulgences; and, most serious of all in the opinion of the commission, to the vicious system of money payments in administrative offices under which anything and everything was for sale. Some reformers urged the convening of a general council; others felt that reforms were possible only through a further extension and centralizing of the authority of the pope. Still others thought that a revival of religion affecting clergy and laity alike was the great need of the time. Pruning away abuses and re-emphasizing clerical

holiness of life, however, did not satisfy those who held that the theology of the church should be brought up to date. Such men felt that a reconciliation could and should be made between scholasticism and humanism. They pointed out that the church had often displayed its genius for assimilation; an example was the reconciliation of the faith and science of the thirteenth century. Other leaders strenuously opposed all compromise; in their view, the whole body of medieval dogma must be retained if the church were to regain the great position she had held.

The popes of the period did little or nothing to shape or define the movements of reform, employing instead a policy of watchful waiting. Gradually a well-rounded program took shape. First came an old-fashioned revival of religion which expressed itself mainly in the reformation of old monastic bodies and the founding of new ones. Among the new orders was the Theatines, founded at Rome in 1524. To foster a holier life, the secular clergy were urged to live under monastic vows while continuing their usual work. This new order was especially eager to combat the error of Luther. It spread rapidly through Italy and then, more slowly, through most of the other countries of Europe. Far larger and more influential was a body of reformed Franciscans called Capuchins (from their pointed hood or *cappuccio*), founded in 1526. The goal of this order was a return to the primitive simplicity of St. Francis. "Observe the rule to the letter" was its motto. This order became immensely popular and is credited with having kept the people of Italy loyal to the church. Its work was by no means confined to Italy, however.

### Loyola and the Jesuits

Greatest of the new orders, indeed the most powerful religious order in the entire history of the church, was the Society of Jesus, to which the pope extended official recognition in 1540. Don Iñigo Lopez de Recalde was born in 1491 in the castle of Loyola in Guipúzcoa, Spain. Of the lesser nobility, Loyola, as he is called, was first a page at the court of King Ferdinand of Aragon, and later followed the profession of arms in his sovereign's service. Defending the fortress of Pampeluna against French invaders, Loyola, who was about thirty at the time, was badly crippled when a cannon ball fractured his leg. When the bone knit crooked, with a splinter protruding from the flesh, the grim soldier had the leg broken, stretched on the rack, and reset. This excruciating process was twice repeated as, in the course of two months, Loyola strove to get back on his feet. All in vain; he was faced with the realization that his fighting days were over.

Having somehow learned to read, Loyola spent his long convalescence soaking himself in the devotional literature then so popular in Spain. His

religious feelings were profoundly influenced, and he resolved to give his life to the service of the church. Finding that he had much to learn, he began to go to school and ultimately gained the best that the universities of Barcelona, Salamanca, and Alcalá could offer him. He then began to preach, only to be shut up by the Inquisition because he was unlicensed. Taking up the pen, Loyola wrote out the gist of his ideas in a book called *The Spiritual Exercises*, the most remarkable book produced by the Catholic Reformation. Reflecting the soldier's viewpoint, it is essentially a drill book, with daily exercises for the control and direction of the will and imagination. Going to Paris, "the little man with the smile," crippled and hardly ever free from pain but educated now and disciplined, began to gather the few followers who with himself were to lay their lives at the feet of the pope. One of these early recruits was Francis Xavier, the world-famous missionary.

The first emphasis of the new order was on discipline. The obedience exacted by the head, or "General," of the order from its members was more than military. The Jesuit must surrender not only his body but his will. He must obey his superior "like a corpse which can be turned this way or that, or a rod that follows every impulse, or a ball of wax that might be molded in any form." The ultimate earthly superior of the members was the pope, to whom each was bound by a special oath of obedience.

Hardly less emphasis was placed on efficiency. The Jesuits were regarded as a special militia, at the service of the pope at any time and on any front. A distinctive monkish dress might be a hindrance to the work of the members, so none was prescribed. Prolonged fasting and other ascetic practices were ruled out because they might reduce the strength and vitality needful for best results. New recruits were carefully inspected, and a long and rigorous apprenticeship was exacted. The work of the order was to be entrusted only to men of good personality, attractive appearance, and nonprovocative temper. Young men of good family were especially welcome. The Jesuits founded schools, and for a century they were the most popular and successful teachers in Europe. From the first, Jesuits strove to gain positions of personal influence—as private confessors, for example—with the leaders of European affairs. The Jesuits also excelled as missionaries; their heroism, their daring, and their success both in the Old World and in the New constitute one of the epics of modern history.

### The Roman Inquisition

The commissioning of the order of the Jesuits in 1540 was an indication that an uncompromising spirit was beginning to influence the leaders

of the church. This spirit was crystallized in the founding of the Roman Inquisition in 1542. First established in the thirteenth century, the medieval Inquisition had developed along lines which became traditional. An inquisitor was first of all a missionary. His object was to reconcile heretics, to restore lost sheep to the fold. Medieval inquisitors were picked men of a high type, usually Franciscans or Dominicans. If persuasion succeeded, and the heretic recanted, a sufficient penance was imposed, which might be imprisonment for a term, even for life, often in a dungeon closed to light and air. If persuasion failed, the church acknowledged defeat by handing the victim over to the civil authorities. Death at the stake followed, terrible enough but scarcely more terrible than the dungeon for life. By the fifteenth century the medieval Inquisition had done its work and had been allowed to lapse.

In completing their work of conquest in Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella found new work for the Inquisition and in 1477 prevailed upon the pope to sanction its revival there. The Spanish Inquisition remained wholly under the authority of the crown; appeal to the pope was not allowed. It became a terribly efficient engine of oppression and repression, political as well as ecclesiastical. It was this Spanish type of Inquisition which was now revived in Rome at the suggestion of Loyola and others. The powers of the Roman Inquisition were entrusted to a commission of twelve cardinals, with jurisdiction on both sides of the Alps. The Inquisition was especially effective in the Italian peninsula.

### The Council of Trent (1542-1563)

Charles V and his fellow princes of Catholic Germany had been for some time insisting that the pope summon a general council of the church. They conceived the task of such a council to be twofold: first, to recast and modify dogma to the end that Lutherans might be persuaded to return to the fold; secondly, to reform the church, head and members, so that it might regain the confidence and affection of the people. Mindful of the attempt a century earlier to set up a council as a limiting legislative body, the popes successively opposed the project of a council and sought either to delay or to kill it. Such was the power of the emperor that the papacy was compelled at last to give way, and in 1542 Pope Paul III summoned a general council to meet at Trent. Significantly, Trent was the German city nearest the Italian border.

The Council of Trent, the last general council save one in the modern history of the Catholic Church, was destined to last for twenty years. Summoned in 1542, it actually met in 1545 and sat for two years. Busying itself with doctrinal matters, the council was then adjourned by the pope

when the emperor pressed for clerical reform. The next pope (Julius III) consented to revive the council if the emperor would agree in advance that the papal authority should remain intact, and sessions were resumed briefly (1551-1552). Strangely enough, Lutheran delegates were now invited to attend and did so. Not so strangely, they found themselves unable to agree with the Catholics. The French king boycotted the council since he was again at war with Charles V. Lutheran successes in Germany accounted in part for the hasty adjournment of the council in 1552. Shortly thereafter all real hope for a reunion with the Lutherans died with the signing of the Peace of Augsburg. The third and final session began in 1562 and lasted through 1563. The propulsive force behind this session, Charles V having retired, was the king of France, who had threatened to call a French national council.

Taken as a whole, the Council of Trent constitutes an important chapter in the history of the Catholic Church. In matters of dogma the decision of the council was "no compromise." Medieval theology was restated; points formerly left open for discussion were precisely defined; Lutheran and Calvinistic beliefs were plainly and pointedly labeled as heresies. Works as well as faith were held efficacious; tradition was deemed of equal authority with the Scriptures; the new Protestant translations of the Bible were expressly banned and the familiar Vulgate of the middle ages stamped as the only authorized version. The "Profession of Faith" of Trent, in which all this and much more was summed up, remains binding upon all priests of the Catholic Church today.

The re-emphasis of medieval concepts in Christian theology was a matter of importance to the whole Christian world. The Protestant theologians held salvation to be a cataclysmic event, and practically ruled out freedom of the will. Catholic theologians insisted that salvation was a process, sometimes long and gradual. In this process the church had an important part to play, but so also had the individual. The believer's faith and good works could be wondrously efficacious in winning salvation for him, Catholic doctrine insisted; his sin and indifference might easily lose it. The Protestant theology of the times, on the other hand, hardly gave a man a fair chance.

The position of the modern Catholic Church is seen at Trent in the affirmation of the absolute authority of the pope with which the council ended its sittings. Fear that a council might diminish its authority had troubled the papacy both before and during the sessions. Nor was that fear unfounded; Spaniards as well as Frenchmen and Germans sought to weaken papal authority. The Germans asked for authority to compromise with the Lutherans; the Spaniards wished to increase the authority of the local bishops; the French wanted to set up a general council as a



permanent institution. Papal emissaries made the most of these differences in point of view and played one nation against another. For three hundred years after Trent no general council of the church was held, and the Council of the Vatican (1877) merely carried forward the decision of Trent to its logical conclusion, affirming the dogma of papal infallibility.

Another matter which received emphasis at Trent was the need of a learned and zealous clergy. It was directed that a seminary for the training of priests be maintained in every diocese. Pope Paul IV (1555-1559), founder of the Theatines and first of the modern popes, set an example to the whole priesthood in holiness of life. A revival of scholarship was begun at Rome, new editions of the Fathers were brought out, the text of the Vulgate was improved, and the Vatican Library was enlarged. Hand in hand with positive scholarship of this character, however, we find a provision which has seemed to some to look in a different direction. The Council of Trent authorized the pope to draw up an *Index of Prohibited Books*, containing the works of heretics and other writings which "tended to heresy, impiety, magic, or immorality." This was done. Effectively administered, the *Index* proved of immense usefulness in molding public opinion in Catholic countries. Try as they might, the Protestant nations were never able to equal it.

### Spain and Her Empire

No country in Europe contributed so much to the Catholic Reformation as Spain; the Spanish people and their sovereign were proud to be its principal champion. It was the great age of Spain. Her population in the middle of the sixteenth century was about seven millions, less than half that of France though double the population of England. Spain's most important economic resource was not industry nor even agriculture, but flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. The greater part of the country consists of a plateau, averaging two thousand feet above sea level. Long hot summers and limited rainfall make the land suitable primarily for grazing. Millions of sheep have inhabited this plateau from early times, their fine wavy wool being famous in Roman days. In the river valleys, where irrigation is possible, and along the narrow stretches of coastal plain, flourished olives, vineyards, fruits, and rice. The Spanish industries of textiles, hardware, and leather were housed in the towns of the seacoast or interior. To the harbors of Barcelona and Valencia came a share of the Mediterranean trade.

Spain's empire overseas was large and rapidly growing. Administratively it was divided into two parts, each under a viceroy. "New Spain" included Mexico, the West Indies, Central America, the northern

coast of South America, and the Philippines. It is interesting to observe that Spain was obliged to govern the Philippines from her base in the New World because of the rigid monopoly over the African route enforced by Portugal. The viceroyalty of Peru included Peru, Chile, Ecuador, and the Argentine. These realms were divided into dioceses, and a numerous clergy introduced the natives to Christianity. The number of Spaniards resident in the New World (1600) was about 200,000; the native population over which they ruled exceeded five millions. There were also some 50,000 Negro slaves in Spanish America. Mexico City, largest of the urban centers, had a population of 150,000. A university was founded in Mexico City during the reign of Philip II, and another at Lima.

Spanish imperial trade was strictly controlled by the crown, which was assisted by the Council for the Indies, established in 1524, and numerous subordinate bureaus and agencies. All ships were owned by the king and leased to merchants and private traders. Only Spaniards, or foreigners who had resided in Spain for ten years and who were of the Catholic faith, might engage in the colonial trade. The two large merchant fleets which sailed each year for the New World traveled under convoy, such was the risk of loss through the attacks of pirates or privateers. Ports of call in America were few. In Spain the sole seat of trade was Cadiz, later Seville. Gold and silver bullion from New World mines was under strict supervision all along the line. The crown took a flat 20 per cent.

### Philip II

To his son Philip, Charles V had left, on his retirement in 1556, Spain and her empire, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the duchy of Milan, and the rich and populous Netherlands. Inasmuch as the relations of the Spanish Hapsburgs with their German relatives remained close and friendly, the encirclement of France, traditional rival of the Hapsburgs, was complete. To further assure to his son a position of predominance on the continent, Charles arranged for Philip's marriage with Mary Tudor, queen of England. This marriage, which took place in 1554, was calculated to attach England permanently to the Spanish side and thus prevent a revival of the old policy of balance which Cardinal Wolsey had pursued with such brilliance in the reign of Henry VIII. Though Philip's stay in England was brief and the marriage childless, the union did serve to join England with Spain in the continuing war with France. In 1559, at Cateau-Cambrésis, Philip made peace with France on a basis of the *status quo*, which assured Spanish predominance in Italy. Both Philip and the French king, Henry II, were beginning to be concerned about the spread of Protestant heresy. To complete his dynastic success, King

Philip in 1580 acquired the throne of Portugal, thus uniting the entire Spanish peninsula. To the great overseas empire of Spain were thus added the extensive holdings of the Portuguese in the New World and the Old. Thus was laid the territorial basis for the great age of Spain.

King Philip had a long reign of more than forty years (1556-1598). As a lad he had been carefully trained in the art of personal government by his father, whom Philip worshiped as his hero. Charles V's injunctions to his son were, generally, to listen to everyone but trust no one, and to retain direct authority over all matters. Philip followed this advice faithfully. The result was that he overburdened himself with the minutiae of government, developing a passion for reading and annotating state papers that was almost psychopathic. His administration was hopelessly procrastinating; messages of urgent importance lay unanswered for months. Government by direct authority was for Philip a matter of religious conviction. He believed that God had entrusted him with full authority and that his responsibility was to God alone. He declined to seek the advice of any class or group, not even the Cortes. His ministers were in "the service of God and his majesty." As a European phenomenon, royal absolutism received a good deal of advancement from Philip II's long practice of the art.

Born in Spain, Philip spoke only the language of his countrymen and during the last forty years of his life he never set foot on other than his native soil. His blue eyes and light coloring gave him a somewhat un-Spanish appearance, but the king was nevertheless very popular, receiving the nicknames of "the Prudent," and "the Great." Philip was of slight build and less than average height, and led by choice a life of physical inactivity. Though his country engaged in many wars, Philip took no personal part in them. During the voyage of the famous Armada he spent many hours of the day on his knees in prayer.

Philip was a very devout man by upbringing and by inclination. The Escorial, which he built on the outskirts of Madrid, was a combination of palace and monastery, and the windows of the royal apartments looked out upon the high altar of the monastic church. Maintenance of the religious unity of his subjects Philip regarded as the essential basis of effective government as well as a part of his duty to God. The restoration of all Europe to the Catholic fold would, in his opinion, redound to both the glory of God and the prestige of the Spanish dynasty. His relations with the papacy, however, were not always cordial. Philip accepted the decrees of Trent in so far as they did not infringe upon the royal prerogatives, but he would allow no papal bull to be published in his dominions without his prior knowledge and consent.

It would seem that if this Spanish king could have had his wish it

would have been to lead a crusade against the Moslem world, carving out an empire in North Africa and removing the Turkish menace from the Mediterranean Sea. In 1570 the Turks captured Cyprus, a base from which they might speedily reduce all Christian outposts in the eastern Mediterranean. In this crisis a league was formed by Venice, the papacy, and Spain, and a fleet was gathered in the ports of Sicily. With three hundred ships and a hundred thousand soldiers and sailors under his command, Don John of Austria, Philip's half-brother, sailed eastward to seek out the Turkish forces. The two fleets met at Lepanto, near the western entrance of the Gulf of Corinth. They were not unequal in size and strength. Fortified by fasting and prayers and inspired by the sacred banner of the pope, the allied forces inflicted upon the enemies of Christendom a decisive defeat (1571). But it was not followed up. Venice made a separate peace, and Philip recalled his men and ships. The Turkish advance had been checked but not reversed.

### Philip II and Europe

From the congenial occupation of hammering infidels King Philip turned to political and religious problems in western Europe. Mary Tudor died in 1558 and was succeeded by Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, the hated rival of Mary's mother. That Elizabeth's religious policy would be Protestant seemed founded on the logic of history, though Philip was at first unwilling to accept this conclusion and even offered Elizabeth his hand in marriage. In 1562 civil war broke out in France between Huguenots and Catholics, the first of a series of eight wars which occupied the next thirty years. Philip's gratification over this neutralizing of his greatest political rival was tempered by his concern for the French Catholics. Though obliged to pay close attention to the course of the conflict, he managed to avoid large-scale intervention until its later years. Most troublesome of all his problems was the revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands. To the suppression of this movement he bent all of his energies for three decades. English aid to the Dutch became so important and so open, and the poaching and piratical enterprises of English sea captains so damaging to Spanish trade, that the reduction of England at last became in Philip's estimation an end in itself as well as an essential preliminary to the pacification of the Netherlands. The assembling of an "invincible Armada" was undertaken, and in 1588 it sailed northward from Lisbon. Crowded with soldiers as it was, the Armada was to take on board yet more thousands of Spanish veterans at some port in the Netherlands. It was the opinion of Europe that the Spanish conquest of England would be easy. As we shall see, Philip failed to conquer England,

to suppress the Dutch revolt, or to profit by his intervention in the affairs of France. The story of these failures constitutes the record of international history in the second half of the sixteenth century.

King Philip, in his Dutch, English, and French wars, regarded himself as the champion of Catholicism against the heretics of Europe. It was God's cause, and Philip accepted his reverses and final failure as the will of God. Bearing his last illness with dignity and fortitude, he died at seventy-one, an advanced age for those days.

### Decline of Spain

The close of Philip II's reign marks the end of the great age of Spain, though this fact was concealed from Europe by the aura of glamour which continued to surround the Spanish dynasty and Spanish civilization. Philip III (1598-1621) was a man whose piety was matched by his indolence. Seldom doing anything bad, he never did anything good. The direction of affairs fell into the hands of professional courtiers of mediocre ability. In international affairs this king enjoyed smooth sailing. England made peace in 1603 and was neutralized for some years by the prospect of a marriage alliance. French revival was checked when the brilliant Henry IV was assassinated in 1610. The new king of France, Louis XIII, a royal do-nothing, married a daughter of Philip III. Even in the Dutch revolt a breathing spell offered itself at length in a truce signed in 1609. Just before the death of the third Philip, however, war broke out in Germany. Both family and religious interests constrained the Spanish king to take an active hand in this conflict. The policy was continued by Philip IV (1621-1665), who, though more energetic than his father, had no political ability and left the direction of affairs to others. The wastage of Spanish resources in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) accomplished the final ruin of Spain.

Incidental to this war was the renewal of the Dutch war in 1621, which ended in the acknowledgment of Dutch independence in 1648. In 1640 Portugal threw off Spanish dominance in a revolt which lasted three hours. In 1635 Richelieu led France into the general war on the side opposed to Spain, and in 1659 Philip IV acknowledged defeat in the Peace of the Pyrenees, which "rectified" the frontier in the Pyrenees, Alps, and Vosges in France's favor. Philip IV, an intelligent patron of the arts and letters, viewed the cumulative reverses of his reign with dignified detachment.

Political events outline and give dramatic emphasis to the decline of Spain, but economic trends and mistaken economic policies explain to a considerable degree its causes. For some years the flow of bullion from the

mines of Mexico and Peru had made the financing of dynastic enterprises a simple matter. Toward the end of the sixteenth century this stream of treasure from the New World underwent a substantial diminution. Furthermore, some of the effects of a large supply of gold and silver from America were adverse. The sharp and sudden rise of prices and wages, brought economic dislocation to Spanish industry. Spanish textiles, for example, even with the aid of a tariff could not compete with the products of French, English, and Flemish looms. In the city of Seville the sixteen thousand looms of the days of Charles V had shrunk to four hundred at the death of Philip II. Internal tariffs, and a sales tax sometimes as high as 20 per cent, further handicapped Spanish industries. We shall not be surprised to learn that by the end of the seventeenth century Spain supplied her own colonies with barely 5 per cent of the articles of manufacture they required from Europe. Spain utterly failed, industrially, to profit by the fact that she had the richest empire in the world.

Spanish financial policy remained medieval. Philip II understood the value of a sound currency and fought for it, but his successors did not. The ministers of Philip III extracted the silver from the currency and then gave each coin a value double that specified on its face. Small wonder that shortly after the death of Philip III bankers were charging interest on advances to the government at the rate of 70 per cent.

The decline in agriculture was less sharp than in industry, but it was persistent. A diminishing population helps to explain the untilled fields, and so also do the special privileges granted in that age to sheep owners. Organized in a powerful association known as the Mesta, the sheep owners had persuaded the government to lend its aid in keeping a vast tract of land, stretching right across the country from south to north, free from zones of cultivation which would interfere with the annual migration of their sheep. The Mesta also encouraged the importation of wheat, rather than its domestic production, and the buying of textiles abroad in order to increase the foreign consumption of Spanish wool. The fact that about one sixth of the soil of Spain was owned by the church was also a powerful influence toward a static condition of agriculture. Among other factors which contributed to agricultural stagnation were heavy taxes and the maintenance of large estates through the custom of primogeniture.

There was a marked decline in the population of Spain during the century following the death of Philip II. Authorities have estimated this decline at one quarter to one third. The wastage of man power in war was one factor, perhaps a small one. The worsening economic situation was a more important cause. Young men, facing hard times, were likely to postpone or forego marriage and instead enter the clergy or migrate

to America. A contributing element in the decline of population was the expulsion, in 1609, of the Moriscos, the descendants of baptized Moors. Disliked by those not as industrious or as prosperous as themselves and suspected of religious hypocrisy in a land where heresy was identified with treason, the Moriscos had suffered many handicapping persecutions before their final expulsion. Deported to the shores of Africa, the Moriscos died of starvation, for the most part, or as Christians were massacred by the Moslems. The commissioners who supervised the deportation recorded the total number of victims, excluding babes in arms, as 101,694. This figure may be nearer the truth than the traditional estimate of 500,000. The Moriscos had been engaged chiefly in agriculture and silk weaving, and their expulsion is one of the definite causes of Spain's decline.

Finally, it is to be feared that the Spaniards of the seventeenth century were not very industrious. The nobility regarded physical labor as degrading, and the number of Spanish nobles great and small was excessive—four times, it is said, the total in France, a much more populous country. The government of Spain, in a vain effort to balance its budget, encouraged the prevailing craze for titles by selling them. The elegant and idle gentleman was the social ideal of all classes. Thousands loafed while honest jobs went begging. To get on the government payroll was one way of living like a gentleman in comparative idleness, and one in every five of the entire population was able to solve his problems in that way. Spain was not well fitted to play the great part in Europe which she had assumed. For several generations she had lived beyond her means.

### Spanish Literature and Art

During her period of European supremacy Spain made contributions to civilization of great and lasting value. Spanish prestige was then high in the world of literature and art no less than in the world of war and politics. Understandably enough, Catholic Europe looked to Spain as its prime source of devotional literature, of which the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola is the supreme example. The writings of Saint Teresa and of Luis de Granada were scarcely less popular. More than two thousand devotional writers of the period have been identified, so passionate was the loyalty of the Spaniards to their church.

The Shakespeare of Spain was Cervantes (Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, 1547-1616), whose *Don Quixote* is even more widely read today than during the lifetime of its author. In form the work is the story of the adventures of an over-romantic and over-chivalrous nobleman and of his prosaic squire Sancho Panza. In substance it is a panorama of Spanish life in the sixteenth century in which all types are passed in review, "nobles,

knights, poets, courtly gentlemen, priests, traders, farmers, barbers, muleteers, scullions, and convicts." Cervantes had had a considerable experience of life, having been at Lepanto, where he was in the thick of the fight, receiving three gunshot wounds, and having spent five years as a Moslem slave in Algiers. Qualities which give *Don Quixote* its universal appeal are its variety of incident and its humor, pathos, and sympathy with human imperfections.

Lope de Vega (Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, 1562-1635) was a writer whose literary genius was universal. Some five hundred of his works survive, chiefly dramas, but his output was as varied as it was prolific. Many of his plays were religious and many of his plots were taken from the Bible. His works were very popular in his own lifetime, partly because they dealt with themes, incidents, and personalities which were essentially Spanish. Calderón (Pedro Calderón de la Barca, 1600-1681) was the last of the great writers of Spain's golden age. He was a dramatist whose output, though uneven, was often highly finished. He lacked the fertility of imagination of Lope de Vega, nor did he indulge in dramatic experimentation as the latter had done. Like him, however, Calderón was purely Spanish in his literary tastes.

Some of the best painting in the world was done in Spain and the Spanish Netherlands. The first of the great Spanish painters was a Greek, from the isle of Crete, named Domenico Theotocopuli (1548-1614), commonly called El Greco. Migrating to Venice, then overlord of Crete, El Greco became the pupil of Tintoretto. Settling finally in Toledo, El Greco devoted himself chiefly to religious subjects, portraying Christ and His disciples as a group no less than thirteen times. Spanish-born and greatest of all Spanish painters was Velasquez (1599-1660). He became court painter and lifelong friend of King Philip IV, and was the glory of the reign of that not greatly distinguished monarch, whom he painted twenty-six times. Of serene disposition and industrious habits, Velasquez painted what he saw without comment. A supreme colorist, his technical skill has never been surpassed. His best known work is the "Maids of Honor," a marvellous composition showing the infanta, her ladies in waiting with dwarfs and servants, and the king and queen, with the painter himself looking on. Murillo (1617-1682) established a type of religious painting for the baroque church, too sentimental for the taste of some. He made more than twenty portrayals of the Immaculate Conception. Not so well known are his many studies, very faithful and genuine, of street urchins.

In the Spanish Netherlands, art flowered profusely in the person of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Brought up by the Jesuits, Rubens settled at Antwerp, where he labored prodigiously and lived magnificently, for



he made a fortune. Master of seven or eight languages, he traveled much in the interest of his sovereign, striving to re-establish peace between England and Spain. When at home he rose at five to attend Mass and then painted feverishly till dusk. About four thousand canvasses are attributed to his studio, the work of the master himself or of his assistants, whose work Rubens always retouched. His preference was for an exuberant, voluptuous type of beauty, exemplified by the plump blonde girl of sixteen whom he married as his second wife when he was fifty-five. His style has been described as "fleshly and upholstered." Both as a painter and in his way of life Rubens personified the baroque period in which he lived. A great painter himself, he was also an intelligent collector of the masterpieces of others. In his gallery when he died were nine paintings by Titian. All the monarchs of Europe sent their agents to the ensuing sale.

The political and economic decline of Spain was followed by a lapse into cultural mediocrity as well. Recovery has been slow and incomplete. It was a century after Calderón and Murillo before Spain produced another writer or artist of note. Her universities remained as numerous as ever, but their curriculum and spirit was medieval. Intellectual adventure was a perilous enterprise in a land where the sleepless vigilance of the Inquisition was backed by the will of the whole Spanish people.

## CHAPTER VI

### *Founding of the Dutch State*

THE NETHERLANDS consisted of seventeen provinces, roughly coinciding with the Belgium and Holland of today, which had been assembled as a political unit in the fifteenth century by the French dukes of Burgundy. They still formed a part of the Holy Roman Empire. We have observed how this bundle of provinces passed to the house of Hapsburg and, upon the division of that house in 1555, to the Spanish branch. Each province had a government of its own, and the union was little more than formal, the provincial delegates assembling as a States-General at rare intervals. Racially and linguistically the people of the Netherlands were diverse. Those living near the French border spoke a Romance dialect known as Walloon; those occupying the central provinces spoke Flemish, a Germanic tongue; still farther north the people spoke another Germanic dialect called Dutch. The Netherlands comprised one of the most populous and prosperous areas in all Europe, an area at once pastoral, agricultural, industrial, and commercial. About a quarter of the whole region—all the land west of a line passing through Dordrecht and Utrecht—was below the level of the sea, and the altitude of much of the rest was less than a yard. The land below sea level had been won from the sea by the indomitable courage and unflagging energy of the lowlanders during the later middle ages. Indeed, this work is still going on, and the Dutch have become the most skillful water engineers in the world. They have recently brought to completion the greatest single project they have undertaken in their entire history, the draining of the Zuider Zee. This shallow salt-water basin was the work of a single great storm in the thirteenth century which broke through the sea dikes. A new province has thus been added to the Dutch state, affording a home for half a million people.

The labor involved in bringing such land to agricultural uses may be faintly realized if we know that land that has been under salt water must be drained to a depth of eighteen inches before it will grow grass fit for pasture, and to twice that depth before it is fit for cultivation. The Dutch dairy industry, still world-famous, flourishes, therefore, in the lowest of the lowlands. Intensive farming and gardening are possible farther inland. With numerous harbors and with rivers stretching into the interior of the

continent, it is not strange that the Netherlands became the seat of important industries and of a thriving commerce. The cities of Flanders had maintained practically a monopoly of Europe's textile industry in the later middle ages, each major city being known for its speciality. England, chief supplier of raw wool to the Flemish textile workers, was the "Australia of the middle ages." There were about two hundred walled cities in the Netherlands at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The total population of the seventeen provinces was close to three million.

### Protestantism in the Netherlands

First Lutheranism and then Calvinism won converts among the Netherlanders. Owing in part to the industrial character of the people and their self-governing tastes, it was the faith of John Calvin that caught on most quickly. As lord of the Netherlands and a good Catholic, Charles V had concerned himself with the growing heresy, when he could find time, and in 1550 had directed his officials "to exterminate the root and ground of this pest." The persecutions which preceded and followed this edict were not light, but no organized protest ensued. Charles was himself a Netherlander, spoke several of the dialects of the provinces, and respected their self-governing ways. He was far too busy to give his policy of extermination any real attention, however, and Protestantism, particularly Calvinism, spread like wildfire throughout the cities of the Lowlands. As elsewhere, the exploited masses were especially susceptible to the more radical emphases of the Calvinistic gospel, and before long iconoclastic riots broke out in the streets of the southern cities and then spread to the north. In Brussels, for example, the mob burst into the cathedral waving their torches, pulling down tapestries and paintings, smashing stained-glass windows, and destroying images. "It looked like hell" was the succinct comment of an Englishman who happened to witness the scene.

### Spanish Rule

Meanwhile political discontent had been added to religious disorder. When the Netherlands passed to Spain at the retirement of Charles V, they came under the rule of an alien monarch who, after 1559, was also an absentee. Philip II was a Spaniard whose only idea of ruling the Netherlands was to treat them as Spanish provinces. This called for a succession of Spanish regents who should take their orders from Madrid, who should be supported by Spanish soldiers, as many as might be needed, and who should enforce in detail the political, religious, and economic policies which had become traditional in Spain. It is surely not strange

that Philip's Spanish way of governing the Netherlands roused quick and emphatic protest (1563).

The anti-Spanish protest did not proceed from a senseless and destructive mob; it was the work of a group of the greatest nobles of the land, Protestant and Catholic alike, and was couched in proper constitutional form. The leader of the group, and the greatest of the nobles in every sense, was William of Orange (1533-1584). He was a German by birth, and his family had taken its name from a small principality in the south of France. Count William had extensive personal holdings in the Netherlands. Like many another expatriate he attained his real fame in the land of his adoption. A Catholic at the time of the initial protest of the nobles, William the Silent, as he is better known, became successively a Lutheran and a Calvinist. In truth, like Queen Elizabeth of England and Henry IV of France, he was politically minded, even believing that religious problems might best be solved by mutual toleration. It was his dream to drive the Spanish out of the Netherlands, at the same time uniting the seventeen provinces into a nation-state.

The Spanish king's first governor of the Netherlands had been Margaret, duchess of Parma, a natural daughter of Charles V by a Flemish mistress. Well disposed but fumbling and uncertain, Margaret failed to end disorder or to silence protests. In 1567, therefore, Philip replaced her by the duke of Alva, a Spanish noble of his own stamp. He it was who entered Brussels in the following year at the head of a well-equipped army, with instructions to crush the rebels and stamp out heresy. The Inquisition was set up in every province and soon began to grind out victims. On a single day, and at the same hour, 1500 men were executed. The most conservative estimate of Alva's victims in the six years of his regime is 6000. He also gave the Netherlanders a taste of Spanish finance by levying a sales tax of 10 per cent which nearly destroyed business. Cities which resisted were taken by storm and then punished by the levy of huge indemnities. Alva's policy had, as was natural, the opposite effect of that he was seeking. William the Silent openly raised the standard of revolt, and not a few were bold enough to rally to it.

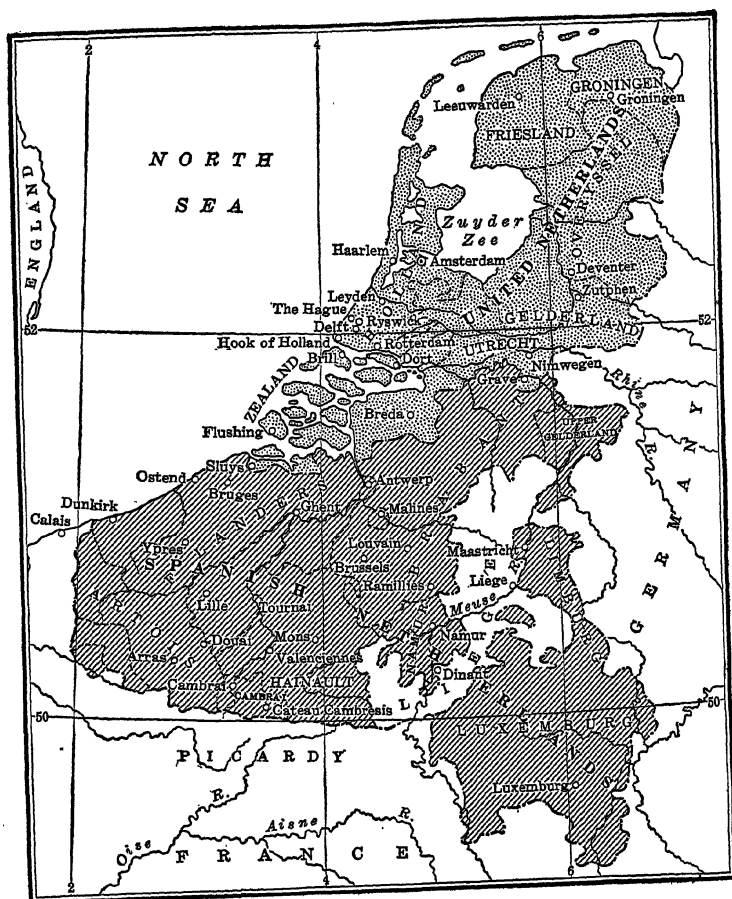
### Revolt; the Union of Utrecht

The contest which ensued dragged out its weary length through forty years, as memorable and heroic a struggle as was ever maintained in the cause of liberty. It has frequently been compared with the war waged by the Americans for independence from England, and there is certainly a surface similarity. A conspicuous difference, however, is the brutality, not all on one side, with which the earlier contest was carried on, a brutality

that sprang in part from religious fanaticism. American history has nothing to compare with the callous offer by Philip II of 25,000 crowns in gold and a patent of nobility for the assassination of the Dutch hero. Nor can we parallel the crime of Antwerp (1576), the "Spanish Fury," where the Spanish soldiery, riotous and unruly, murdered 8000 citizens in an orgy of destructiveness which brought the prosperity of Europe's greatest city to an end.

William's hope of driving the Spanish from a united Netherlands was doomed to failure. A line of cleavage appeared marking off the northern provinces from those of the south. One basis of this division was religion. In the southern provinces the landed nobility, both lay and ecclesiastical, were more numerous and more wealthy than in the more industrial and commercial north. Calvinism's democratic emphasis was as distasteful to the landed magnates of the south as it was appealing to the northern burghers. It became apparent that a Calvinist party dominated the north, whereas in the south the Catholics were in a majority. Refugees from each section sought asylum in the other. Thus was the fissure widened. Military considerations had something to do with it also. Northern provinces like Holland and Zealand, with their huge sea dikes, were practically moated fortresses, difficult even to approach, for the Dutch sailors were in command of all the waterways. In the more open country of the south, however, the Spanish infantry employed with confidence and success the methods which had made it Europe's finest weapon. A line of demarcation was finally drawn in 1579 when ten southern provinces in the Union of Arras agreed to submit to King Philip; they became known as the Spanish Netherlands. Later in the same year the seven northern provinces formed the Union of Utrecht. On July 26, 1581, the "Seven United Provinces" declared their independence from Spain. Each province was to determine its own form of worship, but there should be freedom of conscience in all.

William the Silent had long been convinced that any hope of securing Dutch independence against the mighty power of Spain lay in the possibility of enlisting one of the powers of Europe on the Dutch side. Accordingly he offered the crown of Holland to Elizabeth of England and, successively, to each of the French kings. Elizabeth, careful of her public relations with Spain, maintained the strictest official neutrality, while privately supplying the Dutch with money and allowing their ships to enter her harbors. The French monarchy, prostrated by a series of civil wars, could pursue no national policy of any kind. A promise of assistance from French Huguenots early in the war was rendered impossible of fulfillment by the massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572). But Philip of Spain had his troubles too. Don John of Austria, named governor in 1576



THE NETHERLANDS AT THE TRUCE OF 1609

(Alva retired in 1573), began to develop a line of his own. His plan was to rouse the Catholic party in England, place Mary, Queen of Scots, on the throne, and having married her, himself become king of England. Needless to say, this harebrained scheme, troublesome though it was for a time, came to nothing. In the meantime the life of William the Silent was under constant menace. Having sacrificed the whole of his considerable fortune in the cause, he lived among the devoted Hollanders as simply as any citizen, his latchstring always out. One would-be assassin, pretending to present a petition, fired his pistol at point-blank range. The ball entered William's head at the right ear and came out at the left jaw. It was a near thing and the Dutch were wild with joy when their leader

recovered. A few years later (1584), William was shot dead. He was buried in the church at Delft while "children cried in the streets."

William left a tradition of heroic and self-effacing devotion which has been an inspiration to generations of Dutchmen. What was even more to the point at the moment was that William left a son who proved to be as good a diplomat as William and a decidedly better soldier. His name was Maurice of Nassau. His success in forging an army that could beat the Spanish in the open field stamps him as the greatest military commander of the age. As Spanish military supremacy began to wane, so did her naval supremacy. Elizabeth's aid to the Dutch became bolder; Philip finally gave up his plan of finishing them off first and launched his Armada against England. Its failure was as encouraging to the Dutch as it was discouraging to Philip. Then came the long-hoped-for event that spelled success for the Dutch cause. France was herself again, united under a new king to whom religion meant little and the nation much. Resuming the national policy abandoned at Cateau-Cambr sis, Henry IV declared war on Spain (1595) and in the following year formed with Holland and England a triple alliance. The weight of this hostile combination slowly made itself felt, and in 1609 Spain agreed to a truce which was, for practical purposes, a recognition of Dutch independence.

### Dutch Pre-eminence

The little state which thus became a member of the European society of nations was remarkable from the start. Its area was small and its national resources limited, but the Dutch put what they had to excellent use. A policy of toleration made of their land an asylum in Europe for religious minorities—English Catholics and Puritans, Spanish Jews, Flemish Protestants, and French Huguenots. Many of these people were skilled artisans. Holland became a European center for such highly skilled crafts as that of the clock and instrument maker, the lens grinder, and the diamond cutter. Since there was no censorship, Holland became the publishing center of Europe. Many an author found in Holland a publisher for a book banned in his native land; there remained the exciting job of smuggling copies across the border and securing their illegal circulation. Refugee scholars helped to make the University of Leyden the foremost institution of learning in Europe.

Dutch shipbuilders standardized their methods, imported timber from Scandinavia, and built large seaworthy ships which quickly captured the bulk of the carrying trade of Europe. The trade of the Baltic, the herring trade of the North Sea, and the spice trade of Lisbon were some of their more important conquests. It is estimated that Dutch shipping in

the first half of the seventeenth century more than equaled the total shipping of all the rest of Europe, and that the output of Dutch shipyards exceeded two thousand vessels annually. Seeking the cheapest labor market, the Dutch recruited sailors of every nationality.

First sea power of the world, Holland became the leading money power. Amsterdam displaced Antwerp as Europe's principal city, the Dutch completing the ruin of the latter by blocking its harbor with barges loaded down with stone. The Bank of Amsterdam, founded in 1609, was the largest financial institution yet known. Of great convenience to Dutch merchants, whose varied enterprises brought to their coffers the coins of all nations, the bank was a favored bank of deposit for foreign governments, each of which sought to maintain there as large a reserve as possible. The Bourse of Amsterdam, founded in 1611, like a modern stock exchange facilitated the financing of industrial and commercial enterprises. Of the caliber of Dutch finance it is sufficient to say that Holland was the only state of Europe which was continuously solvent throughout the seventeenth century.

The "one master passion" of the Dutch, says the historian Motley, was the "instinct of self-government." The form of the government, however, might seem to be little suited to serve the nation, whether in peace or war. Each of the seven tiny provinces had its own elective assembly and stadtholder, or executive; each also chose representatives to an assembly of delegates of the United Provinces. This assembly dealt in the main with foreign relations, electing a captain general of the armed forces and an admiral general of the fleet. A loose confederation, seemingly designed for endless postponement of business, the government of the United Provinces really functioned promptly and well. For one thing, Holland was incomparably the greatest province in population, in resources, and in the character of its leaders. Amsterdam, Leyden, even Utrecht, the capital of the United Provinces, were all on the soil of Holland. More important still was the acknowledged pre-eminence of the house of Orange. Through three generations (1580-1650) this family held none but elective offices; but such was the confidence of the Dutch people in its public spirit and ability that the members of the house of Orange were regularly elected to most of the high offices of state. This gave a unity and continuity to public policy which could have been secured in no other way.

Dutch painting of the seventeenth century was as exceptional as was the Dutch government. Strenuously Protestant, the Dutch had banished religious art from their homes and churches. Bourgeois and republican, they had tastes in secular art which were completely at variance with those of the aristocrats to whom artists had formerly looked for com-



missions. The result was that Dutch painters turned to common life, depicting the homes, the cattle, the windmills, and the ships so familiar to the Dutch people, and portraying the people themselves in their ordinary clothes at their usual tasks, without benefit of allegorical settings, classical or otherwise. For the student who has as yet acquired no taste for art there is no better beginning than a study of the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century.

Greatest of the Dutch masters, indeed one of the greatest painters in the history of art, was Rembrandt (1607-1669). Born in Leyden, he settled at Amsterdam as a young man, painting for the well-to-do merchants of that city. Unlike Rubens, Rembrandt was simply a painter, nothing more; his life was uneventful, save in his personal relationships, and he died poor. The genius of Rembrandt as a painter is equal to that of Velasquez, though his methods were different. Where Velasquez used color, Rembrandt used light and shade.

## CHAPTER VII

### *France: Civil War and Recovery*

WHILE VERY FAR from having made a conquest of France, the Huguenots were sufficiently numerous at the time of the Council of Trent, and had sufficient resources at their command, to be able to give a good account of themselves should the Catholics of France decide upon their extirpation. Had a great statesman ascended the throne of France in 1560, one of the bitterest and most disastrous chapters of French history might have remained unwritten; in England at least one fourth of the population was Catholic and yet Elizabeth avoided a civil war. Instead, the worst possible fortune befell as three of the feeblest monarchs in the long annals of the French monarchy followed one another in close succession. Francis II, sixteen years old and an invalid, reigned a little over a year (1560). His brother, Charles IX (1560-1574), a lad of ten, proved to be tubercular and died in his early twenties. Still another brother, Henry III (1574-1589), was a youthful degenerate who wore earrings and a pearl necklace and consorted with a group of wastrels who could give even the king lessons in degeneracy.

#### *Catholics versus Huguenots*

In the irrepressible conflict which ensued, both Catholics and Huguenots fought for control of the crown and thus for mastery of France. One might look upon the two religious groups as political parties seeking to control the national administration, except that the French parties made use of methods ordinarily absent from even the most bitter political controversies. The leaders of the Catholic party throughout the period of nearly forty years were members of the Guise family. Tracing its descent from Charlemagne, this family, though it could not boast close relationship to the house of Valois, wielded great power and influence throughout the north of France. The current duke of Guise became the idol of the nation when he captured Calais (1558). His brother was the archbishop of Rheims, a cardinal, and France's premier churchman. A sister had married James V of Scotland and was the mother of Mary, queen of Scotland, who became for a moment queen of France. The wealth of

the Guises and their interest in the religious question may be judged from the fact that there were fifteen bishoprics in the family. On the Huguenot side the most important leaders were members of the Bourbon family. Anthony de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, and in the right of his wife king of Navarre, was ninth in descent from Louis IX and, upon failure of direct heirs among the Valois, next in line for the throne. When he was struck down in one of the early battles of the civil wars, leadership of the party passed to a younger brother, Louis, prince of Condé. Anthony's place in the succession to the throne was taken by his son, Henry of Navarre. Of greater practical value to the Huguenots than the leadership of the Bourbons, however, was the military ability and staunch loyalty of a great French nobleman named Coligny, hereditary Admiral of France.

History seldom resolves itself into a struggle between two well-defined parties, however. There was in France a middle of the road party also, which tried to hold the balance between Catholics and Protestants with a view to preserving the French monarchy and nation. To this group belonged the mother of the three boy kings, Catherine de' Medici. Like other Italian aristocrats of the period, Catherine loved art in all its forms and was a lavish and intelligent patron, especially of the artists of her native Italy. Catherine was an Italian of the period also in her purely political view of public questions, her entire unscrupulousness, and her wholehearted pursuit of private vengeance. One of the queen mother's most effective political weapons was a flying squadron of beautiful but unprincipled ladies whose charms were employed to seduce the leaders of the opposition. Machiavelli had dedicated his book to Catherine's father, and her policy was "Machiavellianism put into action." Plain of feature, very fat, and short of sight, she could see clearly enough what her primary objective was. "I am resolved," she wrote, "to seek by all possible means to preserve the authority of the king my son in all things." Written of her first son, it still held true of her third, whom she preceded in death by only a few months. As between Catholics and Huguenots the queen mother had no preference; her policy for the most part was to keep the peace.

There were other middle of the road leaders whose views were more broadly national, and both Protestants and Catholics were represented among them. Of these the most noteworthy was the Huguenot Coligny. He felt that civil strife was preventing France from playing the part in Europe and the New World which her national interest required. He called for a settlement of the religious question on the basis of toleration for Huguenots, to be followed by a declaration of war on Spain in which the Dutch, the English, and possibly the Turks might join. Hoping to break

through the Spanish monopoly, Coligny sent out colonists to the New World at his own expense, one group going to Brazil (1553) and another to Florida (1562). Both projects failed; but French sailors, chiefly Huguenots, harassed Spanish trade and plundered Spanish settlements in the Caribbean for many years. The region on the American mainland round about Port Royal, Coligny's second colonial settlement, was christened Carolina in honor of the French king Charles IX. A great Catholic noble, Anne, duke of Montmorency, supported Coligny's views at times. Religious animosity being what it was, however, there was scarcely room in France for a third party.

### Catherine de' Medici; St. Bartholomew's Day

As regent for the boy king Charles IX, Catherine began by allowing the Huguenots the right of public worship in certain specified places (Edict of Toleration, 1562). Such was the inflamed state of opinion, however, that this sensible measure was rejected with scorn by both parties. Only the suffering of eight civil wars, waged with a ferocity scarcely paralleled, convinced Frenchmen that room must be made for more than one variety of religious opinion and practice. The wars began when, in the very year of the edict, armed retainers of the duke of Guise slaughtered a group of Huguenots found worshipping in a barn at Vassy. It would be idle to follow the course of the strife in any detail. Financial exhaustion, the death of a leader, or a recurring sense that the unity of France must not be further imperiled would bring a brief cessation of conflict and an attempt to arrive at a satisfactory compromise. So long as the spirit of compromise was lacking, however, a breakdown of negotiations was always inevitable. Another war would follow. Both sides sought foreign aid, the Catholics from Spain, and the Huguenots from England. Spain sent plenty of gold and, in the end, troops; England, little of either.

That the Huguenots were able not only to survive but even to capture the crown for one brief period is a measure of the strength of their resources and a tribute to their fighting qualities. In 1572, for example, the Huguenot cause was so far advanced that Coligny was able to arrange a marriage between the Protestant Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois, sister of the king. In grave alarm at the waning of her own influence at court, the queen mother called in the Guises and there followed the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. Coligny himself was killed together with thousands of his coreligionists throughout France as the Catholic party indulged its blood lust to the full. The head of Coligny was sent to the pope who, happy in the extermination of so many heretics, ordered a medal to be struck. Philip II of Spain commanded a solemn

*Te Deum.* Elizabeth of England ordered her court into deep mourning, however, and refused to receive the French ambassador.

Huguenot fortunes never rose so high again. Indeed, it was now the turn of the Catholic party. Under the leadership of Henry, duke of Guise, the reactionary Catholics organized a Holy League for the extermination of French Protestants. For some years the League maintained what was practically a rival government and excluded Henry III from his own capital. In a brief display of vigor King Henry feigned reconciliation with the Guises and then secured the assassination of the duke and his brother the cardinal. Joining forces with Henry of Navarre, the King laid siege to Paris, headquarters of the League. While thus engaged, Henry III was assassinated by a Dominican friar for having turned against the League (1589). The succession then passed to Henry of Navarre.

Needless to say, the Catholics would have none of him, and the leaders of that party turned their thoughts to the establishment of a republican regime. But the luck of France had changed. In Henry IV the French people found a man and a statesman. Thirty-five years of age, a skilled commander, and a born leader of men, Henry of Navarre resolved to end the long series of wars that had bled France white and to restore Europe's foremost nation to unity and prosperity. Attacking the Holy League, he urged on his followers with the famous war-cry, "Rally to my white plume; you will find it on the road to victory and honor." Victories did indeed come his way, and in 1591 the new king laid siege to Paris. With desperate courage the Parisians kept their lines intact as Henry settled down to starve them out. Meanwhile, however, a great army of Spanish infantry marched southward from the Netherlands, and Henry was forced to withdraw from Paris. The French king then resolved to conciliate his Catholic subjects, overwhelmingly in the majority, by adopting their religion. Suddenly he announced his conversion (1593). Catholic leaders were unconvinced and the Huguenots were enraged. For the masses of Frenchmen, however, the pope's acceptance of the penitent, soon announced, was sufficient and opposition fell away. To remove all doubt, Henry let it be known that he had touched a few scrofulous persons and healed them, thus proving his divine hereditary right to all the attributes of royalty. Seeking to unite the hearts of all Frenchmen, Henry then declared war on Spain.

### Henry IV; Edict of Nantes

Henry IV had a mind singularly clear and realistic in an age when most minds were clouded by religious prejudice. That mind, assisted by unusual physical and nervous energy, he turned to the reconstruction of

France. His first task was to work out a plan under which the Catholic majority would allow the Huguenots to live, and which would at the same time give the Huguenots such a sense of security that they too would agree to lay down their arms and unite with their Catholic neighbors for the betterment of France. That is what the Edict of Nantes (1598) was aimed to do, its provisions drafted after months of laborious negotiations. The edict, then, is not an act of toleration based upon philosophical principles but a treaty between warring factions. In effect the edict set up in France a little Huguenot state, capable of defending itself if need be. More than two hundred fortified towns were to be garrisoned by Huguenot troops at the royal expense. In those towns and in the castles of the Huguenot nobility the public worship of Huguenot congregations was legalized. Huguenots were assured full civil rights throughout France. Their pastors were paid by the state, and Huguenots in turn had to pay tithes to the Catholic clergy and observe all Catholic holidays. This was indeed a forward step in the march toward freedom of religion; but it was a concession to the power of the Huguenots, not an acknowledgment of a right. Under another king less national in viewpoint, more partisanly Catholic, the liberty which the Huguenots had won at such great cost might be withdrawn.

By his conversion and religious settlement Henry had ended the civil wars and rescued his country from almost certain dominance by a foreign power. Then with the statesmanship of genius he undertook the task of reconstructing the political institutions and the economic life of France. To extend the area of fertile soil, marshes were drained and agricultural colonists were assisted to settle. Some of the colonists were from the Netherlands. To facilitate internal trade, a complete system of canals was planned and their construction begun. The domestic manufacture of cloth and glassware was encouraged by high tariffs on competing goods from abroad. The silk industry, destined to become one of her greatest resources in time to come, was now introduced to France. External commerce was fostered by a series of commercial treaties with England, Spain, and Holland. Two attempts were made in Henry's reign to colonize Canada (1604 and 1608). Financial rehabilitation was undertaken with marked success. The king's finance minister was Maximilien de Béthune, duke of Sully, a devoted friend as well as a faithful servant. Sully was able to balance the budget and convert the deficit of 300,000,000 livres (the modern franc) into a surplus of 18,000,000 livres.

Henry IV has the reputation, in French history, of being a special friend of the poor, the advocate of "a chicken in every pot." This is a bit fanciful, perhaps, and may derive from the well-attested fact that he had a full share of the affability, good nature, and familiarity which charac-

terize the people of Gascony. Henry's many, too many, love affairs also seem to have endeared him to the people of France. Politically, however, he was no democrat. His authority was direct and personal, and he brushed aside competing authorities, such as provincial assemblies and urban corporations. In fact, Henry IV restored the authority of the crown and contributed greatly to the absolutist tradition in France.

To re-establish the prestige of France, Henry planned a grand onslaught on Spain and the Hapsburgs, with the Spanish Netherlands and the Rhine as European objectives and a large slice of the Spanish empire as his goal in America. He reorganized the French army, set up a school for officers, raised the pay of the soldiers, and supplied his forces with the best artillery available. His diplomatic preparation also was well advanced when, a belated victim of the gangster spirit he had sought to exorcise, he was struck down by an assassin (1610).

Again a boy king came to the throne with a Medici as his mother, even fatter, though less intelligent, than was the celebrated Catherine. Marie de' Medici established herself as regent for her nine-year-old son Louis XIII. Marie had no political ability whatever. Dismissing Sully, she financed herself for a few years from the surplus he had built up. To check the nobles who had begun to resume their independent ways, Marie summoned the Estates-General, which a century and a half before had fallen into disuse. Unfortunately, this body, combining clergy, nobility, and commons, did not immediately agree upon a program, and Marie, unable to pursue any policy for long, dismissed it (1614). For the space of one hundred and seventy-five years longer the French monarch was destined to rule alone. In foreign relations Marie proved to be equally lacking in intelligence. Reversing Henry IV's national policy, she made peace with Spain, cementing it with a royal marriage, or rather two marriages. Louis XIII married Anne of Austria, a daughter of the king of Spain, and Louis's sister Elizabeth married the heir to the Spanish throne, later Philip IV.

### Richelieu

Marie's power for harm ended when her son grew weary of her restraint. Fortunately for France, however, Louis XIII did not choose to remain the active head of the government. His passionate fondness for hunting and his interest in handicrafts took precedence over the public duties of a sovereign. As sometimes happens, a royal minister of great ability was able to win and to keep the confidence of the do-nothing king. For eighteen years (1624-1642) the vast and God-given powers of monarchy in France were actually exercised by Armand du Plessis de Richelieu (1585-1642). Of noble birth, Richelieu abandoned military life in

favor of the family bishopric at the age of twenty-one. As a spokesman for the clergy at the Estates-General of 1614 he succeeded in attracting the attention of the queen. Entering the royal service, he quickly became Secretary of State for War and, through the queen's favor, a cardinal. After Louis XIII's dismissal of the queen mother, Richelieu remained as principal minister of the crown, in reality, the ruler of the state. Of frail physique, Richelieu possessed superior intellect and iron will. In the pursuit of his policies he was unscrupulous and without pity.

With as much resolution as any of the kings of France and with clearer purpose than most of them, Richelieu strove to increase the power of the French monarchy at home and its prestige abroad. "The first thing I considered," he said, "was the majesty of the king; the second was the greatness of the kingdom." His first task was to liquidate the political power of the Huguenots. Disquieted by the marriage of Louis XIII to the Spanish Anne of Austria, the Huguenots began to strengthen their defenses, in case the Edict of Nantes should be broken. Some of the bolder spirits among them, taking advantage of the prevalent unrest, began the organization within France of a "Republic of the Reformed Churches." To Richelieu the existence of a group of Frenchmen in armed possession of two hundred cities and many castles was both anomalous and intolerable. In his decision to break the power of the Huguenots, however, religious intolerance played no part. One by one the cardinal laid siege to the Huguenot fortresses. Strongest of all was the coastal city of La Rochelle. It fell only after a bitter fight lasting fifteen months. In the Edict of Alais (1629) the military and political privileges of the Huguenots were canceled; their continued freedom of worship, however, was guaranteed.

Toward the French nobles, whether Catholic or Protestant, Richelieu was as inexorable as with the Huguenots. The nobility were pretty well out of hand as a result of the religious civil wars. Richelieu ordered their castles dismantled. Only those fortresses should be maintained which were needed for national defense, he argued. To curb their unruly spirits, Richelieu also ordered the nobles to drop private feuds and to refrain entirely from dueling. When they hesitated and murmured against him, Richelieu startled France with executions in which the very greatest were not spared. Indeed, it is estimated that Richelieu imprisoned, banished, or executed about two hundred of the highest nobles of France. He also lessened the importance of the nobility as a military class by developing the infantry service, in which they would not serve. Finally, Richelieu struck a blow at the nobles as governors of provinces by appointing intendants who took over most of their duties. In his later life Richelieu sought to render more permanent the centralizing and absolutist



policies he had so successfully advanced by setting forth his political principles in his *Political Testament* for the guidance of the king after his own death.

Clear cut and forcible as was Richelieu's domestic policy, it had serious defects and there were glaring omissions. The great cardinal had no skill in public finance and no understanding of its importance. He allowed profiteers to collect the land tax at a profit to themselves of 25 per cent, and the salt tax at a profit of 40 per cent. Moreover, one quarter of the entire population continued to be exempt from all taxation. The public lands were sold recklessly and far below their value. The interest on the public debt increased by 1000 per cent during Richelieu's term as chief minister of the crown. In short, the whole evil system of taxation and finance which ultimately led to the collapse of the French monarchy Richelieu condoned and even aggravated. Finally, he had no more notion that the people should share in the government than had his contemporary Charles I of England. Of course we should not be too quick to censure Richelieu for his blindness to free government. It may well be, as one historian says, that "the French people in the seventeenth century were incapable of constitutional development; they did not even desire it."

In his foreign policy Richelieu's success was as great as in his domestic, though this was not perhaps so immediately obvious. Needless to say, he resumed the war with Spain, advancing against the Spanish Netherlands and pressing for a boundary at the Pyrenees which would give France the command of the passes. The fruits of this anti-Spanish policy, however, were gathered by his successor Mazarin. Richelieu's intervention in German affairs was directed toward bringing about such a further weakening of the German Empire as would secure France along the Rhine. This he did, though here again he did not live to see the treaty signed which confirmed his success.

### Cardinal Mazarin

In the year following the death of Richelieu Louis XIII also died, leaving the throne to a boy of five. Once more, however, a royal minister was at hand who was able and willing to rule in the king's name, a minister whom Richelieu himself had trained. Cardinal Mazarin was born Giulio Mazarini, in Palermo, Sicily. Richelieu first met him when Mazarin was a young cleric in the service of a great Roman family. Bringing him to France, Richelieu trained Mazarin as his successor. To rule France, however, Mazarin would have to make sure of the favor of the Spanish mother of the boy king, Anne of Austria. The tall and handsome Italian did more than that; he won her love. Mazarin was the real ruler of France from the death of Richelieu in 1643 to his own death in 1661.

Mazarin reaped the fruits of Richelieu's German policy in the Peace of Westphalia and then in 1659 he brought the long Spanish war to a close in the Peace of the Pyrenees, which gave territorial security to France on the south and on the northwest. At home Mazarin was able to hold firm the advances made by Richelieu, but only with difficulty. The nobility, aided by the magistrates of Paris, and sometimes by the mob, rose in a series of insurrections which kept France in turmoil for four years (1648-1652), and on one occasion drove the Spanish-born queen and her Italian "husband" out of France. Elastic and supple, however, where his predecessor had been bold and brilliant, Mazarin sowed dissension in the ranks of his enemies, triumphed at length, and steered the ship of state into quiet waters. The "Fronde," as the insurrections were called (from *les frondeurs*, mudslingers), had an important meaning. In their demand for a share in the government, and particularly for control over finances, the *frondeurs* were in the path of constitutional progress. Since France had no constitution, however, this could not be the path for France. The future Louis XIV witnessed the disorders of the Fronde and he never forgot them. He resolved to rule alone and with a strong hand. Mazarin died March 9, 1661. On March 10 young Louis, in his twenty-third year, made the following announcement to his assembled councilors: "Hitherto I have been right willing to let my affairs be managed by the cardinal; it is time I should now take them into my own hands." Here, for the time being, we may leave the affairs of France.

## CHAPTER VIII

### *Germany and Europe in the Thirty Years' War*

THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG was a premature compromise in the religious struggle in Germany. The Protestant movement had not yet spent its force and the Catholic Reformation had not yet got under way. Despite the "ecclesiastical reservation" the Lutheran princes of Germany continued to seize church property. In Saxony alone, following Augsburg, two archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics were "secularized," only a fraction of their wealth being reserved even for the use of the Lutheran Church. In Brandenburg a similar process went on, though on a lesser scale. The sweep of Protestantism north of the Main River was so complete that there was only one lay Catholic prince left, the duke of Cleves. More aggressive than Lutheranism in the first decades after 1555 was Calvinism. This faith, it will be recalled, was not officially recognized at Augsburg. It spread with great rapidity, however, among the cities of the Rhineland. In Aachen and Cologne a majority of the townsmen became Calvinist. Refugees from the Spanish Netherlands, settling in the cities of the lower Rhine, strengthened the Calvinist element. Gebhard, archbishop of Cologne, one of the electors and ex officio a great territorial magnate, turned Calvinist in 1583 and, taking a wife, endeavored to transform the lands of the archbishopric into a private principality. Another important convert to Calvinism was the Count Palatine of the Rhine, also one of the electors. Late in the century still another elector, the margrave of Brandenburg, accepted Calvinism for himself and his subjects. Only one of the four lay electors of Germany was still a Catholic, the king of Bohemia, who was also the head of the Austrian Hapsburgs and emperor. An expanding Lutheranism and a militant Calvinism were two factors in the renewal of the German wars of religion.

#### The Catholic Reformation in Germany

In the meantime Catholicism was on the march. During the last quarter of the sixteenth century the Catholic Reformation entered south Germany in force. It came first in the guise of an educational and spiritual revival and was the work chiefly of Jesuits. The Jesuits established the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, and the princes of the houses of



### "MISERIES OF WAR" (pp. 147-148)

This is one in a series of engravings by Jacques Callot (1592-1635) of scenes from the Thirty Years' War. (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



### HENRY IV OF FRANCE AND MARIE DE' MEDICI (pp. 196-198)

This painting by Rubens was one of several depicting in glamorous fashion the life of the French queen. She hoped they would influence her son, Louis XIII, to restore her to favor.



WALLENSTEIN (p. 145)

By Sir Anthony Van Dyke (1599-1641), a native of Antwerp who became court painter to Charles I of England.



THE DEFENESTRATION OF PRAGUE (p. 144)

From *Theatrum Europaeum* (1662). In addition to the two representatives of the emperor, a secretary was also tossed through the window.

Bavaria and Hapsburg were Jesuit-trained and leaned heavily on the members of the order for advice in political and religious matters. These princes began by setting their own lands in order, driving out Protestant minorities and confiscating their property.

In their Bohemian lands the Hapsburg princes pursued a modified policy. There they proceeded with caution, for nine tenths of the Bohemians were Protestants. Unluckily, the Bohemian Protestants lived in turmoil, with Lutherans, Calvinists, Hussites, and other sects battling each other. Their one bond of union was Czech nationality and hatred of the Germans—priests, merchants, and officials—who constituted the Catholic tenth of the population. The prevailing hatred of Germans expressed itself among Bohemians in the following saying: "Like a caterpillar in a cabbage, a serpent in the breast, a rat in a granary, a goat in a garden, so in Bohemia the German steals, cheats, and deceives." In 1609 the Bohemian Protestants combined to force their king, the Hapsburger of the moment, to make an official grant of freedom of conscience, the so-called "Letter of Majesty."

The first two emperors following Charles V (Ferdinand I, 1556–1564; Maximilian II, 1564–1576) lived up to the provisions of Augsburg and did not meddle in the religious affairs of the Empire. The third emperor, Rudolph II (1576–1612), had been educated in Spain and was in thorough sympathy with the objectives of the Catholic Reformation, but a mild insanity prevented him from engaging in more than an intermittent activity. One act of his reign had momentous consequences, however, and brought civil war among the Germans a long step nearer. The free city of Donauwörth, on Bavaria's western border in south Germany, was Protestant by a decisive majority. In 1606 some Catholic citizens asked permission of the town council for a religious procession, but were refused. The procession took place nonetheless and was broken up with some violence by the Protestants. The emperor after a hasty investigation condemned the civic authorities of the town and commissioned the Catholic duke of Bavaria, Maximilian, to punish the city. Captured after a stout resistance, Donauwörth was sentenced by the emperor to the loss of its free status and awarded to Bavaria. By this unconstitutional act the German emperor himself broke the truce established at Augsburg. The Protestant states of the Rhine thereupon formed a defensive union (1608) under the leadership of Frederick IV, elector of the Palatinate. The Catholic princes as promptly united in a league led by Maximilian of Bavaria. Both groups sought allies abroad. The cause of the Protestant Union was at once taken up by the formidable Henry IV. of France, and it is possible that a general war would have at once ensued had not an assassin struck the French king down (1610).

With the German princes in two armed groups, however, it was obvious that war would break out when public opinion was sufficiently inflamed. An important contributing cause was the "battle of the books" in 1617. This was the centenary year of Luther's Ninety-five theses, and as though by prearrangement theologians and publicists in both camps wrote formal surveys of the "century of progress." The many and recent advances of German Catholicism made it easy for the Catholic protagonists to conclude that Protestantism had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Catholic writers could point also to the deep fissure in the Protestant camp, for the Lutheran princes declined to join the Protestant Union, and the Calvinist professors of Heidelberg assailed the Lutheran professors of Tübingen with as much fury as they displayed against the Catholics themselves.

### Revolt in Bohemia

In 1617, the same centenary year, Ferdinand of Styria, cousin of Rudolph II, became head of the house of Hapsburg and thus king of Bohemia. Jesuit-trained, Ferdinand was resolved to uproot every Protestant in his dominions, declaring that he "was ready to perish in the struggle, should that be the will of God." Ferdinand began by expelling from their lands certain Bohemian peasants who refused to attend the Catholic church, and by refusing to grant to the Protestants of a certain village a permit to build a church. These flagrant violations of the Letter of Majesty, which Ferdinand had confirmed upon his accession, roused the Protestants to fury. When Ferdinand rejected their protest and defended his actions, the Protestant leaders entered the castle of Prague and flung two of Ferdinand's regents out of a window into the moat, sixty feet below. This act of violence was followed by the setting up of a "Provisional Government" (1618). The insurrectionists then invited Frederick V, elector of the Palatinate, to be their king. Frederick's acceptance transformed the Bohemian trouble into a war which involved all Germany and, in time, all Europe.

For twelve years, 1618-1630, the war was a religious civil war of a familiar type. The princely participants were willing to do much for the religion they professed, but they expected to be compensated for their trouble. Both the Protestant Union and the Catholic League sought help abroad, the latter with more success than the former. As the son of William the Silent's daughter and the son-in-law of James I of England, Frederick of the Palatinate hoped for the support of both Holland and England. There was, indeed, much sympathy for Frederick in the two countries; but Holland was at war again with Spain, after 1621, and in England the long struggle between king and Parliament was getting under way. Some

help came from Protestant Denmark but it was little and late. On the other hand, Spain's support of the Catholic League was prompt and substantial; a Spanish army from the Netherlands marched up the Rhine to invade the Palatinate. By 1630 the German Catholics with their allies had won the war, and Protestantism as a political force in Germany had been well-nigh swept away. Frederick lost not only Bohemia but his own lands as well. The forfeited Palatinate was bestowed by the emperor, with the title of elector, upon the duke of Bavaria.

### Preliminary Victory of the Catholics

The victory of the Catholics in Bohemia and elsewhere had been the work not so much of the Catholic League as of the emperor himself. It may be wondered how Ferdinand, without a treasury and without an army, could play so dominant a role. A man had come forward to offer the emperor an army free of charge, with himself as its commander. That man was Albrecht Wenzel von Waldstein, better known as Wallenstein. A Bohemian noble, originally a Hussite perhaps, Wallenstein was a man of no religion, "unless astrology may be so regarded." Experience in the Turkish wars had developed his military skill, and successful land speculation during the Bohemian persecutions had made him enormously wealthy. Indeed, he was a genius at moneymaking, and war appealed to Wallenstein chiefly as an unparalleled opportunity for profiteering. He proposed to recruit an army of mercenaries and maintain it out of the booty it would capture and the indemnities it could levy. This army, if the emperor would authorize him to recruit it, he would place at the emperor's service.

This offer of assistance was made in 1625. In five years Wallenstein had made of the imperial army a formidable weapon and of the emperor the principal factor in the affairs of the empire. So far the Lutheran princes of Germany had stood aloof from the struggle, content to let the Calvinists take a beating. Invading northern Germany, however, Wallenstein completed the rout of Christian IV of Denmark, and deprived some of the lesser Lutheran princes of their possessions and thoroughly cowed the others. The emperor rewarded Wallenstein with the resounding titles of Prince of Friedland and Admiral of the Baltic. In 1630 the emperor climaxed his successful policy as the German champion of the Catholic Reformation with an Edict of Restitution by which all church lands secularized by Lutherans or Calvinists since 1555 were returned to the Catholic Church.

Well satisfied with the progress of the Catholic cause, the emperor next busied himself with the "reconstruction" of Bohemia. Protestantism



was extirpated. A small "army" of Jesuit, Capuchin, and German "carpetbaggers" systematically destroyed the religious, political, and economic life and resources of the Bohemians. Czech landowners were dispossessed, more than half the land being confiscated and the peasants reduced to serfdom again. In 1632 persecution ceased, for the work was done. The Hussite University of Prague had become a Jesuit stronghold.

But the emperor had overplayed his hand. The princes of Germany, Protestant and Catholic alike, were thoroughly frightened by the specter of a revival of imperial authority. Protestant princes were especially alarmed by the use of the new authority to deprive them of lands held half a century or more. But Catholic princes noted that in many cases recovered lands were going not to their original owners but to the emperor's favorites, the Jesuits. At the Diet of Ratisbon, which met shortly after the issuance of the Edict of Restitution, the Catholic League demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein. Ferdinand, a little afraid of his headstrong and unprincipled commander, agreed.

### Intervention of Sweden

The victories of Wallenstein, however, had already set in motion a train of circumstances which carried the conflict out of German hands. A second period of war ensued, 1630-1648, during which the fighting was carried on mainly by Sweden, France, Holland, and Spain. Religious motives, at all times strongly modified by considerations of political advantage, were now completely lost to view in a struggle for power among the states of Europe. Incidentally, and it was but incidental, German Protestantism recovered much of the ground it had lost in 1630.

Sweden now played a great part on the European stage for the first and last time since the days of the Northmen. Poor in resources and with a population of only a million and a half, this little land found in its house of Vasa a family of unusual leaders. They freed Sweden gradually from its economic servitude to the German cities of the Hanseatic League, enlisting Dutch sea power in this enterprise. The glory of the house was Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632), a man who would "stand high in any computation of human excellence." His greatest political ambition was to secure Sweden's predominance in the commerce of the Baltic, to make of the Baltic Sea a "Swedish Lake." Finland, Esthonia, and Livonia were already in hand, but Sweden needed harbors and coastland on the southern shore of the Baltic as well. Gustavus Adolphus continued the alliance with the Dutch, conceding mining rights in Swedish iron ore in return for money and munitions. As a stanch Lutheran of sincere piety, Gustavus was deeply concerned to strike a blow for his fellow Lutherans

in Germany. The appearance of a strong German force in the north was thus a matter of overpowering interest to the Swedish monarch. Learning that Wallenstein had laid siege to Stralsund at the mouth of the Oder (1630), he decided upon intervention.

In two years the Swedish king, with but little help from the self-centered Lutheran princes of Germany, completely reversed the position of the religious parties at the time of the Edict of Restitution and his army entered the capital of Bavaria. Wallenstein was recalled only to be beaten. Gustavus's next campaign, without a doubt, would have carried him to Vienna. The Swedish army was made up of conscripts, not mercenaries. It was splendidly drilled, equipped, and led. Gustavus had put his soldiers into uniform as an aid to discipline. Swedish muskets were of an improved type, lighter and more easily fired than most contemporary weapons. The units of infantry were smaller and thus more mobile than his opponents. Swedish artillery had been adapted to field service. Above all, Gustavus, by sharing their hardships and their risks, inspired in his followers a fanatical devotion that could not be matched in the other armies of the day. His victories at Breitenfeld (1631), on the Lech (1632), and finally at Lützen (1632) were decisive and clear cut. At Lützen, however, the Swedish leader, mistaking enemy troops for his own, was surrounded and, despite victory on the field, mortally wounded.

Gustavus's daughter Christina and his minister Oxenstiern saw to it that Swedish policy did not collapse, though the period of swift aggression was at an end. Catholic France led by Cardinal Richelieu had been a heavy financial backer of Swedish intervention from the start. With the relaxing of the Swedish effort, French soldiers as well as French gold were sent into Germany as Richelieu sought profit for France out of her neighbor's long drawn out agony.

### Destructive Character of the War

We need not concern ourselves further with the German policies of France, Sweden, Holland, and Spain at this point. Germany had become little more than a battleground of the nations, all consideration of her welfare lost to view. The German people could only pray that by some miracle the conflict might end before German civilization had been blasted utterly from the soil.

Wallenstein gave the war an unusually destructive nature by allowing his army to live off the land and by sharing with his soldiers the booty taken from the sack of cities. Other commanders followed suit, and the rank and file pillaged, ravaged, and looted with or without orders. An eyewitness of the war says that the life of the soldier was one of "gluttony

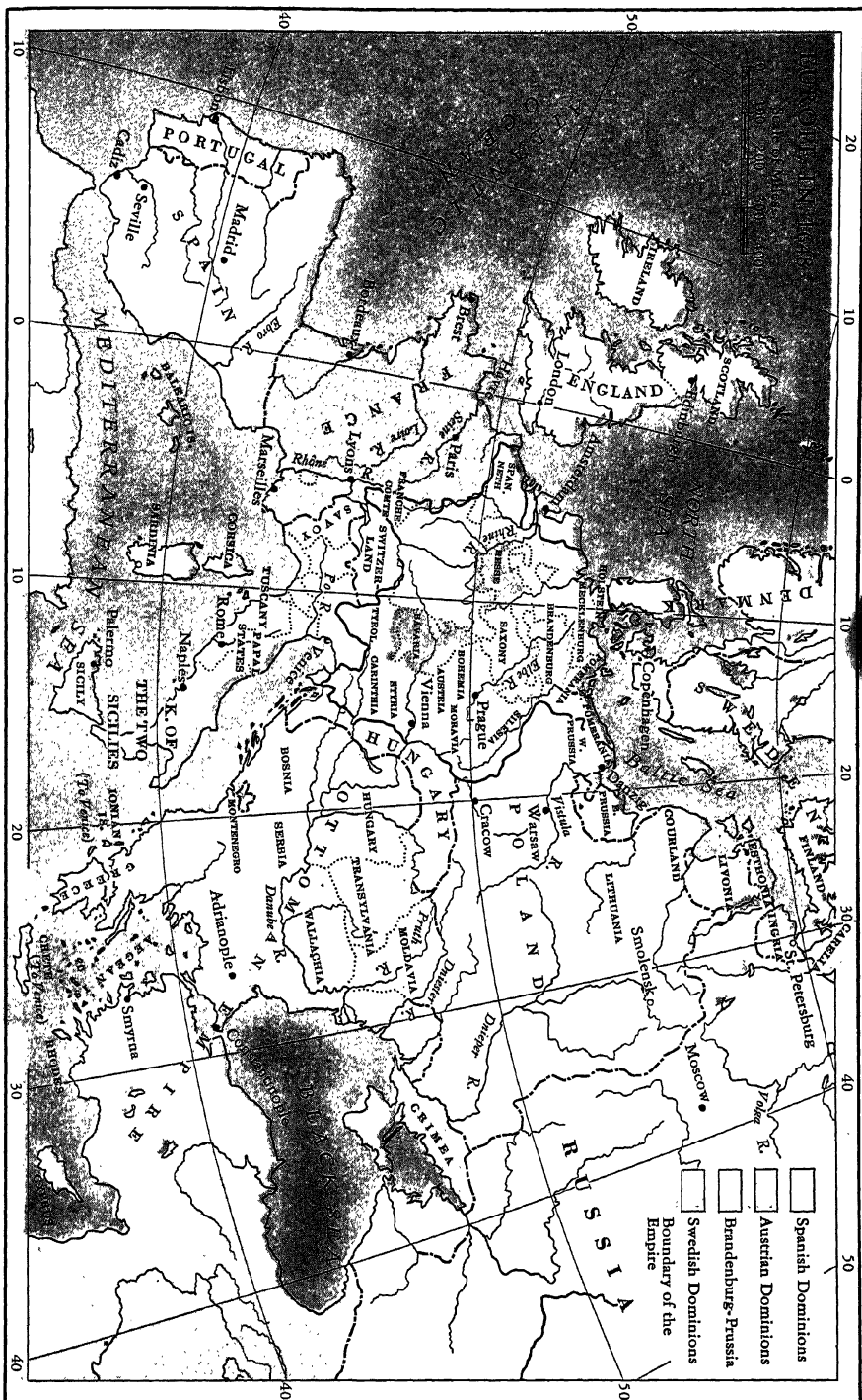
and drunkenness, hunger and thirst, wenching and dicing and playing, rioting and roaring, murdering and slaying and being slain . . ." When Magdeburg, a thriving commercial city, was taken by assault in 1621, "an orgy of rape, murder, and robbery ended only when the city was in flames and more than 20,000 persons had perished." Scores of cities were reduced to half their population in the closing years of the war; hundreds of villages were without inhabitants. Great trees were weighted down by the human bodies suspended from their branches. Famine became chronic after the repeated destruction of crops and the slaughter of livestock, and peasants were found dead with grass in their mouths.

In Germany as a whole the population declined from twenty-one millions to about thirteen. A third of the land lay uncultivated for years. Learning, art, and literature vanished from a land which had shared with Italy the cultural leadership of Europe. The German language became so corrupt, so full of barbarisms, that even in the eighteenth century educated Germans preferred to write in French or Latin. It is estimated that the advance of German civilization in general was delayed by at least a century. These sufferings of the German people, this savage blow at German culture, were the result of a war whose very issues had been lost to view in a general free-for-all among the states of Europe.

### Peace of Westphalia

The Peace of Westphalia ending the war was finally signed in 1648. As early as 1641 delegates from France, Sweden, and the Empire had agreed to hold a peace conference to which all interested parties should be invited. It took two years to get the various delegations together; the ensuing discussions lasted five years more. Negotiations had been delayed and, once begun, were prolonged by ridiculous points of national honor and diplomatic procedure. France and Spain were determined not to yield to each other in precedence, though a compromise was at last agreed to. Sweden refused to the last to yield priority to the French, however, and delegates of the two countries remained throughout in different though adjacent cities. The republic of Holland demanded a place at the conference equivalent in honor to that of the republic of Venice. The pope refused to send a representative to the conference at all, and at its close declined to accept its decisions.

Let us first review the religious provisions of the Peace of Westphalia. The principle of Augsburg was reaffirmed, with the important addition that Calvinism was recognized. Each German prince, consequently, was now free to choose among three faiths. With regard to the ecclesiastical states, it was decided that all church property in Protestant hands on





January 1, 1624, was to remain there. This meant that Protestantism had made a clean sweep of episcopal and monastic lands in northern Germany. The political supremacy of Protestantism north of the Main was thus assured. In the proceedings of the imperial Diet Protestants and Catholics were to have equal rights.

In political matters, also, important decisions were made in the Peace of Westphalia. Each German prince was given authority to conduct his government as he pleased, even to the point of pursuing an independent foreign policy so long as this was not directed against the emperor or the Empire. Thus, though the form of Empire remained, all authority now departed from it and Germany was for the future merely a loose league of states. Some of these states no longer followed a German policy. Others were not German in any sense. Austria, whose house retained the imperial office, pursued a purely dynastic policy from now on, expanding to the east and south. Brandenburg, whose margrave made important gains in the Peace of Westphalia, had non-German interests in Prussia. Sweden received western Pomerania and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden along the Baltic, with a seat in the Diet. France was rewarded with the formal confirmation of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, territories which she had held since 1552, and also with bits of Alsace formerly held by the Hapsburgs. The independence of both the Swiss and the Dutch republics was recognized. Germany thus became the China of Europe, some provinces slipping away, others falling prey to predatory powers.

More important, perhaps, than any of the stated provisions of the Peace of Westphalia was the fact that this treaty marks the end of religious wars on the continent of Europe. Not a word was said in the treaty about tolerance; indeed, it was expressly provided that in the dominions of the house of Hapsburg, at least, Protestants were not to be tolerated. Nevertheless, tolerance was destined to become a rule of action among the German princes. The economic ruin of Germany and the decline of population called for prompt and intelligent reconstruction. The margrave of Brandenburg, for example, sought to attract immigration by offering freedom of conscience along with other advantages. This policy was widely imitated as its beneficial results became apparent. Furthermore, a century of conflict had made it clear to all thoughtful men that religious preference was a matter which simply could not be settled by force, however much one might wish it could be.

## CHAPTER IX

### *England: Political and Religious Readjustments 1558-1689*

IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND most men believed that unity of religion was an essential condition of the order and security of the state; furthermore, they believed that it was for the monarch to decide what the religion of the country should be. Elizabeth was one with the majority in this matter and her preference was for a state church of the form established by her father but with the somewhat moderated theology of her brother. Catholic and Calvinist minorities would have to accept this, but their lack of heartiness in conformity the queen was disposed, for the time being, to wink at.

#### The Elizabethan Settlement

The broad and mildly tolerant policy of Elizabeth has been attributed to her religious indifference, and it is true that in spite of her closeness to the throne she had known how to survive under both Protestant Edward and Catholic Mary. Queen Elizabeth's policies were usually national rather than personal, however. In the eyes of the Catholic world the religious settlement arrived at by the English crown and Parliament was unacceptable. The English queen, child of the hated Anne Boleyn, was illegitimate and nothing less than a usurper. The true ruler of England was her Catholic cousin Mary of Scotland, who in 1560 became queen of France. Just one year before, France and Spain had ended half a century of strife, the better to give attention to religious problems. Probably no sovereign in English history has come to the throne at a time of such difficulty and danger as did Elizabeth.

The new queen's greatest asset was her own character. Parental love and care she had never known; with such parents as hers it was perhaps just as well. Thrust into the arena of life almost before she could walk, Elizabeth early learned to keep her own counsel. Indeed, she became an adept at dissimulation. From her father Elizabeth inherited great physical vitality and a dominating, not to say domineering will. Her flirtatious propensities may be attributed to her mother, if it is necessary to give

them explanation. Like all the Tudors, she loved her people and courted popularity. Her personal desires never prevailed over the nation's interest as she saw it.

It was Elizabeth's game to play for time in the hope that combinations hostile to England might be hindered or even broken by the course of events, and in the hope that meanwhile she could establish her religious settlement so wisely and administer it so liberally that it would appeal to the vast majority of her subjects. Thus, if the storm finally broke, she might be able to count upon the solid backing of the nation. With such convincing art did she pursue her policy that for half a dozen years she maintained Philip of Spain's belief that she would turn Catholic and marry him, while for twelve years the papacy withheld its thunderbolt of excommunication.

### Mary, Queen of Scots

Meanwhile events did play into Elizabeth's hands. In 1560 Mary of Scotland lost French support through the death of her royal husband, Francis II. Returning to her native land in the following year, Mary found Scotland so far gone in Calvinistic fervor that only with difficulty could she arrange for her private worship in the Catholic fashion. Bowing to the inevitable, apparently, the young queen—she was only eighteen—played her cards skillfully for a time. She endured the long hectoring sermons of Knox, employed her undeniable charm to win supporters among the Protestant nobles, and made a friend of her cousin Elizabeth by waiving her own claim to the English throne and by asking only that she be recognized as Elizabeth's heir. Suddenly, yielding to a momentary infatuation, the Scotch queen married her cousin Lord Darnley. Darnley was a weak and foolish youth, whose light head was set in a whirl by dreams of grandeur. Mary shortly withdrew her love and confidence, and the jealous youth could think of nothing save that he had been supplanted. Suspecting the queen's handsome Italian secretary, David Rizzio, Darnley with some companions forced his way into her private chambers and stabbed Rizzio to death in the queen's presence. Hiding her wrath, Mary weaned Darnley away from his friends by a pretended reconciliation. His assassination quickly followed. The earl of Bothwell, a Protestant, was the actual assassin, though he was acquitted after a hasty trial. Pretending that Bothwell had overpowered her, Mary then married the earl, an act supremely imprudent. That Mary had been an accomplice in the death of Darnley most people then believed, though it has never been proved. Needless to say, such callous and heedless conduct in their ruler was more than the Scotch people could stomach and Mary was compelled to flee. With incredible folly she crossed the border into England and



threw herself upon Elizabeth's mercy. This was in 1568. Elizabeth entertained her uncalculating rival in a castle which became her prison. There she remained for nineteen years, an invaluable pawn in Elizabeth's hands which she had not lifted a finger to secure.

Any aid that France might have given to the Catholic cause had been indefinitely postponed by the outbreak of civil war, and the attention of Spain itself had been distracted by the outbreak of revolt in the Netherlands. The Dutch diversion was carefully watched by Elizabeth. Hopeful that the unrest in the Netherlands might develop into an issue that would occupy all of Philip's energy and resources, Elizabeth more than once intervened to save the revolt from extinction. Year after year passed by. As the Catholic hope of regaining England through the peaceful penetration of the Jesuits and by diplomatic means grew fainter, more desperate measures were tried. Plot after plot was formed against Elizabeth's life. This was of course an age when even theologians regarded political assassination as a justifiable means of advancing a cherished cause. The plots, whether or not known to Mary of Scotland, were in her interest, and her complicity was suspected. At length it became conclusively clear to all, except apparently the English queen, that Elizabeth's life was not safe nor the Protestant settlement secure while Mary remained alive. Judicially pronounced guilty of complicity in a plan called the Babington plot, the queen of Scotland was beheaded (1587) in a great hall furnished with tiers of seats, for which England's titled magnates competed madly. And they were well rewarded, these spectators; for Mary, carefully arrayed in crimson robes, met her fate with queenly dignity and composure. Elizabeth, temporizing to the last, flatly denied that she had signed the death warrant, and to give her lie the similitude of truth, dismissed from her service and drove into ruin the luckless official whom she had authorized to sign her name.

### The Armada

Just before her death Mary had willed her claim to the English throne to Philip of Spain. The launching of the Armada in the following year might be regarded, therefore, as Philip's attempt to gather in his inheritance, but other matters more realistic moved him on the same course. For one thing, Elizabeth had lately been guilty of a flagrant act of war in sending her favorite, the earl of Leicester, with a force of English soldiers to fight on the Dutch side. Seemingly England must first be conquered and then the Dutch, instead of the other way about. More galling were the destructive attacks of English sailors on Spanish shipping. Covetly encouraged by their queen, these attacks had been going on for years. There was rich reward in the business and high adventure too;

indeed, the doings of these Elizabethan sea dogs constitute a veritable new "age of the Vikings." To the stately but lumbering Spanish galleon with its banks of oars the English opposed a smaller sailboat, more easily maneuvered. The Spanish game in a sea fight was to come into close contact with the enemy, board him, and fight it out hand to hand, on deck as on land. Even so had the Romans beaten the Carthaginians. And thus had the Spanish but lately beaten the Turks; in the battle of Lepanto not a single oarless vessel was engaged on either side. English sailors employed a new method of fighting, which marked a revolution in the art of war. Standing off at a distance and circling their opponents at will, the English "floating batteries" poured broadside after broadside into the ships of Spain. Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, and the other English captains who met the Armada were supremely confident of their ability to win, their confidence born of many a lesser conflict on every sea in the world. To years of buccaneering raids so bold as to strain credulity had succeeded mass attack when Drake in 1585 led a fleet of thirty vessels against the Spanish settlements of the West Indies. Turning toward home, he lay off the harbors of Spain picking up what vessels he chose and even burning Spanish shipping at its mooring place—"singeing the king of Spain's beard," he called it. In reality, England and Spain had been at war on the sea for years before the Armada set sail.

Only about half of the 137 vessels that set forth from Lisbon on May 30, 1588, survived to crawl back into Spanish harbors a few weeks later. The English fleet had exacted a fearful toll in a running fight of several days as the Armada was proceeding through the English Channel. Unable to make contact with Spanish forces in the Netherlands, the battered ships of Spain were then harassed by a terrific storm. Many were wrecked on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland; many more sank without a trace. Spanish losses of men totaled more than ten thousand; English casualties were fewer than one hundred.

### Elizabeth's Later Years; Parliament Comes to Life

The post-Armada years of Elizabeth's reign brought to a climax her popularity and prestige. The most brilliant writers of the age penned tributes to her fame. There is a triumphant note in the literature of the period, a vigorous accentuation of national patriotic feeling, with the queen the object almost of adoration. "The fierce old hen sat still," says Lytton Strachey, "brooding over the English nation, whose pullulating energies were coming swiftly to ripeness and unity under her wings. She sat still; but every feather bristled; she was tremendously alive."

Elizabeth had need of all her popularity, in her later years, to enable

her to lead a quiet life, politically and religiously. The English Parliament was traditionally in partnership with the crown in the government of the English state. Under the Tudors, for reasons previously set forth, Parliament had become a sleeping partner. Summoned infrequently, Parliaments sat briefly. Royal control over the House of Lords was easy. Once the national church had been established, the crown named the twenty-six bishops, a good third of the entire membership of the Lords, the abbots having been dropped. The crown could, and the Tudors frequently did, create lay peerages at will. The House of Commons consisted of two members from each county of England and (after 1535) of Wales, and of two representatives from each of certain designated boroughs. The Tudors could not very well increase the number of counties but they could and did increase the number of boroughs. Nearly one quarter of the 450 seats in the House of Commons at the close of the sixteenth century had been added by the Tudors, who named as parliamentary boroughs small towns built upon lands owned by the crown itself.

Tudor Parliaments would have found it difficult to take a strong line if they had wished to do so. But the English people were not much interested in self-government in Tudor times; it could be said of England that she would rather be well governed than self-governed. There arose a sort of "hero worship" of monarchy, an English counterpart of the "divine right" of kings. Parliament still played its immemorial part in enacting the laws and voting taxes, but its demeanor was deferential and its actions formal. National policies were determined by the crown with the aid of the twenty or thirty members of the privy council. The council also set in motion the machinery to administer the policies. An English writer on government, about 1565, gave expression to the view that "the crown is the life, the head, and authority of all things that be done in the realm of England."

In Elizabeth's later years, however, there were unmistakable signs that the period of parliamentary passivity was at an end. The national emergency was over and a deep-seated instinct of self-government, rooted in age-old traditions, stirred members of Parliament to a critical view of the queen's policies. Members of the Commons began to speak out boldly and vote independently.

Tudor policy itself was partly responsible for this recrudescence of parliamentary spirit. To offset the power of the landed magnates, the Tudors built up a middle class of lesser landlords. Vast estates were so divided, when occasion served, as to enrich half a dozen families in the lower ranks of the nobility. To such families, also, most of the monastic property had gone. The enclosure of lands for pasture had further enriched the gentry, at the expense, in this case, of the rural masses. The

merchant class had been expanded by the rapid development of commerce. Country gentry, merchants, and professional men supplied nearly the whole of the membership of the Commons, and all of these groups were keenly interested in all that affected their independence of thought and action.

### Growth of Puritanism

Religious unrest, despite the queen's utmost skill, was greater at the close of Elizabeth's reign than at the beginning. As we have seen, a small but vigorous minority of Englishmen had early called for a more thorough reform of the national church, a sharper and more drastic differentiation of the Anglican church from the Roman church, whose English adherents seemed likely to become, in the predestined course of international relations, the enemies of the state. Abolish the bishops and reorganize the church on Calvinistic lines, the reformers demanded; eliminate "popish" and "superstitious" practices from the order of service. Let the ministers be better, that is differently, educated. In brief, let them be able to explain the word of God to the people in expository sermons. To that end, let each congregation have a voice in the selection of the minister. Intellectual leadership of the reformers came principally from the University of Cambridge. Thomas Cartwright, prominent in the movement in its early years, was a professor there, and Robert Brown was a student. The nickname "Puritan" was applied to this group as early as 1564.

At the end of Elizabeth's reign the controversy had reached an acute stage. It seems likely that Englishmen at this time were divided about evenly between the two parties; both knew that the side which lost the struggle would scarcely be allowed to live. Two matters, especially, were the subject of angry debate. First, the altar controversy. Puritans insisted that the bread and wine be served to a seated congregation from a table placed in the center of the church. The conservatives insisted that all communicants kneel in immemorial fashion at the altar rail, placed at the east end of the church. Outbreaks of violence occurred in the towns and villages of England as parishioners divided into factions, "table-wise" and "altar-wise." The outrageous proceedings of their Puritan neighbors stirred the conservatives to the depths of their souls. One conservative group sent a formal protest to their bishop, as follows: "Should it [the Communion table] be permitted to stand as before it did [that is, in the center of the church], churchwardens will keep their accounts on it, parishioners will dispatch the parish business at it, schoolmasters will teach their boys to write upon it, the boys will lay their hats, satchels, and books upon it, many will sit and lean irreverently against it in sermon time, the dogs will . . . defile it, and glaziers will knock it full of nail holes."

There was controversy also over the proper observance of the Lord's Day. To the Puritans Sunday was the Sabbath of the Old Testament, a day of rest from all ordinary labor and of refraining from amusements. In the words of one Puritan divine, "The rest upon this day must be a notable and singular rest, a most careful, exact, and precise rest, after another manner than men are accustomed." Attendance at church, where a wakeful attention to the sermon was enjoined, and Bible reading, meditation, and prayer were the order of the day. The conservatives, on the other hand, preferred the old-fashioned Sunday of their ancestors, on which townfolk and villagers alike spent the daylight hours after morning service in out-of-doors recreation and sport. The Puritans, in their turn, were outraged by such activities on the Lord's Day, denouncing them, in the language of Milton, as "gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixed dancing."

The Puritans were strongest in the towns, where the merchants and the artisans displayed the same liking for Calvinistic ways as had the bourgeoisie of France and the Netherlands. A considerable number of the country gentry and a few landed magnates were Puritans. The conservatives could count on the support of the masses, both rural and urban, of nearly all the nobility, and of a certain proportion of the middle class.

### James I and Divine Right

It is evident that if the English monarchy was to continue its successful leadership of the nation, Elizabeth's successor would require the personal and statesmanlike qualities of a Henry of Navarre. James VI of Scotland fell tragically short of this standard. He knew little of English ways in 1603, when he became James I of England, and he never learned much. It was not his fault that he was a Scotsman, but in the eyes of the English, one lifetime was too short for anyone to redeem that defect. He could translate a chapter from the Latin Bible into French and from the French into English extempore at the age of ten. This youthful precocity, however, bore no more fruit than wide but superficial knowledge and fluent but empty talk. One of James's favorite themes was the prerogative of kings, a matter of which he had had little practical experience in Scotland. James's writings on this theme extend to four hundred pages of modern print. From his earlier writing he drew in one of his first speeches to the English Parliament: "The state of monarchy is the supremest thing on earth; as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy . . . so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do at the height of his power." This view, so foreign to English political tradition, was cherished not by James alone but also by his son Charles I and his grandsons Charles II and James II.

### The Religious Problem

Under the law of England the king was head of the church; to James, therefore, the Puritans soon went with the "Millenary Petition," a measured statement of Puritan demands signed by some hundreds of ministers, though the total was not so large as the name suggests. Though his mother had been a Catholic, James had been brought up a Calvinist, and the English Puritans hoped that he would meet them halfway. James decided, however, to summon a council of representatives of both parties (Hampton Court Conference, 1604). For several days discussion proceeded in orderly if not exactly amicable fashion, the king playing well the role of moderator and displaying a surprising knowledge of the points at issue. The conservatives were the better courtiers, the bishop of London exclaiming that his "heart melted within him to hear a king, the like of whom had not been since the time of Christ." Finally one of the Puritan divines, a certain Dr. Reynolds of Cambridge, in a discussion of the proposed reorganization of the church, made it plain that in his opinion the ecclesiastical authority of the king should be discarded as well as that of the bishops. In sudden wrath James exclaimed that the proposed plan "as wel agreeth with a Monarchy as God and the Devill. . . . If this bee al that they have to say, I shall make them conforme themselves, or I will harrie them out of the land, or else doe worse." The great historian Gardiner says of this incident, "In two minutes James settled the fate of England forever."

Driven from the court in disfavor and threatened with expulsion from the land itself, the Puritan leaders carried the fight to the floor of the House of Commons. Thus Parliament became the theater of both the religious and the constitutional issues. In fact, religious change became a constitutional matter. The Stuarts might well have despaired had they understood the caliber and temper of the opposition which James had so imprudently called forth. Puritan strength in the Commons is revealed in the prompt enactment of a bill which denied the right of the king to alter the religion of England without the consent of Parliament. The Lords threw the bill out. Encouraged by royal support, the bishops drew up canons calculated to secure stricter conformity. As a result about three hundred Puritan ministers resigned their churches. One project, however, upon which both conservatives and Puritans agreed at Hampton Court was that a fresh translation of the scriptures was needed. A commission of fifty learned translators was set up. Completed in 1611, the "King James Version" of the Bible is the most important English translation ever made. Remarkably free from Latinities, the vocabulary of this literary masterpiece is 94 per cent Anglo-Saxon.

### The Problem of Parliament

James's ineptitude in dealing with the religious problem was more than matched by his mishandling of Parliament. There had been no such body in Scotland; indeed, there was no such body anywhere outside of England. Traditional continuity had made of Parliament as fixed a political habit with the English as monarchy. Through their support of the middle class of landowners and merchants, the Tudors had greatly strengthened the group from which the House of Commons was chiefly drawn, and it was this body which took the initiative in the struggle with the Stuarts. King James's first Parliament met in 1604. William Goodwin, chosen by the voters of Buckinghamshire, soon reported that his election had been nullified by a royal official and that a second election had been held. Nothing illustrates so well the political insight, skill, and vigilance of the members of the House of Commons as the way they handled this case. Pointing out that to let this go unchallenged might open the door to a deliberate packing of the house, the Commons respectfully remonstrated with the king, asserting that the right to pass upon the qualifications of members rested with them and with no one else. Considering that he had had no experience with such a body and was hearing about parliamentary privileges for the first time, James took this rebuke rather well. He yielded the immediate point at issue. In a lengthy harangue, however, the king told the Commons that "since they derived all matters of privilege from his grant, he expected they should not be turned against him."

Perceiving quite correctly that their new king had much to learn if he were to play the role of constitutional sovereign, a committee of the house drew up a statement of its privileges which goes under the name of "The Apology of the Commons." In this famous document the Commons asserted that, save for certain "persons of the higher nobility," they represented "the flower and power of your kingdom, amounting to many millions of people." This representative function, they continued, is safeguarded by certain immemorial privileges which alone make it of real value. These privileges are threefold: "that the shires, cities, and boroughs of England have free choice of such persons as they shall put in trust to represent them; that the persons chosen, during the time of Parliament, be free from restraint, arrest, and imprisonment; and that in Parliament they may speak freely their consciences without check or controlment, doing the same with due reverence to the court of Parliament, that is, to your majesty and both houses, who all in this case make but one body politic, whereof your highness is the head." As Gardiner says, "To understand this Apology is to understand the causes of the success of the English

Revolution. In it the Commons took up the position which they never quitted during eighty-four long and stormy years."

It is clear that with such a view of the authority of Parliament the Commons would subject all royal policies to the closest scrutiny and, in many cases, to sharp criticism. The realm of policy in which conflict broke out earliest and continued longest was finance. It is apparent that whichever party could win control over the sources of revenue could control all national policies and would thus in effect "win the war." King and Commons approached the subject of finance from very different points of view. In the view of the Commons, and this was an inheritance from medieval times, the king should finance the ordinary peacetime expenses of government. The vast personal estate of the medieval kings of England had virtually made this possible. Parliament had been called upon for help only in times of national emergency, when it would come forward with a tax on income ("tenths and fifteenths") or a direct tax on land ("subsidy"). Tudor sovereigns accepted this viewpoint in the main. The crown lands had so diminished, however, and the routine expenses of government had so increased, that Henry VII and his successors had been compelled to invent new ways of raising money, such as the "benevolence," or forced loan, whereby loyal subjects were cajoled or constrained into making gifts or loans, which were really taxes without benefit of parliamentary enactment. The imposing of duties on imports and exports was another medieval source of revenue which the Tudors continued and, with the marked increase in commerce, developed. All manner of articles of commerce were divided by medieval Englishmen into "wet goods" and "dry goods." The traditional schedule of taxes on the former was called "tonnage," from the tax on the tun, or hogshead, of wine; on the latter, "poundage," or so much per pound sterling of value. Parliament was in the habit of voting the familiar and unchanging schedules of tonnage and poundage to each king for life at the beginning of his reign. Under pressure of necessity the Tudors had begun cautiously to amend the old schedules of tonnage and poundage, both by adding new articles to the list and by increasing the rates long familiar. These new duties, known as "impositions," had so far gone unchallenged.

It was no longer possible, in fact, for the crown to finance the ordinary expenses of government without regular taxation. The great contemporary rise in prices alone would explain this. A fundamental change in viewpoint on the part of the taxpayers was what the situation required. This was scarcely to be expected, however, and a prolonged struggle was the inevitable result of the new conditions. Only Queen Elizabeth's extreme penury and extreme popularity had postponed the contest. James I was neither popular nor penurious. He was in financial difficulties at once,



and he remained so throughout the reign. All the old Tudor devices for raising money were revived and new ones were invented. Even so, James more than once had to call on Parliament for help.

### Foreign Policy: Royal or National?

The reign of James was a prelude to the Stuart period as a whole in the realm of foreign policy also. Here the king's objective was the same as Elizabeth's had been; namely, peace and security for England. His means to that end, however, were utterly different. Elizabeth believed that England's security lay in vigorous opposition to Spain and alliance with other Protestant states. James, on the other hand, was a pacifist. He believed that England could and should live in peace and friendship with all European states, whether Protestant or Catholic. To that end he made peace with Spain in the first year of his reign (1604), and suggested to the Spanish ambassador that a firm and lasting peace between the two countries could best be cemented by a royal marriage between Henry, prince of Wales, and a Spanish princess. English public opinion was outraged by this suggestion, when it finally became known, and Spanish opinion would have been no less so had it been as well informed. Spanish leaders were content, for the time being, to hold open the matter of marriage, thus securing England's neutrality in Europe's wars. Prince Henry, having Puritan leanings, was strongly averse to the whole idea.

James meanwhile promoted the other half of his plan by giving his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to a leading Protestant prince, Frederick V of the German Palatinate. Frederick, indeed, became the leader of the aggressive wing of German Protestants, finally accepting the crown of Bohemia. Disaster overwhelmed him, as we have seen, for he lost both Bohemia and his own Palatinate, and the armed force which drove Frederick and his English wife from their thrones was supplied by Spain. In England all the old anti-Spanish feeling now sprang suddenly to life again. The elimination of Frederick, as it proved, was only the first of a series of onslaughts upon the Protestants of Europe. Indeed, England's national church and even her national security were again in peril. A cry arose, loud and prolonged, for war with Spain. To this James turned a completely deaf ear. Wiser than his age, as he believed himself to be, and perhaps really was, and convinced that the expulsion of Frederick had no such dire significance as the anti-Spanish party thought, James was confident that he could secure the restoration of Frederick and Elizabeth by diplomatic means. He even revived and energetically pushed the project of a Spanish marriage. Since Prince Henry had died meanwhile

(1612), James now proffered his more complaisant second son, Prince Charles. As might have been expected the plan drew sharp criticism in the House of Commons. To this James replied in an equally sharp rebuke. The Commons thereupon drew up the famous "Protestation" of their right of freedom of speech (1620). James promptly dismissed Parliament, and sending for the journal of the House of Commons, he tore from it the pages on which the Commons had reaffirmed their right to discuss all national policies, whether domestic or foreign.

### Charles I: Absolutist and High Churchman

Old and tired, his reign a failure, James died in 1625. Within four years the new king managed to worsen the relations between Parliament and the crown to such an extent as to render further cooperation between them impossible. In bringing matters to this pass the personality of Charles I was a decisive factor. The appearance and bearing of Charles were more kingly than those of his father. He was personally brave, and he met the crises of his life with dignity and steadfastness. He shared to the full, however, his father's views of the royal prerogative and therefore had neither sympathy with the views of Parliament nor an understanding of them. Moreover, Charles was excessively stiff and obstinate in controversy. Where the father had been shrilly vocal, the son was glumly silent. In the gallery of paintings at the Louvre in Paris there hangs a portrait of Charles I by Van Dyke. This famous artist was long a resident in England, where he made a fortune through the intelligent and appreciative patronage of King Charles and his friends. In the portrait at the Louvre Charles is seated on one of the splendid dapple-gray steeds whose descendants still draw the English coach of state. An art critic, praising the flowing lines of the painting says, "There is only one straight line in this portrait; that is Charles's back." The observation has a political significance which the author probably did not intend.

In his conduct of both religious and foreign affairs Charles roused an even sharper antagonism than his father had done. A group of Anglicans, stung by Puritan criticism, had now adopted what might be called a "High Church" attitude. For one thing, they specifically rejected Calvin's favorite dogma of predestination. Furthermore, they placed great value upon the historical traditions of the church, and believing that the appeal of religion should be emotional rather than intellectual, they called for greater emphasis upon ceremonial. Above all, the High Church group believed in order and uniformity.

The High Churchmen sought to make a convert of the new king by defending royal authority in state as well as church. *Appello Caesarem* is

the significant title of a tract published by a High Churchman in the first year of the reign of Charles I. The king readily accepted the religious and political views of the party, and he lost no time in advancing its leaders to positions of authority. William Laud, an Oxford don, the most vigorous and outspoken of the group, was made successively bishop of London and archbishop of Canterbury. The Puritan leaders were outraged by such rank favoritism and they freely accused the High Church party of leanings toward Rome. Charles himself had given some grounds for this suspicion by marrying, two months after his accession, the Catholic Henrietta Maria of France, promising the French court that he would grant toleration to English Catholics.

### The Petition of Right

Before long Charles I managed to quarrel with both France and Spain, and England soon found herself at war with the two greatest states of Europe. Futility and failure were the result. English national pride, which had been riding high since the Armada, was brought very low. Endeavoring to raise funds for the war in extraparliamentary ways, the king violated certain immemorial liberties of Englishmen. Parliament responded in the famous Petition of Right (1628). In this document, "second in importance only to Magna Carta," it was demanded that the king promise not to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament, not to imprison anyone arbitrarily, not to quarter soldiers and sailors in private homes, and not to declare martial law in time of peace. So great was Charles's need of money that he gave a grudging assent. When the Commons then proceeded to criticize him for his promotion of High Churchmen and his "innovations in religion," Charles dissolved both houses, saying that he "hated the very name of Parliament" and was resolved never to summon another.

### Period of Personal Rule

How long the king could maintain himself as the sole arbiter of England's destinies would depend upon how long he could finance his government. The king was free at last to enforce his religious policy, and what the Puritans feared would happen did happen. Archbishop Laud; fussy as an old maid and bursting with vitality, visited every diocese in his province and as many churches as possible in each diocese, moving the Communion table to the east end of the church, compelling each minister to wear a surplice, and causing all Puritan parishes to dismiss their "lecturers." The energetic archbishop instituted a rigorous censorship of

the press also, such Puritan works as appeared being seized and their authors punished severely, not to say savagely. In these matters king and archbishop were hand in glove, the royal Court of Star Chamber dealing roughly with those at whom Laud's finger pointed. Some of Laud's victims were of uncommonly tough fibre. William Prynne, Puritan, a London lawyer, wrote a pamphlet criticizing the contemporary stage and reflecting adversely upon the queen, who was fond of amateur theatricals. Prynne was sentenced to pay a fine of £5000, lose his ears, and be imprisoned for life. Undaunted, Prynne wrote in jail another pamphlet, this time attacking the bishops. The sentence was repeated, and the puzzled executioner, finding no ears to remove, was content to "glean the stumps." Even this did not stop Prynne's writing; it was impossible to prevent his writing as long as he had his right hand.

While Prynne and his like preferred jail to submission, thousands of other Puritans resolved to seek in the New World a refuge where they might worship as they pleased. During the eleven years of Charles's personal rule, over 20,000 left England for New England. Massachusetts received her charter in 1629, Connecticut was settled in 1633, Rhode Island was colonized in 1636. It is estimated that one quarter of the present population of the United States is descended from these Puritan emigrants. They were English, be it noted, not Welsh, nor Scotch, nor Irish, and they were of the middle class. Some few were of the lower order but none of the higher classes were represented. The moral and social habits and the political tradition of millions of Americans then unborn were shaped by these men of uncompromising faith.

Meanwhile King Charles had been able to keep income and expenditure in fair approximation by straining his resourcefulness and pressing his "rights" to the limit. This achievement, however, was on a peacetime basis. A war would bring his financial structure down in ruins. And war came, brought on by the king's own act. With England in a fair state of conformity, Charles and Laud attempted to introduce the English Prayer Book into Scotland. Riots broke out. In St. Giles' cathedral, Edinburgh, on July 23, 1637, "a brave Scotch woman, Janet Geddes, . . . struck the first blow in the great struggle for freedom of conscience." So reads the record on a brass tablet which commemorates the event. What the Scotch woman did was to lay hold of the stool on which she sat and hurl it at the minister's head. This act is symbolic of the instantaneous repudiation by the whole Scotch people of their king's ecclesiastical policy. Organized resistance followed, and a Scotch army, seeking to bring pressure to bear upon King Charles, occupied the northernmost tier of English counties. Unable to finance a war against the rebellious subjects of his northern kingdom, and trusting that their immemorial

hatred of the Scotch would divert the English from domestic issues, Charles summoned Parliament (1640) and called for a war on Scotland. The English Commons were in no mood to be stampeded. They had eleven years of grievances to catch up on and they proceeded in their usual way to formulate their complaints. Convinced that the Scotch were fighting in the same cause, the English parliamentary leaders made friends with them. Charles was trapped. For two years Parliament labored at "revising" the English constitution, making sure that every privilege was understood, every part of the taxative authority vested in Parliament, every doubtful precedent set aside. Government was still a partnership between king and Parliament, but Parliament was unquestionably the dominant partner.

### Civil War

On the constitutional side, at least, the story should end here. It did not, however, for two reasons. In the first place, Charles's assent to the many bills laid before him had been given with a mental reservation. He gave in but did not give up. "God will not suffer this cause to prosper," he said. In the second place, Parliament, having finished with constitutional points, turned to the religious matter. The substantial unanimity with which the Commons had labored then gave place to violent dissension between the Puritan majority and an opposition of almost equal size. This was Charles's opportunity. Skillfully the king rallied all "Churchmen" to his standard, resolving to reduce the Puritan parliamentarians to submission by force. The challenge was accepted with a will, and civil war ensued. Nearly all the peers rallied to the support of the king, as did the large minority of Churchmen in the House of Commons. The king left London for the north, and there his followers gathered around him. The parliamentary machinery of government at Westminster, or what was left of it, remained in the hands of the Puritans, together with the city of London and the southeastern counties, largely Puritan in sentiment. The Puritans had control of six sevenths of the population and three quarters of the national wealth.

The Puritan Parliament promptly made two moves which, in a military sense, won the war. The first was an alliance with the Scotch army, already in occupation of England's northernmost counties. In fulfillment of one of the provisions of this alliance, Parliament imposed the Presbyterian form of church organization upon the whole of England. Some two thousand clergymen resigned. Strongly Calvinistic articles of religion were adopted which, though soon to be discarded in England itself, were destined to remain the religious pabulum of the youth of New England for nearly two centuries. Moving southward, the Scotch

beat the king at Marston Moor (1644), and Yorkshire and the whole north of England passed under Parliament's control. In the meantime Parliament was taking effective steps to recruit and maintain an army of its own.

### Oliver Cromwell

There was no doubt who the commander of the parliamentary army would be. Oliver Cromwell was a country gentleman of modest fortune who formed a troop of cavalry of his neighbors when fighting first broke out. A zealous Puritan and a member of the Commons, he had taken little part in debate, though he impressed everyone with his "silent capacity." As a cavalry leader, however, he was consistently brilliant; military experts say he never made a mistake. Like all military leaders, Cromwell had unusual bodily and mental vigor and great power of command. "He was of a sanguine [i.e., ruddy] complexion," wrote a contemporary, "naturally of such vivacity, hilarity, and alacrity as another man hath when he hath drunken a cup too much." Cromwell's army, the famous "Ironsides," inflicted a crushing defeat upon the king at Naseby (1645).

Charles, had he been well advised, would now have come to terms with his conquerors, or failing that, have sought refuge on the Continent. Refusing to admit defeat, however, the king sought to evade his fate once more by setting his enemies to fighting among themselves. The prospect was not unpropitious. The Scotch, their contract with Parliament fulfilled, resumed their status of free agents. In the Puritan Parliament itself a deep fissure had opened. A minority had become increasingly incensed at the policy of the Presbyterian majority. Preferring the congregational type of organization, these "Independents" found the rule of synods little more tolerable than that of bishops. Politically the Independents were the left wing of the Puritan party, favoring a measure of democracy in the state, even perhaps the setting up of a republic. As luck would have it, Cromwell was an Independent. Under his command the parliamentary army became a politico-religious party wholly responsive to his leadership. With a faith in the rightness of his cause as stubborn as the king's, Cromwell resolved to break the long drawn out maneuvers in which Charles played off one party against another. Defeating the Scots and capturing the king, Cromwell "purged" Parliament of his Presbyterian opponents. The Rump, or remnant, of the House of Commons then tried the king for "treason." Early in 1649 "that man of blood, Charles Stuart," was executed. The dignity and courage with which the king met his fate did much to rehabilitate him even in the eyes of his opponents. Without question, an overwhelming majority of Englishmen looked upon his execution with horror.

### The Kingless Decade

We come now to that famous interlude, the "kingless decade." A republic, or Commonwealth, was set up by the Rump and in due course was provided with a written constitution. The Instrument of Government, as it was called, is the first written constitution in the history of the world for any considerable body of people. The drafting of its provisions gave rise to a spirited debate over the right to vote, in which the rank and file of Cromwell's army—the lower middle class of farmers, tradesmen, and artisans—took issue with their officers, representative of the upper middle class. The Levelers, as the radicals were called, were keen individualists and democrats. "All government is in the free consent of the people," they said; "the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live, as the greatest he." Such views were destined to have great influence in America a century later, but they got nowhere in England even under Cromwell. The franchise remained in the hands of the propertied class. The executive authority was entrusted to Cromwell with the title of Lord Protector. Parliament was to have a much wider representative basis than formerly. Both Scotland and Ireland were united with England and Wales in a common representative body, and thus for the first time in their long history the British Isles formed a political unit. Revolutionary as these changes were, they are without permanent significance. From first to last the real basis of Cromwell's rule was military. Sincere as was his belief in self-government, the great Puritan could not bear to see the people make a mess of things. He quarreled with successive Parliaments more bitterly and treated them more roughly than even the Stuarts had done. Ten years of military rule but thinly disguised instilled in Englishmen a prejudice against a standing army from which they have never recovered.

Along with a domestic policy less in accord with the will of the nation than that of Charles I, Cromwell pursued a foreign policy which was as truly national as that of Elizabeth. He renewed the war with Spain as a matter of course and pushed it energetically, seizing the island of Jamaica. Perceiving that the Dutch were in a position to crush the life out of England's infant colonial and commercial enterprises, Cromwell inaugurated the series of wars through which England finally forged ahead of her active rival. Recognizing that naval supremacy was the key to success against both Spain and the Dutch, he built a fleet of warships and kept it in active service year after year. Cromwell was the real founder of the British navy.

The Protector's last years were unhappy. Royalist plots became increasingly frequent. The death of his wife and of his favorite daughter

loosened his own hold on life. On September 3, 1658, this great Englishman died; it was the anniversary of two of his military triumphs. A group of army officers attempted to continue the Cromwellian regime under his son Richard, but the all but unanimous opposition of the nation, coupled with Richard's manifest unfitness, quickly ended the experiment. Surviving members of the Parliament of 1640 then resolved to restore the monarchy; and Prince Charles, having solemnly promised to rule in accordance with the will of Parliament, was summoned from his exile on the Continent. He landed at Dover on his thirtieth birthday, May 25, 1660.

### The Restoration

The Restoration was twofold, political and religious. King and Parliament ruled England henceforth as partners, and there was no doubt which was the stronger. Having already perfected its control over the sources of revenue, Parliament now reached out for detailed control over expenditures and the auditing of accounts. These measures were successful, and at the midpoint of Charles's reign Parliament was in complete command of national policy. Parliamentary parties, Tory and Whig, sprang up at once as differences of opinion became manifest.

Charles II was as absolutist in principle as his father. As a Catholic he would have been even less acceptable to the nation had the fact been generally known. Tall, handsome, and of abounding vitality, Charles plunged eagerly into a life of self-indulgence, seemingly bent on making up for time lost in exile. The English aristocracy followed the royal example with avidity, having long been restive under the restraints of the Puritan regime. Needless to say, the tone of Charles's court was low.

Two years after his accession Parliament persuaded Charles to marry. His choice, a political one, was Catherine of Braganza, daughter of the king of Portugal. This marriage fitted in with England's anti-Spanish policy, for Portugal was then engaged in an attempt to maintain her independence of Spain. And it was a contribution to the building of the Empire, for Catherine's dowry included the port of Tangier at the entrance to the Mediterranean and Bombay, an important trading center in India. Though young, Catherine was "a dumpy woman, devoid of grace, with irregular teeth which spoiled the mouth." Charles soon returned to his mistresses. The moral standards of the age are revealed by the fact that Charles felt it proper to appear at a public function in the company of his queen, his mistress of the moment, and his son by another mistress.

The pursuit of pleasure, however, was a mask which Charles could take off and resume at will. The records show that Charles worked hard at the



business of government, harder than his father had done. The second Charles was indeed a much abler man than his father. Tenaciously clinging to the Stuart ideal of absolutism but faced with difficulties much greater than those which had confronted his father, Charles had the intelligence to perceive that a frontal attack would prove fatal to the Stuart cause. He became, therefore, an opportunist, a man of secret stratagems with never a real confidant. As to his success, it may be said that through twenty-five years of devious maneuvering he did at least keep the Stuart cause alive.

In religious matters the nation was as divided as ever. However, the tables were now reversed. In the Parliament chosen in 1661, on a high tide of rejoicing over the restoration of monarchy, a large majority of the Commons was Anglican. These men were eager to pay back the Puritans in their own coin. A whole series of statutes (the Clarendon Code) was skillfully drawn, whose objective was first to drive all non-Anglicans out of the church, and secondly to make their continued existence as organized groups impossible. Religious tests were imposed which resulted in the resignation of over 2000 ministers. The public worship of non-Anglicans was forbidden. Many of the country gentry and not a few of the peers had been Puritans, as we have seen. Having to choose now between their religion on the one hand and loss of social standing and political preferment on the other, the vast majority of such persons conformed, taking their cue, seemingly, from a remark let fall by Charles II that Puritanism "is no religion fit for a gentleman." Out of power and in disfavor, Puritan leaders turned, or returned, to literature. John Bunyan, in the enforced leisure of a Restoration jail, wrote *Pilgrim's Progress*. Milton, who had been Cromwell's Latin secretary, wrote *Paradise Lost*.

### Personal Policy of Charles II

In the meantime Charles was making ready to launch a project which had been long maturing in his mind. An unavowed Catholic, the King had determined that his first act of personal policy would be to lighten the burdens of his coreligionists. Parliament, like England as a whole, was strongly anti-Catholic, and Charles was too clever to think that he could perform a political miracle. His plan was subtly to induce Parliament to follow one road while he pursued another. Conditions abroad were marvelously favorable to the king's design and he exploited them for all they were worth. Charles's close ally and confidant was Louis XIV, also an absolutist and a Catholic. Louis was minded, at the moment, to annihilate the Dutch and he was prepared to bid high for English support. England had been nursing a grudge against the Dutch for twenty years, and another

Dutch war was sure to be popular. Parliament swallowed the bait so skillfully prepared, not knowing that secret clauses of the Treaty of Dover (1670) pledged Charles to declare himself a Catholic, to place the English Catholics in positions of political predominance, and to accept Louis's gold even, if need be, his soldiers to quiet English opposition. All that Parliament knew was that England was to join France in a war on the Dutch and that large slices of the Dutch empire were to be England's prize. Two days before the war broke out Charles issued a "Declaration of Indulgence for Tender Consciences." Catholics were thereby to be relieved of the various restrictions under which Parliament had placed them, and the better to conceal the king's true purpose, Protestant non-conformists were also included in the act of grace. As it happened, nobody was deceived. In panic fear of a Catholic revival, Parliament struck back with a Test Act (1673) which excluded from public office all persons who would not receive the sacrament in accordance with the rites of the Church of England. Suspecting that the French alliance was part and parcel of the Catholic plot, Parliament refused further votes of money and so brought Charles's war policy to a sudden end.

### The Popish Plot

Realizing that he had mistaken the temper of England and fearful that he might have to "go on his travels again," Charles dropped his plan for Catholic relief. But this did not end his troubles. Among those whom the Test Act obliged to retire from office was the King's own brother and destined heir to the throne. James, duke of York, a professed Catholic, had first married a Protestant lady of rank, whose two daughters had been brought up as members of the English Church. In 1673, just after the Test Act, the duke, now a widower, had married a Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. A son of this union, if there should be one, would be in the direct line of succession. This alarming prospect soon inspired a radical minority in Parliament to support a bill to exclude James from the throne. A sudden accentuation of the anti-Catholic hysteria made the acceptance of this bill something more than a remote possibility. A renegade priest named Titus Oates "discovered" a "hellish" plot of the English Catholics to kill the king, burn London, seize the government, and place the duke of York on the throne. This wildly improbable tale (the "Popish Plot," 1678) received all but universal credence when the distinguished judge before whom Oates was unburdening his secret knowledge was mysteriously murdered. Charles himself, author of a Catholic plot of less garish nature, brushed aside Oates's tale with the remark to his brother, "They'll never kill me to make you king." The

proposed Exclusion Bill was a more serious matter, however, and to defeat this threatened ruin of the Stuart cause, Charles devoted the whole of the keen intelligence that was always his and much of the energy which he usually expended in other pursuits. The "exclusionists" overplayed their hand, however, and as the hysteria subsided Englishmen of moderate views shrank from the prospect of another civil war. The facts that James and his Catholic duchess, though married for some years, had as yet no surviving children, that James was in his fifties, and that his heir at present was the Protestant Mary, princess of Orange, reconciled the nation to the prospect of James's accession, and King Charles II died (1685) in the comfortable assurance that he had at least kept the now Catholic Stuarts on the English throne.

### The Revolution of 1688

James II exhibited almost all of the weaknesses of his family and none of its strength. His private life had been as shamelessly immoral as that of his brother, but his mistresses were women whom no one else found attractive. He had never made a secret of his religion, but this, it would seem, revealed his stupidity rather than his honesty. In political intelligence he must be placed even lower than Charles I. The defeat of the exclusionists on the eve of James's accession and the failure of an armed rising immediately thereafter consolidated moderate-minded Englishmen in his support; and when the new king solemnly swore "to preserve this government both in church and state as it is now by law established," England settled down in the belief that the reign of this Catholic king could do her little harm and that sooner or later Protestant Mary would succeed him. Actually, it proved to be a shorter reign than anyone expected.

James startled an unusually friendly Parliament by, imprudently, demanding the repeal of the Test Act and the maintenance of a large army under his command. When Parliament hesitated James dissolved it and then proceeded, in the childlike belief that force could succeed where finesse had failed, to fill strategic military and civil posts with his fellow Catholics. The cries of protest against these appointments became nationwide when the king, with supreme imprudence, interfered in the government of the national church. As leaders of both parties began to take counsel, there came the news of the birth of a son to James and his Catholic queen (June 10, 1688). The prospect of an endless succession of Catholic Stuarts was more than the English nation could face, and an invitation was promptly dispatched to Princess Mary and her husband, William of Orange. William had reasons of his own for accepting the

invitation, as we shall see. Perceiving tardily that he had lost all support, even that of his daughters, James fled to France, and a "bloodless revolution" had been accomplished. After long debate Parliament summed up the situation neatly by declaring, first, that James II had "endeavored to subvert the constitution of his kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people"; and secondly, that "it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince." Various actions of both James II and Charles II were then branded as illegal in a Bill of Rights (1689), with which Parliament consolidated its supremacy. Other statutes provided that Parliament must be summoned at least once in three years, that a new House of Commons must be chosen at least once in three years, and that no armed forces might be maintained without the consent of Parliament. Turning its attention to the church, Parliament came to the conclusion that the full rigor of the Clarendon Code must now be relaxed. In the Toleration Act (1689) it provided that the organization and the public worship of non-Anglican Protestants should henceforth be lawful. The much smaller group of Catholics was not included in this parliamentary act of grace.

## CHAPTER X

### *Beginnings of Dutch, English, and French Expansion*

FOR A FULL century after the papal award of 1493 the monopoly of the overseas world thereby granted to Spain and Portugal was actually maintained. The East became the private preserve of the Portuguese. Nearly the whole of the West belonged to Spain; an exception, it will be remembered, was the eastern coast of South America, where the Portuguese had set up an empire of settlement.

#### The Dutch in the East Indies

During the course of the seventeenth century, however, after many earlier inroads, the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly was broken down by the states of northern Europe. England, Holland, France, Denmark, Sweden, even Prussia, founded trading posts in the East and colonies in the West. The Dutch and English proceeded simultaneously and side by side. Comrades in arms in the war with Spain, they decided, after the defeat of the Armada, to tap the rich Eastern trade at its source. In 1591 three English ships passed the Cape of Good Hope on their way to Ceylon, one ship returning with a cargo of pepper. In English history this voyage is as important as that of Da Gama in the history of Portugal a century earlier. In 1594 a fleet of four Dutch ships sailed eastward into the Portuguese preserve. Its commander was Cornelius Houtman, a Dutchman formerly in the Portuguese service to India. On the last day of the century a group of London merchants sought for and obtained from Queen Elizabeth a charter for the famous British East India Company. Two years later the almost equally famous Dutch East India Company was chartered at Amsterdam by the States-General.

The two areas in the East in which Portugal was most firmly installed were the Malay Archipelago and the mainland of India. The Malay Archipelago includes a small number of quite large islands, such as Sumatra and Borneo and Java, and a large number of small islands. Among the latter are the famous Moluccas, or Spice Islands, one of which

was named by Europeans "Nutmeg Island." The wealth of the Moluccas in spices, together with the fact that they were weakly held by natives of primitive civilization, made these islands far more valuable, at least upon an immediate basis, than was the mainland of India. Fantastic profits were achieved by early traders—as much as 1200 per cent on a single voyage. An English fleet came back from Java in 1603 with a cargo of one million pounds of pepper, and its captain was knighted by King James I. Into this whole area Dutch and English merchants entered with eagerness and success. Though they began as allies, they soon became bitter rivals. In the conflict which followed, the Dutch had certain advantages. During their long war with Spain they had managed to capture the carrying trade of northern Europe. To shipping supremacy was added financial leadership, as we have seen. The business-like methods of the Dutch aided not a little in their capture of markets. In fact, the great weight which the Dutch were able to throw into trading enterprise is indicated by the enormous capital of their East India Company, amounting to a quarter of a billion dollars. We may contrast with this the original capital of the British East India Company, about one third of one million dollars.

By 1619 the Dutch had established themselves in the Malay Archipelago so firmly that they founded on the island of Java a capital city, Batavia, as the seat of their governor-general. To this capital the eight governments of the Dutch East Indies were subordinated. Four years later English trading posts in that area were closed out, and in the "Massacre of Amboyna" English traders were exterminated. Dutch trading methods were direct, sometimes forceful. Surplus commodities which might affect prices were burned; groves of clove and nutmeg trees which could not be controlled were destroyed. Revolts of the natives were frequent, but trading profits were consistently large. Shares in the Dutch East India Company were soon worth five times their par value, and for nearly two hundred years dividends were paid of 12½ to 50 per cent.

Having consolidated their hold on the Spice Islands and the larger islands round about, the Dutch proceeded to capture the trade of China and Japan. The Portuguese port of Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, which controlled that trade, was taken in 1641. The island of Formosa, from which tea was brought to western Europe, was already in Dutch hands. The western trade of Japan also passed to the Dutch, where it remained as a strict monopoly until the nineteenth century.

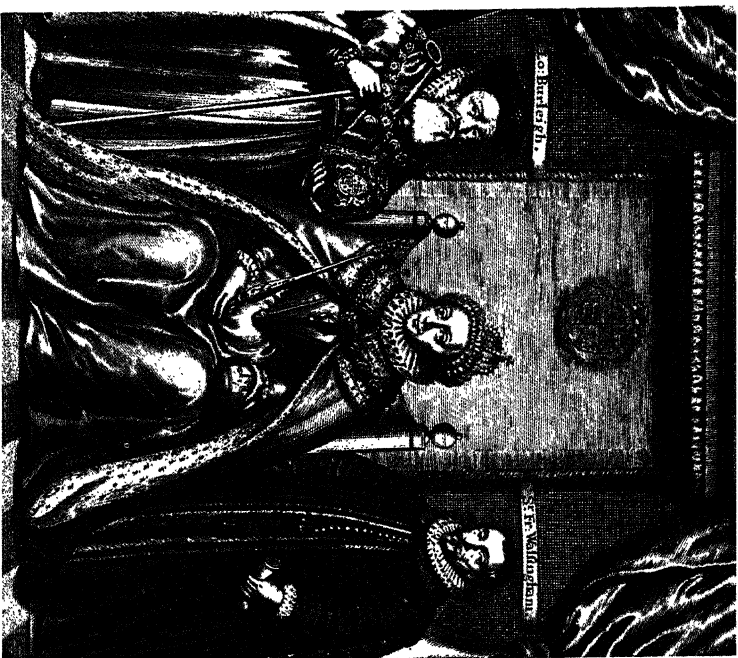
Meanwhile considerable exploring was done by Dutch sailors in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, especially during the governorship of Van Diemen (1630–1645). New Holland, later called Australia, and New Zealand were discovered. Tasmania takes its name

from one of the Dutch captains of the period. These discoveries, however, were not followed up by settlement. We must remind ourselves that the Dutch, at least in the East, were traders not colonizers. All Dutch possessions in the East taken from the Portuguese were confirmed to them and formally resigned by Portugal in the Peace of Münster in 1648. Three years later the Dutch founded on the southern tip of Africa a colony whose function was to supply fresh food and water for their trading fleets, the colonists being governed directly by the Dutch East India Company and allowed no self-governing privileges.

### The English in India

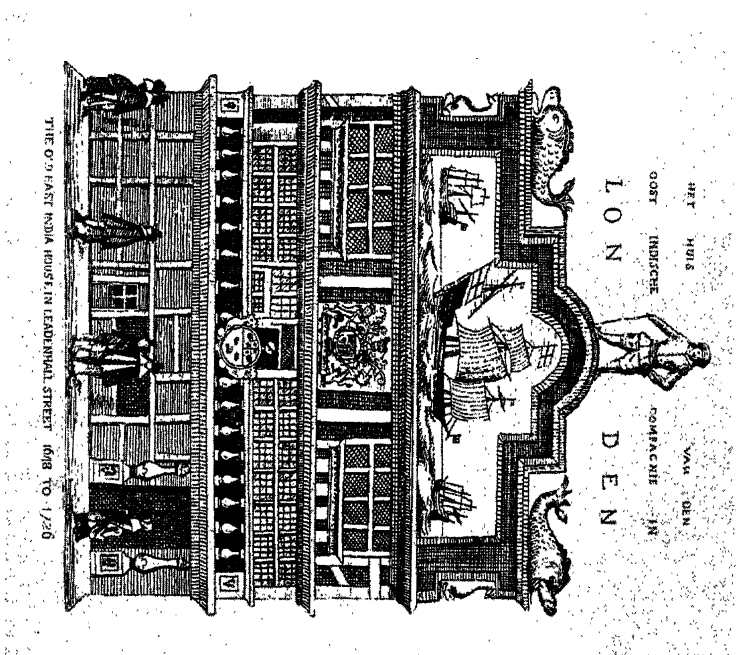
Driven from the rich trade of the Malay Archipelago, English traders turned to India. In those days that great subcontinent of Asia was enjoying substantial political unity under the Great Moguls, Mohemmedan conquerors who had come down from the north in the previous century. Akbar the Great (1556-1605), the wisest of this line, was a contemporary of Elizabeth. Shah Jahan (1628-1658), a successor, was a contemporary of King Charles I of England and is famous as the builder of the Taj Mahal, the Pearl Mosque at Agra, and the marble palaces of Delhi. King James I, at the behest of the British East India Company, had sent an ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, to India in 1615. James was informed that for the present the Portuguese controlled Indian trade with Europe. To English persistence the Indian authorities finally yielded, however, and on the northwest coast of India at Surat, in 1616, in a single rented building the British East India Company set up its first permanent trading post. In 1640 the company purchased from a local potentate land on the east coast of India upon which it erected a fort. This became in time the city of Madras. Soon thereafter English trading posts were also established in the Bengal region, on the northeast coast. Bombay, which came to England from Portugal in 1661 as a part of the dowry of Charles II's queen, supplemented Surat in the northeast. Thus at the close of the seventeenth century England had three coastal areas of India in which she prosecuted her trading activities. England was not alone, however. European rivals in plenty had meanwhile arrived, and many Portuguese trading posts still remained, especially on India's western coast. Most significant for the future were two trading posts of France, one at Pondicherry, eighty miles south of Madras, established in 1674, and the other at Chandarnagar, a little to the north of the English trading posts in the Bengal region, set up in 1676.

The East Indies trade of Britain and France in the seventeenth century was of small importance to either country. Britain's India trade was



### QUEEN ELIZABETH WITH HER MINISTERS

Lord Burghley was for forty years the English queen's most important councillor. Walsingham, a Puritan, was an able and outspoken minister of the crown. (*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)



### EAST INDIA HOUSE (bp. 172 and 174)

First occupied by the company in 1648, it escaped the Great Fire of 1666, but was abandoned in 1726, "being very old and in great danger of falling down." (*from a print in East India House*)

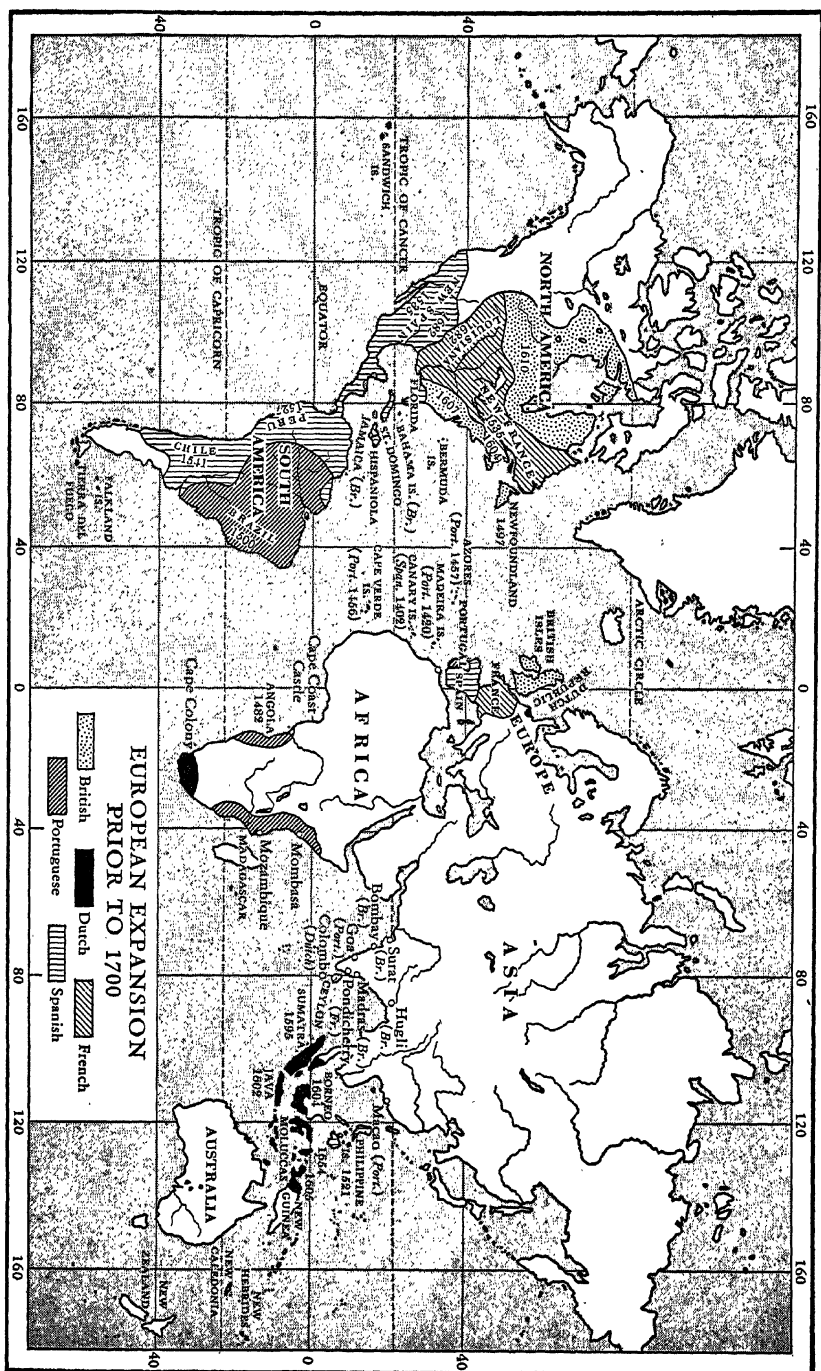


Negroes held in bondage, was low. It therefore became necessary to maintain the labor supply by the importation of fresh thousands of slaves year by year. The successful maintenance of plantations in the West Indies was thus closely linked with the activities of the chain of slave stations which the states of Europe maintained on the west coast of Africa. Today persons of pure Negro stock are in a large majority throughout the West Indies, and the next largest population group is mixed African and European.

Of great economic importance, the West Indies had high strategic value as well. Extending in a crude arc from Florida on one continent to Venezuela on the other, the islands command the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. Their possession, therefore, gives to that power which can control them a great advantage in a contest for dominion in South, Central, and North America.

The four Greater Antilles, Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica, had long been in the possession of Spain. Indeed, Cuba and Haiti had been discovered and claimed for Spain by Columbus on his first voyage. Together these four islands comprise three quarters of the land surface of the West Indies. During the first half of the seventeenth century the northern European states began the occupation of the Lesser Antilles. The Dutch were at war with Spain through much of that period, as were the English and French governments from time to time down to 1660. Governmental activities, however, counted for little in comparison with the piratical activities of Dutch, English, and French sailors, who used the innumerable small islands as bases for attack on Spanish trade. The principal headquarters of these sailors was the island of Tortuga, near Haiti. The word *buccaneer* is derived from the French word *boucanes*, meaning "wood fire," the means employed at Tortuga and elsewhere to dry meat. *Freebooter*, on the other hand, is from the Dutch *vliebooten*, a word meaning "flying boat." The importance of the pirates of the period is indicated by the fact that it was with the help of buccaneers that Cromwell captured Jamaica from Spain in 1655. At about the same time also the French, with buccaneer aid, captured the western half of Haiti. Henry Morgan, admiral of the buccaneering fleet, who had begun life in the West Indies as a British indentured servant, was rewarded for his services by knighthood and a commission as the first British governor of Jamaica.

As the profits of piracy diminished and sugar planting increased, the Dutch gradually withdrew from the West Indies, leaving the British and French to share the smaller islands nearly evenly between them. By 1639 there were approximately fifty thousand British planters in the British West Indies; the single island of Barbados, only twenty-one miles long by fifteen wide, had a larger British population than the whole of New



England. As we have seen, British trade with her West Indies was twice as valuable as her trade with the East. French East Indian trade was insignificant in comparison even with the value of the sugar produced by her two West Indian islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

The mainland of North America, it will be recalled, was long regarded as a stumbling block in the path to India. The interest of north European states in the new continent first manifested itself in an eager, not to say frantic, though futile search for a northwest passage. Meanwhile the rich fishing grounds off Newfoundland were exciting a strong attraction upon northern sailors, whether Dutch, English, or French. Later came colonies of settlement, based upon a varied economy of farming, planting, cattle raising, lumbering, and fur trading.

English sailors were first drawn to the fisheries off Newfoundland after Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage thither in 1583. The prospect of the discovery of a northwest passage was the driving force in many a subsequent English voyage of exploration. John Davis, about 1590, discovered the strait that bears his name. Hendrik Hudson, a Dutch captain in English employ, discovered Hudson's Bay in 1611. In 1615-1616 William Baffin carried the flag of England still further west. Thus was established England's claim to the Hudson's Bay region. French and Dutch sailors were gradually driven from the Newfoundland fisheries, and by the middle of the seventeenth century approximately 10,000 Englishmen were employed here.

### First English Colonies in North America

Meanwhile the first permanent colony of English settlers was founded at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. There were 105 adventurers, all men; among them, two goldsmiths, two refiners, and one jeweler. Wealth did not come easily or quickly; the sufferings of the colonists were many and great. Eventually the survivors turned to less spectacular endeavors and raised tobacco. Ten tons of the "weed" were shipped to England in 1617, and the Virginians were thus assured of a steady income. The crude and necessary work in the fields was at first done by white indentured servants, who paid for their passage money in several yearly installments of labor. Later on the chief labor supply was Negro slaves, of whom twenty were landed from a Dutch ship in 1619. King James of England, for whom the first settlement was named, was made exceedingly angry by the tobacco smokers, and he expressed his dislike at some length in *A Counterblast against Tobacco*. Smoking, he wrote, is a custom "loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and the black, stinking fume thereof, nearest resembles the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless."

In 1609 part of a squadron voyaging to Jamestown was wrecked on the shores of Bermuda, which thus became the site of England's second permanent settlement in the West. The third English settlement came in 1620 with the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. The Pilgrims were mainly extreme Puritans from the eastern counties of England who had gone into voluntary exile in Holland shortly after the Hampton Court Conference closed the door of their hopes. A dozen years later they migrated to America, after seeking financial backing and further recruits in London. Further important settlements, in and around Boston, began in 1628. The outward flow of English people that followed (1628-1640) is one of the most important events in American history. This emigration was due almost entirely to the High Church policy of King Charles I as enforced by Archbishop Laud. By 1640 more than 22,000 had made their way to Massachusetts Bay.

We need not retell here the familiar story of the settlement of the other New England colonies, which followed shortly. Every group of English settlers was determined that their rights as Englishmen should suffer no diminution on colonial soil. Every colonial charter provided in substance that "all who dwell in the new lands shall enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities as if they were abiding and had been born in England." Furthermore, each English colony was granted a measure of self-government. Naturally, Englishmen of the period would have accepted nothing less; but it is well to note that we have encountered here something new in the history of colonization. Except to a limited extent in the Dutch colonies of America, no other European colonists were allowed self-governing rights.

### The French in North America

French enterprise in the new world began early. While Pizarro was conquering Peru, Jacques Cartier, in 1534-1536, was making his way up the St. Lawrence River. The Frenchman thought he was well on the way to China, as is suggested by the name *La Chine* assigned to the rapids he encountered just above the site of Montreal. It was on this voyage that Cartier, hearing the natives refer to their collection of huts as *kannata* and thinking they were referring to the land as a whole, applied to it the name of "Canada." This beginning was not followed up. Foreign and civil wars occupied the French monarchy until the close of the century. When at last King Henry IV had made an end of these and turned to measures of reconstruction, he gave a ready ear to the adventurous Frenchmen who were urging him to back their enterprises. In 1603 Samuel de Champlain visited the region of the St. Lawrence first entered by Cartier. On his return he persuaded the king not only that a perma-

nent colonial settlement in that area was possible but that it would be definitely advantageous for France. In 1608, on his third ship, Champlain founded at Quebec on July third the first permanent French settlement on the American continent. It grew but slowly. There was little fertile soil immediately available and the climate, needless to say, did not favor the production of those tropical and semitropical commodities which European peoples looked for from overseas. The principal economic resource of New France became and remained for many decades the fur trade. Fur-bearing animals had all but vanished from southern and central Europe by this time, but in Canada the numbers of such animals were as limitless as the woods themselves. Another important factor in the continued life of the French colony was the heroic and self-forgetful devotion of Jesuit missionaries, of whom the first arrived in 1625. By the middle of the century there were only a few hundred Frenchmen in the St. Lawrence valley, however, as compared with thousands in the West Indies. Moreover, powerful tribes of hostile Indians threatened New France with extinction.

Dutch colonies in the mainland of North America were even less important than Dutch settlements in the West Indies, which themselves were small. The Dutch government continued to be preoccupied with its rich trade in the Far East, and colonies of settlement did not appeal to it. The West Indies attracted Dutch attention almost wholly as a base for preying upon Spanish and Portuguese commerce, as we have seen. With infallible foresight the Dutch seized upon the site of New York as the capital of their North American colony, and New Amsterdam became the principal town of their New Holland. New Amsterdam quickly became an important outlet for the fur trade of the interior. The maintenance of a minimum population in New Holland taxed Dutch ingenuity to the utmost. One plan was to grant a large holding and certain rights of government to any Dutch merchant who would export to the New World and keep at his own expense at least fifty families. Of no little importance in the life of the colony was the vigorous rule of Peter Stuyvesant, governor from 1647 onwards. By 1660 the white population of New Holland was about 10,000, of whom 1600 lived in New Amsterdam.

### Dutch-English Wars

It was not to be expected that the states engaged in western enterprises would long remain at peace with each other. In the Far East the Dutch and English were early at war, and their conflict soon spread to west Africa, the West Indies, and the mainland of North America. The western phase of the Dutch-English conflict began in the middle of the seventeenth century and continued for about twenty-five years.

The United Netherlands had been a republic from the beginning, as we have seen, though a position of special authority was always reserved for the house of Orange. William II, however, had died suddenly in 1650 and his heir was a son, born a week later. Under these circumstances the Dutch turned for leadership during the next quarter of a century to Jan De Witt, a staunch republican, bold, eloquent, and patriotic. England, in 1650, was also a republic, the execution of Charles I having preceded by one year the death of the head of the house of Orange. Union rather than war might well have been the preference of the two small seafaring republics in a world of hereditary dynasties. Indeed, the union of the two countries was proposed by the English Parliament, under Cromwell's leadership, in 1651. The Dutch declined, being unwilling to limit in any way their freedom of action. Thereupon the English Parliament passed, in the same year, a Navigation Act which provided that all English exports must thereafter be carried in English ships and that imports must be carried either in English ships or in the ships of the producing countries. This act struck a heavy blow at the Dutch carrying trade. The aggressive temper of the English is revealed in their further demand that all Dutch ships using the English Channel must strike their flags to English ships.

The Dutch met these measures with defiance, and a war followed, fought wholly on the sea. The Dutch were led by one of their most famous admirals, Tromp. The English fleets were led by Blake, formerly a cavalry officer in Cromwell's army. In two years there were no fewer than eight naval battles, in one of them as many as a hundred ships being engaged on each side. At one stage of the war the British established a blockade of the Dutch coast line and, for the moment, completely strangled Dutch trade. In a final desperate effort, however, the blockade was broken. Tromp was killed in the battle. Upon the whole, in the actual fighting the Dutch more than held their own against the English, but their merchant shipping had suffered very heavy losses. The total value of Dutch prizes taken by the English was more than double that of the whole English merchant fleet. Peace was made in 1654. The Dutch then agreed to salute English ships and to pay compensation for the lives of English traders lost at the Massacre of Amboyna thirty years earlier. The most important cause of the war, the English Navigation Act, was not mentioned in the treaty, but it was tacitly accepted by the Dutch.

In reality, this treaty did not establish peace; it merely postponed strife. The leaders of England had by now committed themselves to the expansion of overseas trade and the extension of colonial settlements as matters of national policy. That had been the intention of Cromwell. Still more was it the intention of the statesmen of the Restoration. Under

their leadership Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas were founded; New York and New Jersey were taken from the Dutch. This last exploit occurred when a renewal of war was imminent. There followed the Second Dutch War, 1665-1667. The English navy was now able to inflict much further damage on Dutch shipping. The Dutch were the more willing to make peace because Louis XIV of France, it seemed, had laid plans for the annihilation of the Dutch Republic. In return for the Dutch possessions in North America, England conceded that goods coming to her shores from the Rhine valley or the Spanish Netherlands might be carried by Dutch ships.

The end of the conflict between England and the Dutch Republic marks a definite stage in the growth of European empires. As between the Dutch and English, leadership now passed to the latter. The Dutch lost the whole of their North American empire, and in 1678 the Dutch West India Company went out of existence. In the Far East, Holland lost little, but there was set a definite limit which the Dutch seemed inclined to accept. They settled down to exploit to the utmost their rich empire in and around the Malay Archipelago. At home the Dutch were forced, by French aggression, to enter upon a long struggle for national existence. During its course they came to be dependent more and more on England. The marriage in 1677 of Mary, heir presumptive to the English throne, and Prince William III of Orange inaugurated an era of closer relationship between the two countries.

The decline of the Dutch empire was important for England, but the advance of the French empire was more so. The story of this advance, of the momentous conflict between the French empire and the British and of the complete victory of the latter, is the culminating phase of the "old imperialism" and will be reserved for a later chapter.

## SECTION THREE

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# The Old Regime at Its Height 1660-1789

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EUROPEAN SOCIETY having largely escaped the confines of medieval times, its growth during the century and a half following the Peace of Westphalia became free and vigorous. The dominant political form was now the state whose nucleus, at least, was a nation. In the life of the nation a middle class of merchants, craftsmen, and professional men took an increasing part. Political leadership was supplied by hereditary monarchs who shared social leadership with a class of landed nobility. The church was no longer the rival of the state. In Catholic countries no interference by the church in political matters was allowed. In Protestant lands the church was little more than a department of the government. The state as power was a concept with which the statesmen of the period were increasingly preoccupied. More closely centralized authority was one road to power; the increase of military strength, another. More fundamental still was the intelligent promotion of the economic life of the people. Mercantilism now reached its zenith, and the building of an overseas empire became a prime objective of power politics. Colonial outposts were more valued as strategical bases and posts of trade than as opportunities for colonists.

In this age France was easily predominant, whether in population, economic development, international relations, or cultural advancement. Spain and Sweden were on the down grade. Holland was content to



remain small and prosperous. Russia emerged as a first-class European power, and began the slow absorption of Western culture which even today is by no means complete. The Holy Roman Empire of the German nation justified to the full Voltaire's quip that it was neither holy nor Roman nor an empire. Politically impotent, Germany was culturally great, "lacking in deeds but rich in thought." The reverse was true of part of Germany, however. For the first time, though not the last, Prussia startled Europe with its power and ruthlessness.

Intellectually this was an age of rationalism, the first such period in Europe's history since Rome fell. Rationalism owed something to the cumulative effect of classical studies to which the educated world of Europe had returned with such zeal at the Renaissance. It owed much more to the contemporary advance in science, the greatest in history thus far. To epoch-making developments in the physical sciences were added pioneering achievements in the social sciences. It appeared that every human institution must find a rational basis for its existence or perish. Monarchs sought to found their rule on reason; churches ceased to command and began to persuade.

Great as was the civilization of this period, it was not a civilization of or for the masses. Its increased prosperity, its enlightenment, its amenities of life did not extend below the upper middle class. The institutions and the culture of the age did much credit to the mind of man, but not his heart. There remained to be achieved "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

## CHAPTER XI

### *The Old Regime: Political Thought, Social Conditions, Scientific Advance*

WE HAVE NOTED the differentiation of political universalism, under emperor or pope, into separate nation-states under local dynasties. Within the nation-states there was a marked trend toward centralization of authority. Medieval kings, for example, had dispensed justice, but along side of royal courts there had been ecclesiastical courts and the private courts of landed magnates. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the monarchs of western Europe sought to liquidate every such power within the state that competed with their own. In this process they secured the support of the growing middle class, which required in its enterprises the security and the support which a strong government alone could give.

#### Absolutism and Divine Right

The domestic crises and civil wars attendant upon the religious revolution also contributed to the centralizing of power. When French Catholics and Huguenots sought to establish rival governments within the nation, some Frenchmen were driven by the logic of hard facts to affirm the indivisibility of sovereignty and the absolute authority of monarchy. Jean Bodin (1539-1596) was the best known of such writers, his work on the science of government, the greatest since Aristotle, being widely studied. "All the characteristics of sovereignty," said Bodin, "are contained in this, to have power to give laws to each and every one of his subjects and to receive none from them." Another powerful protagonist of absolutism was the Englishman Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). Born in the year of the Armada, Hobbes lived to see the time of trouble when Parliament battled with the king, and Cromwell's army triumphed over both. As Hobbes put it, he and fear "like twins were born together." In his *Leviathan*, published in 1651, he asserts that in a state of nature men are all equally endowed with rights. But since every man's hand will be against every other man, there will be a condition of "continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man is solitary, poor, nasty,

brutish, and short." For the sake of peace, therefore, and to the end that some at least of the amenities of civilized life may be secured, all men must transfer some of their rights to a sovereign. This transfer must be final, and the authority of the sovereign is absolute.

Bodin and Hobbes sought a basis for absolutism in experience and in reason, but the more prevalent view was that the basis for the unrestrained authority of a king was divine right. Men were religiously minded in those days, and a scriptural foundation for all things was as natural for them as a scientific basis is for us. "By me kings reign and princes decree justice" was quoted from the Old Testament; and "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," from the New. In general, the sovereigns of the period were happy to endorse the principle of divine right. James I of England affirmed that "Monarchie is the trew paterne of Divinitie," and he proceeded at great length to lay a Scriptural foundation for his view. His son Charles, rejecting the Puritan thesis of popular sovereignty, said on the scaffold, "As for the people, truly I desire their liberty as much as any man whomsoever; but as for their having a share in government, that is nothing pertaining unto them; a subject and a sovereign are clean different things." We have noted the contributions to the theory and practice of divine-right absolutism made by Philip II and Henry IV. Under Louis XIV of France this form of government attained its highest perfection. The French crown was held to be the sole source of authority. "As wills the king so wills the law" was a maxim of the French courts. The judges were merely the king's delegates; their decisions could be modified or set aside by the king, and frequently were. The king of France was the sole proprietor; all the possessions of his subjects were his. It was the official view of the French clergy that the king's responsibility was to God alone; to disobey the king was not only treason, it was sin.

It is easy to criticize the theory of divine right but not so easy to imagine a more satisfactory substitute for it. The masses were patently unfit to govern themselves. Their ignorance and superstition, their economic weakness, their habitual deference, were barriers as yet insuperable between them and the practice of self-government. Where the middle class was strong enough and its political traditions long enough established, parliamentary institutions might displace government by divine right, but such areas in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe were neither numerous nor large.

### Mercantilism

Mercantilism, the active intervention of government in the economic life of the nation, was, we have seen, pursued even in early modern times by the princes of Italy and the monarchies of western Europe. In the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this type of economic nationalism was at its height, both in theory and practice, not only in absolutist states like France but also in countries like England and Holland where bourgeois classes controlled the institutions of government. Indeed, unity and strength, economic and political, were necessities of state in an age when domestic or foreign war was at all times an impending menace.

Mercantilism aimed at the attainment of economic unity by the clearing away of barriers to internal trade, by the standardizing of coinage, by the enforcement of uniform systems of weights and measures, and by the improvement and extension of transportation facilities. It aimed at increased production through the encouragement of agriculture and the stimulation of industry, for only so could a state attain a degree of self-sufficiency that would enable it to withstand the recurrent shocks of war. Mercantilism also meant, in the thought of the day, the accumulation of a reserve stock of precious metals to assure both a plentiful currency and a backlog for war. To this end an extensive foreign trade was deemed essential. Thomas Mun, director of the British East India Company, writing in 1664, put the point plainly: "The ordinary means to encrease our wealth and treasure is by foreign trade, wherein we must ever observe this rule: to sell more to strangers yearly than we consume of theirs in value." A favorable balance of trade would result in a reserve of gold and silver in countries which could not draw directly upon the mines of the New World. Trading posts in the Old World and colonies of settlement in the New were thus objects of policy for the statesmen of Europe. Since, in the view of mercantilists, the amount of wealth and therefore of trade in the world was strictly limited, it might be necessary for one state to seize the colonies of another.

Governments of Europe went to great lengths in regulating the economic life of their peoples. The importation of commodities which competed with home industries was frequently prohibited. Detailed regulations relating to domestic manufactures were enforced in order to maintain standards and thus assure a steady market abroad. To keep domestic output at desired levels, the most minute control was attempted in the relations of capital and labor. Altogether, the limitations upon free enterprise exceeded anything seen in more recent times until the advent of the totalitarian states.

Most of the states of Europe fell short of the mercantilist ideal to a greater or lesser degree. Spain was unable at any time to qualify as a full-fledged mercantilist state. She had bullion and she had trade, but her agriculture and her industries soon passed into a state of decline. Portugal also was unbalanced from a mercantilist point of view. After her recovery of dynastic independence in 1640, Portugal centered her economic policy

on the development of her empire in Brazil. Her home industries, never well developed, were further handicapped by commercial treaties with England under which wine was traded for textiles. Holland was somewhat unbalanced on the side of trade, her industries producing largely for export. Dutch prosperity, though brilliant for a while, was brittle. English economic policy, before the time of Cromwell, was devoted chiefly to the strengthening of home industries. Repeated efforts, for example, were made to place clothmaking on a firm basis. Newer industries were encouraged by the grant of a monopoly of the right of manufacture and sale. After 1650, however, mercantilist emphasis shifted attention to colonial and foreign trade, and the rising commercial class more and more shaped national policies. In Prussia, where colonies were entirely lacking, mercantilist aims were concentrated upon agricultural and industrial development at home, and with great success. In the realm of economic policy no less than in others a skilled and powerful bureaucracy played a conspicuous part.

France alone, perhaps, attained the mercantilist ideal. Colbert, the great minister of Louis XIV, made "Colbertism" a synonym for mercantilism. Agriculture, industry, shipping, foreign and colonial trade—all these France had in generous supply, and they were so intelligently blended by Colbert that French mercantilism became the standard of Europe. (See below, pp. 211-212.)

### War the Instrument of National Policy

During the seventeenth century there were but four years during which Europe was free from war. In the eighteenth, wars were not so continuous, but they were more all-inclusive of the powers of Europe. It may, indeed, be said that in this age war was a normal element of civilization. Under the competitive state system recurrent war was practically a law of nations. Many elements of society had a vested interest in war. Monarchs, rightly or wrongly, felt obliged to seek foreign triumphs in order to maintain or enhance their authority at home. In war the nobility found honorable and lucrative employment, for to that class were reserved the highest posts of command. Furthermore, war provided the nobles with employment as diplomats and as governors of conquered provinces. Merchants and manufacturers found in the large standing armies of the period the "first great markets for mass consumption." Even the landed magnates competed for the contracts for supplying the armies with grain; many landlords transformed their ancestral estates into capitalistic farms. Indeed, there is some truth in the view that war was not so much the effect of the rise of capitalism as its cause.

The banking interests profited from war, though less directly than formerly. Military and naval enterprises were now on so vast a scale that they transcended the ability of private bankers to finance them. Governments found it necessary to draw upon the entire investing public and to provide as broad a borrowing base as possible by the founding of national debts. The scale of military expenditure may be seen in the following facts. In the middle of the eighteenth century, in the midst of a great war, 90 per cent of the Prussian budget was earmarked for military purposes. It is estimated that two thirds of the French budget was devoted to the same purpose. The biggest wartime spender of all, however, was Great Britain.

### Professional Armies

With war as a normal function of the state, standing armies were inevitable; military forces must be constantly in service, summer and winter, during intervals of peace as well as when fighting was going on. On the eve of the great wars of the eighteenth century the army of France numbered 200,000; the Russian army, 130,000; the Austrian, 100,000; the Prussian, 80,000; the Spanish, 70,000; and the Dutch, 30,000. England, as befitted a country whose main dependence was on sea power, had an army of but 18,000; indeed, England's king had under his command a larger army in his native Hanover than in England.

By modern standards these armies seem small, but the basis of the armies of the old regime was voluntary recruiting. Their ranks were filled with professional soldiers who fought for pay. War being more or less constant, it was deemed important that the normal functioning of the economic order be not disturbed. Statesmen of the period saw to it that so far as possible soldiers were drawn from the ranks of the unemployed. Many a beggar and vagabond found a home in the army. In the more prosperous states the unemployed usually proved insufficient and recourse was had to recruitment from the poorer countries. Switzerland was a good source of supply, partly because of her poverty and partly because the Swiss were among the first to employ modern military methods. Other countries whose sons were found in the armies of France, Austria, Prussia, and England were Scotland and the almost innumerable states of Germany. Only in Russia was there a truly national army. There, with feudalism still in the ascendant, each landlord was obliged to supply the army with a certain number of serfs.

Under most circumstances professional soldiers fought well enough. When things went badly, however, wholesale desertions became the rule. It is said that in Prussia, where fully 50 per cent of the army was recruited from abroad, half the soldiers stood guard on a certain occasion to prevent

the other half from escaping. The officer class was drawn almost wholly from the nobility. The power of command was instinctive in the members of that order, even though they might no longer have serfs to command at home. The social chasm between the nobility and the common soldiers was so vast that no other relationship than that of officers and men was possible. In general, the nobles were not highly satisfactory as officers. Many were restless under discipline or too indolent to master the technique of their profession.

### The Art of War

Great improvements were being made in the art of war. Cavalry continued to be a useful branch of the service, especially after the horsemen learned to use firearms rather than the lance. More important, however, and increasingly so as time went on, was the infantry. The weapons of the infantry had been standardized at two, the pike and the musket. Muskets were extremely heavy and clumsy, by modern standards, and were loaded by hand at the muzzle. A matchlock musket required the application of a lighted taper to discharge it. Later, this method of firing was replaced by the more convenient flintlock. It was customary for the musketeers, having fired their weapons, to retire behind the pikemen to reload. An event of decisive importance was the adoption by the French, in the age of Louis XIV, of the bayonet. This supplied the infantrymen with two weapons in one.

Improvements in discipline and mobility were even more important than changes in weapons. First, a uniform battle dress came into use. This was an event of special significance in the history of military discipline, as will readily be appreciated by anyone who has worn a uniform. The blue and yellow of Sweden became famous, and the red of the British still more so, the latter being introduced by Cromwell, the founder of seven of Britain's noted regiments. Increased mobility and maneuverability were achieved by the ingenuity of a succession of able military leaders. Long days of training took place in winter quarters, and there was much practice in sham battles. Frederick of Prussia consistently defeated armies larger than his own by the greater military dexterity of his forces. Military engineering reached a high point of perfection, especially in France. This was due, in the main, to the genius of Vauban. Strongholds which he set out to besiege were given up for lost, while those which he built were deemed impregnable. His fortress of Belfort, for example, withstood a siege of three months as late as 1870. The French, indeed, were consistently outstanding in the practice of the art of war. Between the years 1642 and 1704 France never lost a battle. The achievement of such a record was due, of course, not only to military skill but also to

France's vast resources which assured her armies of regular pay and adequate equipment and supplies. Incredible as it may seem, high standards of discipline were enforced in the French officer class. Members of the French nobility were made to toe the line. One of the army inspectors was so successful in this respect that his name, Martinet, is established as a byword for severity.

### Navies

The modern navy, consisting of fleets of fighting ships built to order and always in service, is the creation of the seventeenth century. It came clear during the Anglo-Dutch wars that big warships could dominate the fighting, and such ships were built, thereafter, by every state which took its sea power seriously. A really big ship carried as many as seventy-two guns, 32- to 42-pounders on the lower deck, and 12- to 18-pounders on the upper. Seafaring countries like England and Holland had certain obvious advantages in building and maintaining navies. For one thing, they had a good supply of trained personnel in their merchant fleets; for another, they had shipbuilding facilities which could be drawn upon at will. Even after merchantmen disappeared from the battle line, the English government continued to subsidize shipbuilders who would build merchant ships large enough to be transformed into warships in time of need.

The French navy was never anything more than an artificial creation. It was wholly subordinate to the army, indeed, little more than a department of it. One advantage which France had in her long conflict with England, however, was the superiority of her naval architects. A French ship of fifty-two guns could engage on even terms a British ship of seventy-two. A great disadvantage of the French, on the other hand, and one from which they never escaped, was the rule that naval officers must be drawn wholly from the nobility. From the start the British navy had drawn some of its officers from an entirely different stratum of society, namely, that of the common sailor. Many a British admiral—for example, Rooke, Hawke, Anson, and Boscawen—began his career at sea as a cabin boy; "tarpaulin admirals," they were called. Another source of supply of skilled officers was the Royal Naval Academy, founded by the British government in 1732. Britain's success against France on the sea during the eighteenth century was due largely to the superiority of her naval officers.

Conditions of life at sea in the ships of all countries were deplorable. Crowded quarters and dietary deficiencies combined to form a deadly menace to health. For every British sailor killed by the guns of the enemy, disease killed a hundred. Sailors who survived were usually "finished" at forty-five.



Most civilized people today look upon war as a measure of last resort, to be undertaken only if the security of the homeland is gravely threatened. There was little of this feeling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Land-hungry dynasties looked with covetous eyes upon the territories of their neighbors, awaiting only a favorable opportunity to engage in what we should call ruthless aggrandizement. Like a pack of wolves, a group of states would sometimes combine to attack a weaker nation. Thus, during the 1700's, concerted efforts were made to dismember Austria, Turkey, and Poland. In the last case the effort was successful.

### Grotius, Advocate of International Law

Certain thinkers and philosophers there were who sought to rescue European society from perpetual war by placing the relations of nations on a more rational foundation. Among such the greatest was Huig de Groot, better known as Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). He published his famous treatise *De jure belli et pacis* in 1625 when Europe was suffering from a particularly destructive conflict. His book was eagerly and widely read, for Grotius was already a famous scholar and man of letters, occupying a position in his age something like that of Erasmus at an earlier time. At the age of fifteen, as the boy wonder of Holland, Grotius took his degree of Doctor of Laws at the University of Leyden. At twenty he was chosen official historian of the "War of Independence" by the government of the Dutch Republic, and at twenty-one he wrote out a first draft of his famous book on international law, though it was to be twenty years before he published it. There followed a busy career in a succession of important offices. Having the misfortune of taking the wrong side, really the right side, in a local religious controversy, Grotius, at the age of thirty-six, was sentenced to life imprisonment. He occupied his enforced leisure with books and writing, his devoted and resourceful wife at his side. Madame Grotius was in the habit of packing a heavy hamper with books and laundry for delivery at the home of friends. On one occasion the unsuspecting guards delivered a hamper somewhat heavier than usual, the savant himself supplying, this time, the weight of learning. Once escaped, Grotius spent most of his time in Paris, hoping always to return to his native land. But like Dante, another great thinker in the cause of peace, Grotius died in exile. His remains, returned to Holland, were honored with interment beside those of William the Silent, as his countrymen sought to make amends.

Grotius' book was already a classic. During his lifetime several universities founded chairs whose incumbents concerned themselves with expounding his views. Grotius tells us in his introduction his reason for

writing the book. "I see prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed of, recourse being had to arms for slight reasons or for no reason; and when arms are once taken up, all reverence for divine or human law is thrown away." Grotius had been a lawyer and public servant as well as a philosopher. As counsel for the Dutch East India Company he had drawn up a brief defending the right of his clients to enter the Portuguese preserve in the Far East, entitling his treatise *Mare liberum*, and arriving at the conclusion that the sea is free by nature. This concept of natural right became the basis of his thought. Among nations as among men there is law, he held. It remains but to discover and state it, a task no more difficult for the social scientist than for the mathematician. The basis of international law Grotius found in man's nature as a social being. "Man is, to be sure, an animal but an animal of a superior kind. . . . Among the traits characteristic of man is an impelling desire for society, not of any or every sort but peaceful and organized according to the measure of his intelligence." Since this is the nature of man, states, like individuals, are bound by rules of right and justice which may be discovered by observation and experience. As may be seen, Grotius makes no effort whatever to base his law on the Bible. Indeed, he held that the natural law of nations remained whether God existed or not. Not that he was hostile to religion; on the contrary he was a man of marked piety. Dogmas, however, impressed Grotius very little. He even attempted to reconcile Protestants and Catholics by formulating a code of common Christianity.

Grotius found that there were two occasions upon which it was right and just for states to go to war; first, to punish another state for an injury it had done, and second, for self-defense. Even just wars, however, should be carried on in accordance with certain rules, he held. The convenience of noncombatants should be considered. Peaceful occupations should be interfered with as little as possible, and war should be waged solely by men with whose lives the state can easily dispense. Many of his specific recommendations have become the subject of international agreement.

Having discovered and partly formulated a law of nations, Grotius also felt the need of uniting the states of Europe in some way or another. "It would be useful," he said, "and indeed it is almost necessary that certain congresses of Christian powers should be held, in which disputes among some of them may be decided by others who are not interested, and in which measures may be taken to compel the powers to accept peace upon just terms." Other men before Grotius as well as after have felt this need of union, and several of them drew up more or less elaborate schemes. One of the most famous of such plans was the "Grand Design"

of the French King Henry IV, really the work, it is presumed, of his minister Sully. Sully fixed the proper number of states in Europe at fifteen, comprising six hereditary monarchies, six elective monarchies, and three republics, with boundaries fixed as satisfactorily as possible. These states, he thought, should be federated into one Christian republic with two objectives: first, to expel the Turks from Europe, and second, to enforce toleration for the three principal divisions of the Christian faith, Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism. War among the Christian states Sully would abolish by compelling them to submit their disputes to tribunals whose decisions should be enforced by a common army. To this army each state would contribute men and money according to its resources.

Most of the thinkers of the eighteenth century put their faith in the progressive improvement of society through education. As peoples became more enlightened and intelligent they would establish governments which would be just enough to avoid most of the causes of war, and wise enough to see that arbitration and not war is the best way to settle a dispute. Neither the sagacious utterances of philosophers nor the ingenious schemes of reformers, however, had any observable effect on international relations.

### The Population of Europe

In the middle of the seventeenth century the population of Europe was still small. France had about eighteen million inhabitants; Spain, eight million; Germany, after a generation of war, about thirteen million. Russia, not yet a European state but soon to be one, had a population about equal to that of Germany. England had about four and one half million inhabitants; the Dutch Republic, under three million. The total population of the Italian peninsula was about thirteen million, the densest population in Europe. The three Scandinavian states had a population of about two million, the sparsest in Europe.

### Social Classes

European society still retained its threefold division into clergy, nobility, and commons. Clergy and nobility together numbered about 1 per cent of the population, while owning, in Europe as a whole, about one half the land and two thirds of the total wealth. The social prestige of these two classes was very great. In an earlier day they had performed important functions in return for their many rights and privileges; but these functions, with the lapse of centuries, had greatly lessened. This was particularly true of the nobility, whose political power had dimin-

ished as that of the monarchs increased. The social chasm between nobility and commons remained as deep and as wide as ever. It seemed to be a case of the less power the more prestige and privilege.

The number and status of the nobility varied from country to country. The French nobility included about fifty thousand families, and all of the sons of a noble were noble. The role of the French nobility had become largely ornamental. Though still invested with considerable judicial authority, the nobles had little real power over their tenants. As one-time defenders of France the nobles were exempt from the *taille*,\* or land tax; but the high privilege of defending the state was monopolized by the king, and entrusted by him to a standing army in which the nobles played a strictly subordinate role. Nor was the economic position of the French nobility as solid as it once had been. Much land had passed from their control to peasant proprietors and the bourgeoisie. Such lands as the nobility retained, still from 10 to 50 per cent of the whole in the various provinces of France, no longer brought to its owners an adequate income. Rentals fixed in the middle ages remained substantially unchanged, though the purchasing power of the French unit of currency had declined greatly. Furthermore, though Louis XIV and his successors excluded the nobles as a class from all share in government, they insisted upon their presence at court, where a life of ruinous extravagance was imposed upon them by the royal example. The function of the nobles of the Old Regime was, then, largely social. They alone were fit associates of the king. Two professions only were open to them, the church and the army. Those who joined the clergy made scarcely any change in their way of life, and little change even in their outlook on life. The army was a stronghold of the nobility. Four paternal generations of noble ancestry were at one time a prerequisite for the office of second lieutenant. The legal profession had won some footing in the order of nobility, and many a judicial post invested its fortunate possessor, by purchase or otherwise, with a title; but these "nobility of the robe," as they were called, were looked down upon by the "nobility of the sword."

The more formal their powers, the more limited their income, the more purely social their function, the more tenaciously did the nobles of France cling to such privileges and authority as remained. Appearances must be kept up at all costs. Lines of social distinction must be kept sharp and clear. As individuals the French nobles, those "of the sword" at all events, held the maintenance of personal "honor" as the first article of their creed. The merest trifle sufficed to join two gentlemen in combat more or less deadly. Though strictly forbidden, dueling continued to flourish. The gentlemen of France "go to their deaths as if they were to rise next morning," said an Italian observer. Corneille once ventured to

portray a duel on the stage in the presence of distinguished dignitaries of church and state.

In England the landlord class included few magnates of the first importance, seventy perhaps, but a very much larger number of country gentlemen or squires, whose estates were of a few hundred acres rather than many thousands. The territorial magnates and the squires, between them, dominated Parliament and monopolized local government. The clergy was a mere appendage to this class, bishops being chosen from the larger families for the most part, parish clergy from the squirearchy. England differed from France also in the closeness of connection between the landed class and the middle class. Many a noble and squire invested in the great commercial companies of the period or strengthened his economic position by marrying junior members of the family to selected members of the bourgeoisie. The latter, for their part, held the nobility in the highest respect, cherishing the gentleman type as their highest social ideal.

The nobility of Spain, Portugal, and the Italian peninsula were on the French model, while those of Holland and Switzerland were more like the English. In Germany and Poland the nobility generally retained powers as well as privileges which had been lost in France and England several centuries earlier.

### Middle Class and Peasantry

The most important social development of seventeenth century Europe was the increase of the middle class. In Holland this class was proportionately larger than in any other country; in England it was next largest. Of the chief countries of Europe, France had by far the most important middle class. In Spain and Portugal it was by now of diminishing importance; in Poland it was practically nonexistent. The expansion of industry and commerce was directly responsible for the increase in size and wealth of the middle class, though the growth of professions such as law and medicine was an important factor also. The backbone of industry was still the small craft-shop of the middle ages in which one or two skilled artisans, with a group of apprentices, manufactured the articles needed or desired by the men and women of a restricted locality. The artisans were still organized into guilds which regulated matters of common concern. The guild system, however, with its hampering effect upon free enterprise and its limitation of production was under attack from two quarters. First, the governments of the period were constantly nullifying guild regulations in the interest of a national economy. More important still was the entrance into the field of manufacture of a class of wealthy merchants. Some industries had already reached the factory stage

of development, and weaving, brewing, tanning, and sugar refining employed small armies of workers, skilled and unskilled. The urban population was made up, therefore, of a small "upper crust" of merchants, bankers, factory owners, and professional men, a substantial middle stratum of artisans and apprentices, and a swarm of factory hands, lackeys, and domestic servants, the future "proletariat." The growth of commerce will be dealt with later as an aspect of the imperialism of the eighteenth century.

In 1650 Europe had fewer than one hundred cities of ten thousand or more inhabitants. Paris had about half a million; London was a close second. Lyons (150,000) was the second largest city of France, followed by Marseilles and Bordeaux. In the British Isles no other city was even one tenth the size of London. Amsterdam, Berlin, and Vienna were, next to Paris, the largest cities north of the Alps. Venice was the largest city of the Italian peninsula, followed by Milan and Florence.

It is to be doubted that the middle class was much larger than the combined clergy and nobility. This meant that the peasants constituted the overwhelming majority of seventeenth-century populations, possibly 95 to 98 per cent. Serfdom had vanished from the more progressive countries of western Europe, leaving a small class of peasant proprietors, a much larger group of "sharecroppers," and a vast army of rural laborers. Though feudalism was gone, many of its vestiges remained to vex the peasantry. Landlords still exacted from an otherwise free peasantry toll for goods passing through the villages, tongues of animals slaughtered for food, the grinding of grain at specified mills, and the baking of bread at special ovens. The planting and cultivation of crops were hampered by regulations protecting the nesting of pheasants and the littering of rabbits. Growing grain was trampled under foot by galloping huntsmen. Pigeon lofts were maintained by landlords at the expense of the peasant's grain.

The living conditions and agricultural methods of the rural population had undergone no substantial change since medieval times. The wasteful three-field system was the rule, nor were fertilizers much more general than scientific crop rotation. Wheat land yielded about eight or nine bushels to the acre, which was about the thirteenth-century average. Agricultural tools had changed little since the middle ages. Selective breeding of livestock was still the exception. The average cow weighed about three hundred and fifty pounds; a sheep, thirty-five pounds. Peasants labored from dawn to dusk, lived in one-room cottages with earthen floors, few windows, and leaky roofs, and rarely traveled more than a few miles from the place of their birth.

### Scientific Advance

The seventeenth century is the first great age of scientific advance. During its course scholars in their search for truth turned from traditional authority to the methodical study of nature. This did not make religious skeptics of them. It was their view that the laws of nature were the laws of God, and many scientists of the period were as zealous in their approach to God through science as medieval scholars had been in their approach through theology.

The world of practical affairs had now come to place a premium upon scientific research. Expanding commerce enlisted the services of mathematicians and astronomers and called for constantly improved techniques in shipbuilding. The new art of war created a demand for the study of the sciences of gunnery and fortification. In countries given over more and more to business, the development of a scientific habit of mind found a favorable environment. Business deals with concrete facts as precisely as possible; it engenders the "habit of quantitative thinking," which is the basis of scientific work.

To the scientific achievements of the new age all of the leading nationalities of western Europe contributed. Galileo was Italian; Descartes, French; Huygens, Dutch; Leibnitz, German; Harvey and Newton, English. The world of learned men was still one, the spread of information and ideas facilitated by the common use of Latin, which had not lost its hold as the language of learning. The printing press disseminated the news of scientific discoveries ever more quickly and widely. Improved transportation now made easier the movement of students from country to country. Among the unscientific, science became for the first time popular.

The Renaissance had had too much respect for the Greeks. Men were now to discover that Aristotle was sometimes ignorant and often in error. In the field of science, at least, the knowledge of the Greeks had been superseded. One of the first to foresee the role that science could and should play in the life of man was Francis Bacon (1560-1626), the English statesman and philosopher. This busy man strove in his moments of leisure to destroy the medieval mentality of his generation by insisting that its knowledge was vitiated with misinformation and based on false premises. The "wisdom which we have derived principally from the Greeks is but like the boyhood of knowledge," he affirmed, and he went on to emphasize the necessity of "dwelling purely and constantly among the facts of nature." Bacon's importance in the field of science lies in his appreciation of the role which science might play in lifting the life of man to a higher plane. He also thought that scientific research should be planned and

supported by the government. Bacon was not himself a research man, however, nor did he understand well the method of scientific research. He stood too close to the middle ages for that.

### Medicine

During the sixteenth century, medicine made a great gain, as we have seen, when anatomists shook off the authority of Galen. By 1600 the medical students of Europe were nearly ready to rely for their knowledge of the structure of the human body upon what they could see with their own eyes. In the field of physiology, however, the study of how the body works, Galen's views still prevailed. According to the Greek, a man's health depends upon the maintenance, in proper proportion, of the various fluids or "humors" which fill his body—blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. These fluids, Galen taught, are sucked into the heart, an organ of great innate heat, and there concocted (or cooked) and sent out into the body again. Air breathed into the lungs serves to keep down the temperature of the heart, an air-cooled motor, it would seem. When a disproportionate amount of a particular fluid is present, the afflicted person becomes phlegmatic, choleric, or melancholic, as the case may be. "Humor sometime hath his hour with every man," says Shakespeare. The sovereign remedy was to draw off a portion of the body fluid by cupping, or bloodletting.

This ancient theory of bodily humors was still being taught by Fabricius of Padua, the greatest anatomist of his time, in the year 1600. One of his pupils was a young Englishman named William Harvey (1578–1657). Harvey received from his master a "mixed teaching of the new anatomy and the old physiology." During his five years at Padua, however, he began to apply the experimental method in all fields of medicine. The brilliant use of this method in the fields of mechanics and physics by Galileo, also a teacher at Padua at the time, can scarcely have failed to influence the young Englishman. Upon his return to England Harvey, having privately repudiated the theory of bodily humors, determined, as he put it, to "give his mind to vivisections." There followed years of experiments, observations, and measurements which often seemed to lead nowhere. The unhappy man was tempted at one time to conclude that "the motion of the heart is only to be comprehended by God." The view at which Harvey finally arrived was published in 1628 in a volume entitled *The Movement of the Heart and Blood*. In this book Harvey disposed of the old physiology as effectively as Vesalius had disposed of the old anatomy in 1543. From the heart, said Harvey, the blood flows outward through the arteries to the tissues, and from the tissues it flows back again to the heart



through the veins. Finally the blood passes through the lungs from the right to the left side of the heart, thus completing "a motion as it were in a circle." Having no microscope, Harvey did not know how the blood got from the small visible arteries to the small visible veins; nor did he understand what happened to the blood during its passage through the lungs. Eagerly welcoming Harvey's discoveries, other scientists, Italian, Dutch, and English, armed with microscopes, discovered the minute channels known as capillaries which join the arteries with the veins. They also discovered that during its passage through the lungs venous blood is transformed into arterial blood through exposure to air. Indeed, one of the English researchers (John Mayow, 1640-1679) came to the conclusion that only a part of the air was taken up, that part being "a certain vital, fiery, and in the highest degree fermentative spirit." It was over one hundred years later that this "spirit" was identified and labeled "oxygen."

Medical students and teachers laid the foundations of other sciences: of botany through their use of herbs as remedies; of zoology through their study of animals in connection with human anatomy and physiology; and of chemistry as a result of their expanding knowledge of the curative properties of certain chemical substances. Botanic gardens were established in the leading cities of Italy as early as the sixteenth century. The practice of founding such gardens soon spread to Holland and other countries. Descriptions of plants, called "herbals," some of them lavishly illustrated, were published in the same century. With the use of the microscope, in the next century, came a knowledge of the anatomy of plants, followed rapidly by the study of function. The Italian Malpighi (1628-1694), a physician and teacher at Bologna, made important contributions to botanical knowledge. The existence of sex in plants was discovered by him, though he did not understand the process or the importance of fertilization.

Zoological gardens appeared earlier in Europe than botanic gardens, but they long remained an expression of man's interest in the curious and the bizarre. The scientific study of animals, however, paralleled that of plants both in time and in procedure. Indeed, most of the seventeenth-century botanists were also zoologists, and vice versa. Malpighi, for example, was one of the creators of the science of comparative anatomy. His microscopic studies of the anatomy of the silkworm (1619) became one of the most famous scientific monographs of the age. But the greatest scientist of all, in these allied fields was Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), a Swede trained at the University of Upsala. His principal work was the invention and application to the world of animals and plants of a binomial nomenclature. According to his plan each animal and plant is designated by two words, the first of which denotes its genus and the second its

species. Linnaeus issued the first edition of his *Systema naturae* in 1735, a volume of twelve pages. His tenth edition, 1758, extended to 824 pages. "God created and Linnaeus arranged."

## Chemistry

Chemistry had long been hampered by its association with the magic of alchemy. In the new age of science it broke completely with alchemy and was pursued for its own sake by numerous scientific workers in several countries. Its achievements, however, were comparatively small; more of the fundamentals were lacking in this science, at the end of the period, than in any other of equal importance. The greatest obstacle to advance in chemistry was the Aristotelian dogma that all matter is made up, in varying proportion, of one or more of the four elements, fire, water, earth, and air. It was commonly believed, therefore, that one substance could be changed into another by merely varying the proportions of the elements of which each was compounded. All that was needed was to discover the proper reagent, and baser metals could thus be transmuted into gold! The Englishman Robert Boyle (1627-1691) attacked this concept of matter with vigor in his book, *The Sceptical Chymist*. An element, he maintained, is a pure substance which cannot be broken up into anything simpler. None of Aristotle's famous four elements, Boyle demonstrated, could meet that test. This was a step in the right direction.

Another thesis of Boyle's began a controversy which lasted a century. Boyle maintained that some substances gain weight through combustion. A German scholar named Stahl (1660-1734) held, however, that every substance that can burn does so because it contains a "material and principle of fire," which he called "phlogiston." During combustion this is consumed; hence burning brings a loss of weight. Unfortunately, balances of sufficient delicacy, as well as other instruments of sufficient precision, were not yet available to settle the question. In the battle that followed the phlogiston theory proved to be the more popular, and for a hundred years it held the field, pretty effectually blocking progress in chemical knowledge. The dispute was ended, at long last, by the Frenchman Lavoisier (1743-1794), who proved that substances which are burned do increase in weight and that this is due to the addition of oxygen. He further proved that no matter is ever dissipated in a chemical process, thus substantiating the idea of the conservation of matter. Having come to the support of Boyle in the matter of combustion, Lavoisier also reaffirmed the Englishman's concept of an element. In his *Elementary Treatise on Chemistry* (1789) the brilliant Frenchman listed thirty-three elements.

## Mathematics

Great as was the progress made in the medical sciences and in the other sciences closely associated with them, there were still greater achievements in the field of mathematics. Never before or since has mathematics been of such service to the other sciences or have its findings been of such moment to mankind. Arithmetic reached its modern form with the invention of logarithms (1614) and the use of the decimal notation for fractions (1617). The use of logarithms was popularized by the Englishman Napier, though as usual with most scientific discoveries, he was merely making expert use of the "converging efforts" of several of his contemporaries. The use of logarithms was of immense value to the mathematical astronomers accustomed to dealing with figures of great magnitude. The slide rule, by the use of which the results of logarithmic calculations are immediately available to anyone who can read, was invented in 1624.

At the same time algebra was reaching its final form, with a language and a system of its own. Descartes (1596-1650) suggested that the first letters of the alphabet be used to designate known quantities, the last letters being reserved for "unknowns." Many familiar signs were now introduced and the use of brackets became customary. Descartes also developed a system of coordinates which bears his name and which forms the basis of the graphs and curves so familiar to us. Calculus was invented independently by both Leibnitz (1646-1716) and Newton (1642-1727). Calculus, as its name suggests, is a method of calculation and it is of the highest utility. Unlike logarithms, however, calculus can be employed only by those who understand it. The two great men of genius who invented calculus used differing systems of notation. That of Leibnitz commended itself to the majority of mathematicians and is in use today; indeed, Leibnitz has been called "the master builder of mathematical notation." English mathematicians continued to employ the system of Newton for a century or so and, as a consequence, made no contributions to the advance of mathematics during the period of their schism.

## Scientific Instruments

Improvements in methods of mathematical calculation were matched by the invention of certain instruments of precision without which great scientific advance would scarcely have been possible. Torricelli, a disciple of Galileo, discovered in 1645 that the height of mercury in a tube is a measure of atmospheric pressure. This is the principle of the modern barometer, the use of which as an indicator of changes in the weather was

well established by 1700. The thermometer is older still, but the use of mercury in a glass tube, instead of water, wine, or alcohol, was first made by Fahrenheit in 1721. His accurate thermometers gave a reading of 32 degrees as the freezing point of water and 212 degrees as the boiling point. The centigrade scale was devised by the Swedish scientist Celsius in 1742. An efficient air pump was made by Otto von Guericke. Having created a partial vacuum in two hollow hemispheres, he startled the gentlemen of the German Diet at Ratisbon, in 1654, by showing them that horses could not pull the hemispheres apart. The air pump made it possible to study the various properties of air, and it was quickly found that without air animals die and a flame cannot burn.

The telescope was invented by some spectaclemakers of Holland early in the seventeenth century, Hans Lippershey being perhaps most worthy of the credit. Galileo and others quickly put it to use, revealing a new heaven. A new earth was discoverable through the invention of the microscope, likewise the work of Dutch opticians, of whom Zacharias Jansen was the most important. The first great scientist to make full use of the microscope in his researches was Malpighi, the anatomist. It was he who confirmed Harvey's thesis by discovering capillaries in the lungs of a frog. Worthy of mention also is Antony van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723). This Dutch scientist made his own microscopes, a different one for each new subject of investigation. He found protozoa in stagnant water, and bacteria in dental tartar scraped from his teeth. It was more than a century later, however, before bacteria were studied again.

### Astronomy; A New Concept of the Universe

Mathematical methods were applied with such skill and success in the field of astronomy and physics that by the close of the seventeenth century the foundations of the medieval concept of the universe were destroyed and a way was cleared for the intellectual revolution of the eighteenth century. The first great name is that of Johannes Kepler (1571-1630). An assistant of Tycho Brahe (see p. 78), Kepler fell heir to a splendid collection of observational data, to the study of which he bent his mathematical mind through a period of more than twenty years. Concentrating upon the orbit of Mars, Kepler was forced to the conclusion that the planet does not describe a circle in its orbit around the sun, but an ellipse with the sun at its focus. This was a step beyond Copernicus, who had insisted that planetary orbits were perfect circles. Kepler went on to formulate other laws of planetary motion so important as to earn for him the name of "founder of physical astronomy." He had no faith that his discoveries would meet with wide or swift acceptance, saying,

"The book is written, to be read either now or by posterity, I care not which; it may well wait a century for a reader, as God has waited six thousand years for an observer." A fact eloquently significant of the general state of enlightenment is that Kepler was obliged to turn aside from his researches from time to time to cast horoscopes for his patrons and friends. This practice of astrology he accepted as degrading but necessary. "Nature has endowed every living creature with the means of subsistence," he observed, adding, "Mother Astronomy would surely have to suffer hunger if daughter Astrology did not earn their bread."

The mathematics of Kepler was brilliantly supported by the observations of Galileo (1564-1642). Acting upon the suggestion of a Dutch optician, Galileo made a telescope which, with his later improvements, magnified an object one thousand times. Through this instrument he observed the four satellites of Jupiter, which give an example, in their circulation around the mother planet, of the motion of the planets around the sun. From a study of the spots on the sun Galileo was able to prove that the sun itself revolves on its axis. In the light of these and other analogies of the earth's rotation Galileo asked, "Who would believe that Nature hath chosen to make an innumerable number of most vast bodies move, and that with inconceivable velocity, to perform that which might be done by the moderate motion of one alone about its own centre?" Galileo was also able to demonstrate that the milky way was "a mass of innumerable stars planted together in clusters," and not made up of meteors, as Aristotle affirmed.

That the learned world was slow to accept Galileo's findings we may see from a letter he wrote to his friend Kepler. "Here at Padua," he wrote, "is the principal professor of philosophy whom I have repeatedly and urgently requested to look at the moon and planets through my glass, which he pertinaciously refuses to do. Why are you not here? What shouts of laughter we should have at this glorious folly!" Nor was the world of authority disposed to pass over in silence so formidable an attack upon the accepted view of the universe. The Roman Inquisition called upon Galileo to recant and to abjure the Copernican thesis as a heresy. His writings, with those of Copernicus and Kepler, were placed on the *Index*, there to remain for two hundred years.

### Newton's *Principles*

To the question of how the heavenly bodies move, the human mind quickly adds another question: why do they move and what keeps them in motion? After his condemnation Galileo carried forward experiments in the law of moving bodies, deducing laws of motion which are still

famous. Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), born the year Galileo died, applied the latter's laws of falling bodies to the motion of the moon in its orbit. Galileo had shown that a freely falling body will move toward the earth with a speed which varies as the square of its distance from the earth. Newton calculated that if such a body were dropped toward the earth at the height of the moon it would fall about sixteen feet in the first second. He further showed that the moon in its course around the earth is deflected (that is, falls) from a line tangent to its orbit, in one second, exactly the same distance! The law of this force of attraction, called gravity, Newton formulated as follows: two bodies attract each other directly in proportion to their mass and inversely in proportion to the square of their distance from each other. Manifestly, the force of gravity operates in terrestrial and celestial realms without distinction; the earth is not unique. A new philosophy was thus made possible, that of a universe ruled throughout by natural law. Thus did the scientific achievements of the seventeenth century make possible the intellectual revolution of the eighteenth.

Newton was entirely confident that the many truths of science were all readily obtainable through methods which he himself had used with such brilliant results. The social scientists of the eighteenth century, taking their cue from Newton, were likewise confident that the laws governing human affairs were readily discoverable by rational means. Neither the physical nor the social scientists of our day share this confidence.

The law of gravitation, together with many other important calculations and discoveries, was published by Newton in 1687 in a volume called *The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*. This work must rank as one of the greatest books ever written. For a century and more a host of brilliant scientists devoted themselves to building upon the foundations which Newton laid, or developing casual suggestions which he let fall. For more than two centuries, so accurate was his work, no discrepancies however slight were discerned in Newton's calculations.

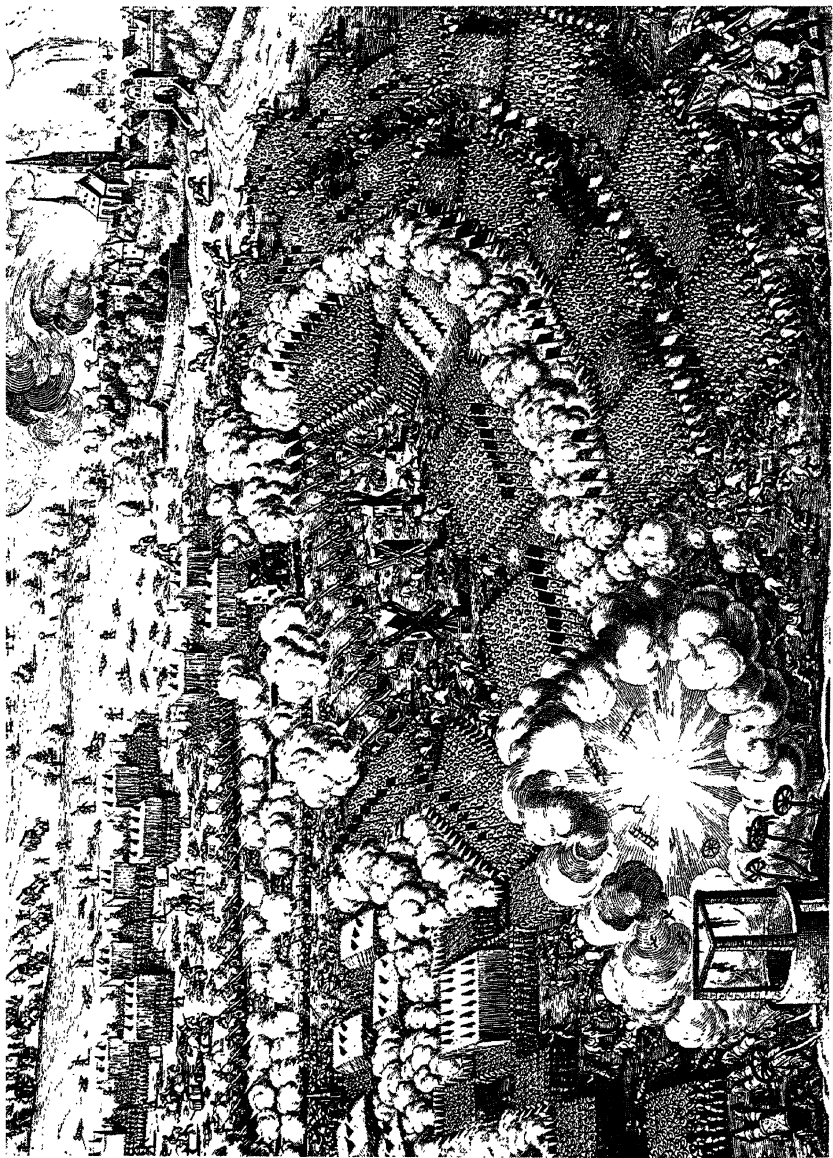
### Advance in Electrical Knowledge

Of the fascinating story of the discovery of electricity only the barest outline can be given here. William Gilbert (1540-1603), an English physician, first experimented with electricity by rubbing a soft cloth on a piece of amber, the Greek word for which is *elektron*. He made his experiments known to the world in a book called *De magnete*. The next step in unlocking the secrets of this mysterious force was taken by Stephen Gray in 1729, when he discovered that certain bodies are conductors of the

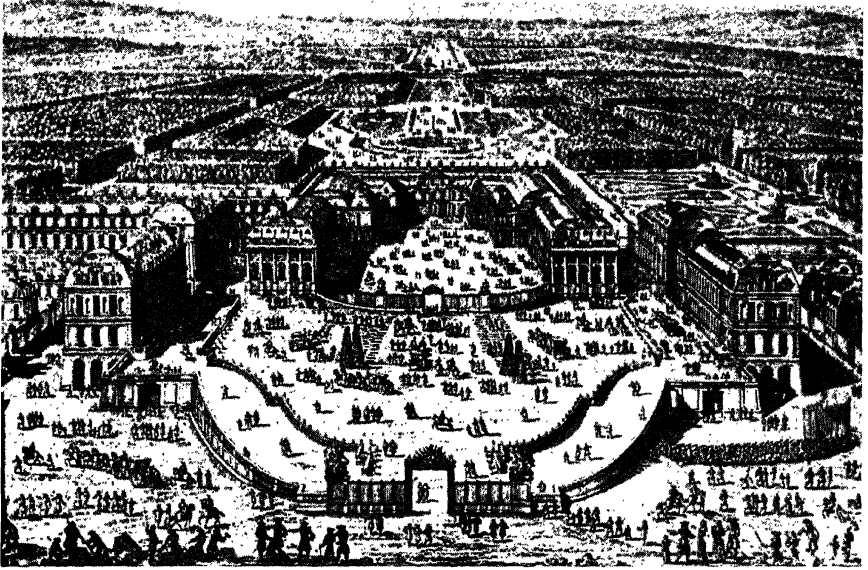
"electrical virtue" while others are nonconductors. A few years later it was discovered that electricity could be produced in a variety of ways and that it was possible to store it. Observing a spark produced by a Leyden jar, Benjamin Franklin guessed that electricity and lightning were the same thing, and proved it. So far the strange force had been but a marvelous toy because it could be produced only in the form of a spark, or at most, a flash. Alessandro Volta, an Italian physician, was the first to make it possible to put electricity to work when he invented, in 1799, the prototype of the modern cell or battery from which a steady flow of electricity is obtained. It had taken two hundred years to put electricity in harness; to this day the exact nature of this most useful of our servants remains in doubt.

The universities of the seventeenth century, and especially those of northern Europe, did not offer their hospitality to the new science; their curricula still centered about theology and the humanities. Scientific scholars and other influential persons interested in the advancement of knowledge, however, associated themselves in learned academies. Through the papers read before these bodies the results of research were made available. Through the research grants, medals, and other awards of the academies continued research was made possible. The Academy of Experiments of Florence was founded in 1657, the Royal Society of England in 1662, the French Academy of Science in 1666, and the Berlin Academy in 1700.

THE  
BATTLE  
OF  
LÜTZEN,  
1632  
From  
*Theatrum Europaeum*







VIEW OF THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES ABOUT 1700

(pp. 215-216)



LOUIS XIV BREAKFASTING WITH MOLIÈRE

By Jean Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)

## CHAPTER XII

### *Louis XIV and French Predominance*

IN 1661 LOUIS XIV, being then twenty-two years of age, undertook the personal direction of the affairs of the French state, a responsibility which he relinquished only upon his death more than half a century later. He was not tall, but well proportioned and of abounding vitality. Moreover, he was kingly, "the greatest actor of majesty who ever wore a crown." Voltaire wrote of him, "The king surpassed all in his superior dignity and majestic beauty of countenance. His manner of walking was suitable to his own rank and person, and in any other would be ridiculous. The splendor of his public conduct diffused itself over his least actions, and even in his ordinary conversation his speech was studied and dignified." Probably no man has ever looked the part of king more completely, even on a stage.

Louis began by convincing himself. He had no sense of humor and accepted simply and as his due the most unctuous flattery. The new sovereign was very industrious. All final decisions were made by the king, and the sessions of his councils made large demands upon his time and upon his strength. Outside of council time Louis labored endlessly upon his papers. As the head of a brilliant and extravagant court he also had social duties which were a heavy drain upon his energies. In his earlier years Louis gave a substantial portion of his time to a succession of love affairs as well. A busy monarch, certainly; but not a very wise or able one. Probably Louis's excessive busyness was a substitute for thought; a recent authority is of the opinion that "he concealed beneath sumptuous and blatant externals a sub-intellect."

#### Absolutist Institutions of Government

It was under Louis XIV that French absolutism attained its zenith, and it will be well, therefore, to examine it in some detail. At the center of the state were a number of councils through which the king governed. The Council of Finance dealt with matters of internal policy; the Council of State, with foreign policy. The Council of Dispatches read and discussed the lengthy and frequent reports from the intendants. The Privy

Council was a sort of coordinating body set over all other councils and bureaus. In truth, however, there was no clear line of demarcation in the work of the various councils. Under a king like Louis XIV who assiduously attended all of them this mattered little, since in the king's presence each council had plenary authority over every matter. The ministers of state were nearly as assiduous as the king in their attendance at the various councils. The chancellor was the most eminent of the ministers, and the controller general of finances was the most important, since little or nothing could be done without money. There were, besides, various secretaries of state whose functions were not clearly defined. Each of the ministers of state, even the greatest, retained much of the position of a private servant of the king. Louis XIV was continually encumbering Colbert, greatest of his ministers, with commissions and errands which had better have been entrusted to a lackey. As "servant" of the king each minister was listed by name in the accounts of the royal household and had a daily food allowance of two loaves, a quart of wine, a piece of game, and a pound of bacon, or on fast days, six carp and three pounds of butter in place of meat.

In France the whole medieval structure of provincial, municipal, and communal government remained seemingly intact. The provinces of France—Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Gascony, Provence, and the rest, some forty in all—were famous for their diversity of speech, dress, customs, and laws, and not a little of provincial patriotism still survived. At their head were governors appointed by the king and uniformly drawn from among the greatest of French families. Some of the outlying provinces still maintained local assemblies, representative of the three orders of society. In many of the cities of France mayors were still chosen, provosts of the merchants, as in the medieval period. Actually, however, the medieval structure of local government was a hollow shell; all real authority had been withdrawn. At the head of French local government in the age of Louis XIV were thirty-four intendants, one over each of thirty-four administrative districts. Appointed by the king and dismissed by him at will, the intendants were from the middle class and owed everything to the king's favor. Each was a man of all work, governing, taxing, and commanding as required by king and councils. Richelieu had made of the intendency a perfect tool of absolutism, the cardinal seeking as usual to undermine the authority of the great families. After the death of Louis XIV the intendants in their turn developed into a class of hereditary nobles, and "the Thirty Tyrants," as they were commonly called, became a liability to the French monarchy.

In the realm of law and justice there was a survival of the old with an admixture of new. The result was a conflict of laws and a competition of

courts with which no authority less absolute than the king's could have dealt. In this realm, at least, it might be said that if absolutism had not existed it would have had to be invented. In the first place, the hierarchy of ecclesiastical courts claimed a jurisdiction as wide and as varied as ever. In practice, of course, such authority as these courts still had was exercised by grace of the king. The French church was scarcely less under the control of Louis XIV than was the state. Since the Concordat of 1516 the bishops, archbishops, abbots, and priors of France had been named by the crown. Moreover, in a "Declaration of Liberties of the Gallican Church," drawn up by Louis XIV's command in 1682, the authority of the pope even in spiritual matters was declared to be dependent upon its acceptance by the French church, which meant that it depended on the king. In the hands of the landed nobles there remained only vestiges of the private jurisdiction which had been theirs in the middle ages. However vexatious to the peasants, the petty authority of the landed magnates was no longer a matter of concern to the courts of the king. Among the various royal courts, however, there was a very real confusion due to a conflict of claims and the overlapping of jurisdiction. In the setting up of these courts through the centuries no consistent plan, no logical scheme, had been adhered to. There were no less than eighteen courts of extraordinary jurisdiction, besides five of ordinary jurisdiction. And above these high courts was not one, but thirteen supreme courts for all France. The supreme courts were called *parlements*, and each took a special name from the city where it sat. The Parlement of Paris was the most famous. The judges of the higher parlement courts held their posts by hereditary title, usually purchased, and were ranked among the nobility. As judges with a hereditary claim to their posts, they were not always or greatly interested in making justice quicker and cheaper. Indeed, the law's delays in France during this period are responsible for the following saying: "The duty of judges is to dispense justice, their profession to postpone it. Some of them know their duty but practice their profession."

Since the crown had the power to legislate by edict at any time, the various parlements of France had adopted the salutary practice of registering the royal edicts. Having, like all good courts of law, a very high opinion of their own importance, the French parlements ventured from time to time to refuse to register a royal edict which they deemed to be inconsistent with previous legislation or objectionable in itself. It should not be assumed, however, that in their resistance to the crown the parlements considered themselves or were considered the champions of the nation. Only the Estates-General could have played a part in France analogous to that of the Parliament of England. In any event, the king of

France could always break down the resistance of one of his parlements by summoning it to a formal session in the royal presence. In such a session, called a *lit de justice*, a parlement might not refuse to do as the king commanded.

In the various provinces of France the greatest variety of legal custom prevailed, another heritage from the middle ages. Voltaire complained, later on, that in a journey across France a traveler had to change his law as often as he changed his horse. It should not have been beyond the capacity of a group of French jurists to bring this variety of custom and law into a single and consistent whole. Not one of the absolute sovereigns of France, however, had the will or the good sense to set such a group to work. Each successive king was content to brush aside obstacles and resolve conflicts with the irresistible strength of his personal authority.

### French Finances

In no department of government was the lack of system and order more apparent than in that of finance. France was a comparatively wealthy country, with natural resources sufficiently extensive and varied to support a large population. The king of France, however, was like a gentleman with a vast and varied estate who simply spends as much as he pleases and raises as much money as he needs. Down to the very eve of the French Revolution no attempt was made to estimate the expenses of government for a year in advance. As old taxes ceased to bring in adequate amounts, new taxes were imposed, the old ones being allowed to remain in force. A long list of persons, indeed whole sections of society, won exemption from one tax or another by bringing the requisite amount of pressure to bear upon this king or that. The greatest inequality prevailed also in the burden of taxation borne by the various sections of France. Any relation there might be between the taxative system and the economic well-being of the French people was almost wholly accidental.

No complete or systematic account of the finances of Louis XIV's government can be given, but a few illustrations will be enlightening. The most important tax, and one of the oldest, was the direct land tax, the *taille*. Since this was first imposed in lieu of military service, "noble" land, as we have seen, was still exempt. Clerical land also escaped the *taille*, since the clergy as a class were free from all regular taxation. It was the peasant, therefore, who paid. Next to the *taille* as a revenue-producing tax was the *gabelle*, or salt tax. Every householder of France was required to buy from the government seven pounds of salt per annum for each member of the household. This was not in itself an excessive quantity;

it was the price that was excessive, amounting in some provinces to fifty or sixty times the actual value of the salt. In other provinces the government sold salt at cost, for no other reason apparently than that it had always been sold that way. Enforcement of the government salt monopoly was strict and penalties for evasion were severe. On an average, several thousand offenders a year were sentenced to transportation or the galleys. France also levied the special taxes on imports and exports common to the period, the purpose of which was partly to control trade and partly to produce revenue. In addition, there had been developed throughout the country a network of customs barriers at which commodities of all sorts were taxed, both farm products and articles of manufacture. These *octrois*, as they were called, were a severe restriction upon the internal trade of France and thus affected her economic well-being. The number of customs frontiers may be judged from the fact that a tun of wine grown in Roussillon, on the Spanish frontier, was taxed on its way to Paris no less than twenty-two times. Among new taxes were two developed under Louis XIV, who found war an expensive pastime. One was a poll tax (*capitation*), and the other an income tax (*vingtième*). All the clergy and most of the nobility escaped the former, leaving townsfolk and peasants, as usual, to pay because they could not escape. Since most of the peasants had no taxable income, however, they found themselves at one with the clergy and nobility in escaping the *vingtième*.

### Colbert, Man of All Work

Greatest of the ministers of Louis XIV was Jean Baptiste Colbert. The son of a merchant of Rheims, Colbert had attracted the notice of Mazarin, who recommended him to Louis XIV in these words: "Sire, I owe everything to you, but I pay my debt by giving you Colbert." Louis found Colbert all that Mazarin had predicted and loaded him with offices and responsibilities. At one time Colbert directed activities of state which in recent times have been the work of nine departments of the French government, including those of finance, commerce, agriculture, public works, the navy, colonies, and to some extent, foreign affairs. Having built up a great fortune for Mazarin, Colbert proceeded in much the same way to enlarge that of his new master.

### Colbertism

The means used by Colbert to enrich the king constitute an economic policy known as "Colbertism." Recognizing that France was endowed with splendid resources and a large and growing population, the minister

undertook the development of the wealth of his native land through "stimulation and regulation." Here was mercantilism at its best. Industries selected for stimulation were granted freedom from taxation, interest-free loans, the prestige of royal patronage, or outright subsidies. French industry as a whole was protected from foreign competition by a high protective tariff. Minute regulation was undertaken because Colbert believed that goods must be of uniformly high quality if they were to sell. The greatest of French industries was the production of textiles. Colbert issued many directives on the production of woolens and silks, such as a manual of dyeing which set forth the best practices of the day. He took over the Gobelin tapestry factory founded by Henry IV, and secured for it the world fame it has since retained. Agriculture was assisted by regulation of the import and export of grain in order to keep prices steady, and by the establishment of experimental farms for the improvement of livestock. Communications were improved by the digging of canals. The most famous of these was the Languedoc Canal, linking the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, which attains by a system of locks an altitude of six hundred feet. Colbert fought hard to establish a uniform system of weights and measures and to simplify the maze of internal tariff barriers, but in these projects he had little success. Provincialism was too firmly entrenched; for national unity in these respects France had to wait for the explosive force of the Revolution of 1789.

In the realm of government finance Colbert's work was remedial; he fought corruption and waste. He secured the punishment of over four thousand tax grafters and the restitution to the royal treasury of more than 100,000,000 livres. Too prudent a courtier to attempt to shift the burden of taxation from the busy toilers to the idle rich, Colbert did place emphasis, in his taxative program, on levies which would bear more equally on all classes of the population. Here again France had to wait for a revolution for a system of reasonable uniformity.

Greatest of French resources, in Colbert's opinion, was labor. France still retained on its medieval calendar a tremendous number of holidays. This roused Colbert's ire, and he strove to reduce the number radically. On one occasion he succeeded in removing seventeen saints' days from the list of work-free holidays. Furthermore, Colbert felt that far too large a proportion of the population was unproductive. He sought to induce the monasteries to establish industrial enterprises, and he tried in every way to discourage French men and women from entering the religious orders. To stimulate a growth of population, he offered to exempt from all taxation families of ten or more children on condition that none become a priest or monk or nun. Colbert himself adopted a normal working day of sixteen hours.

### Colonial Expansion

Colbert is to be credited with a recognition of the importance of shipping. "The sea-borne commerce of Europe," he said, "employs about 25,000 vessels. In the natural order of things each nation will possess a share of this tonnage proportionate to its power, population, and the extent of its coasts; but the Dutch have 15,000 to 20,000 ships and the French have not more than five or six hundred." Colbert set on foot measures which made up this deficiency and transformed France, for the time being, into the leading sea power of Europe.

He then turned his attention to the colonies. He found in the West Indies a dozen or more islands which had fallen into the hands of private persons. The progress and prosperity of the islands had come to a standstill. This, it appeared, was due to the fact that the French government had failed to put down piracy and check smuggling. Colbert bought out the private holders, organized a French West India Company, which was little more than an organ of the state, and soon had the islands on a paying basis. Indeed, after adequate defensive measures had been taken, the French West Indies became, in proportion to their size, the most valuable colonial possession in the world. Sugar refining quickly developed into one of the most important of French industries.

In Canada Colbert found a small band of settlers whose progress to the west had been blocked and whose very existence was threatened by the Iroquois. These Indians then occupied the whole land south of the upper St. Lawrence and the two most easterly of the Great Lakes. Colbert took over the governing of the little colony, setting at its head a military governor with a financial and legal assistant known as an intendant. All male inhabitants between the ages of fourteen and seventy were made subject to military service. Centralized authority and military discipline contributed much to the survival strength of French Canada. In 1670 the colony had a white population of 6000; in 1700 it was 12,000.

During the last decades of the seventeenth century the great achievement of the French in Canada was the exploration of the vast interior of North America. This was the work of hardy fur traders and of the indomitable Jesuits. Especially noteworthy were two great river journeys. The Jesuit Père Marquette with the trader Jolliet made his way in 1673 through Lake Huron and Lake Superior to the Wisconsin River and thence to the Mississippi. Voyaging down its great length, the two explorers reached as their most southerly point the Arkansas River. A few years later (1681-1682) Sieur de La Salle, after making a portage from the southern tip of Lake Michigan to the Illinois River, pushed down the Illinois to the Mississippi and then proceeded to the Gulf of Mexico, set-



ting up at the mouth of the great river a pillar proclaiming the sovereignty of Louis XIV. Following up these epochal achievements in exploration, the French established forts at key points in the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys—Frontenac, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario; Niagara, between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; Detroit, guarding the passage between Lake Erie and Lake Huron. The southernmost outpost of the French in this period was Fort Chartres on the left bank of the Mississippi somewhat to the south of the junction of the Missouri River with the larger stream. Thus, in little more than a quarter of a century of actual occupation, the French had staked out a vast empire in the valleys of North America's two great streams, potentially one of the largest empires in the world. As yet, however, it was hardly more than a paper empire, and the French governing authorities, aside from Colbert, had no real interest in it. At first the king would not allow any but Catholics to migrate to North America, a policy in which he had the warm support of the Jesuits on the spot. Later the situation was worse, for as the strain of successive wars increased, Louis stopped the migration of Frenchmen to Canada entirely, on the ground that it weakened France's man power.

### French Culture

A significant aspect of Colbertism was its cultural emphasis. French art, literature, and science were "stimulated and regulated" by this remarkable minister in a way which reminds one of the cultural activities of a modern totalitarian state, though the ideology, perhaps, was not the same. Colbert was the founder of the Academy of Science, the Academy of Music, the Academy of Architecture, and the National Theater, and the restorer of several other such institutions. It was in the age of Louis XIV that French culture, in several of its aspects, attained its greatest fame, and for this the patronage of the monarchy, as directed by Colbert, was measurably responsible.

The branch of French culture that became and remains most widely known was literature. A series of great writers brought to perfection the qualities of flexibility, precision, and subtlety which made of the French language an almost perfect medium of expression. If there has been little change since, it is because there was little room left for improvement. This was the age of the three great dramatists, Corneille, Racine, and Molière; of the learned historian and eloquent court preacher, Bossuet; of the satirical writer of fables, La Fontaine; of the indefatigable writer of letters, Mme de Sévigné; and of the courtly writer of memoirs, Saint-Simon. In the drama, which was undoubtedly the field of greatest literary achievement, human passions were neatly labeled, conflicts were squarely

joined and precisely resolved, the unities of time and place were nicely observed, thought and action were expressed in language of the utmost simplicity. In general, the literature of the age is characterized by the classical attributes of order, harmony, and dignity, qualities derived from the Greek and Roman classics then so much admired, but also reflecting the spirit and temper of French absolutism as portrayed by the Grand Monarch. Louis was a discriminating patron, with an eye to the control of public opinion as well as to the enhancement of his own prestige, and most of the writers were welcome visitors at court, some of them receiving liberal pensions from the king.

So great was the prestige of French literature, and of France, and so compelling were the merits of the language in which the literature was written that French began to displace Latin as the universal language of the educated class. In diplomacy, in society, and even in science, French became a second language for all those for whom it was not already the first. Frederick the Great of Prussia spoke French in preference to his native German. The Dutch scientists Huygens and Leeuwenhoek, with commendable anxiety to secure a fuller publicity for their findings, published some of their treatises in French. Sensible of their responsibility, the forty "immortals" of the French Academy undertook to publish a grammar, a rhetoric, and a dictionary of the French tongue. After half a century of toil the dictionary appeared; only after two centuries more (1931), the grammar.

### Versailles

The greatest artistic enterprise of the reign of Louis XIV was the building, decorating, and furnishing of the palace of Versailles. Louis XIV was not satisfied with any of the accustomed residences of French royalty, whether at Fontainebleau, Chambord, St. Germain, or Paris. Each had associations with some past chapter of monarchical history which marred the glittering effulgence of the glorious present. Louis planned to build a palace on a site entirely new, without traditions, even without merit. Here he would construct a vast temple for the worship of royalty. Versailles had nothing to commend it, no view, no water, no trees, no population. So much the better. Everything that Versailles became it would owe to Louis XIV; he would make a "little universe" in which every satellite would reflect his attributes and every living thing would sing his praise. The palace itself, of which Leveau and Mansart were the architects, is of vast proportions. When completed it housed about 10,000 persons. In the central portion dwelt the king. To furnish so vast a building, the artistic resources and talent of the entire nation were employed. Furniture and tapestry factories were laid under requisition. Rare woods

were sought out. An army of designers, woodcarvers, and cabinetmakers was engaged. The artistic director of Versailles, and indeed of France, was Charles Le Brun (d. 1690). The art treasures of the other palaces of France, the accumulation of centuries, were scattered through the apartments of Versailles as mere furnishings. The crowning glory of the central section of the palace is the Hall of Mirrors, a magnificent gallery two hundred and fifty feet long. Its seventeen immense windows look out upon the gardens; opposite them are the splendid mirrors of Venetian glass which give the hall its name. Its ceiling was decorated by Le Brun and his assistants with scenes partly historical and partly allegorical. The central scene is labeled, appropriately, "The king reigns alone." Flanking the Hall of Mirrors are, on one side, the "Grand Apartments of the King," and on the other the "Grand Apartments of the Queen."

Framing the whole horizon as one looks out of the windows of the Hall of Mirrors are the magnificent Gardens of Versailles, now more generally admired than the palace itself. Their architect was Le Nôtre, who employed a geometrical design harmonizing with the palace, with central axes to which all details are subordinated. The basins and fountains are especially fine. Thirty thousand men, of whom several thousand died of malaria, labored in vain to divert a small river from its course to supply them. Finally pumps were installed to bring up water from the Seine. Immense quantities of sculpture in marble and bronze decorate the gardens. Hedges and even trees were made to grow in ways nature never intended, as Le Nôtre sought to frame the palace with a sort of "vegetable architecture."

Colbert's attitude toward Versailles, which was opened the year before his death, was divided. The stimulus to French industries and the employment of labor through the years of construction and furnishing he welcomed, but the vast expense, between thirty and fifty million livres, might well leave him aghast. Nor could the upkeep of the large and brilliant court at Versailles be classed as productive expenditure.

### Persecution of the Huguenots

Shortly after Colbert's death his economic structure was measurably weakened by an emigration of Huguenots. There were about two million of them in France at this time. Their republican form of church government was a tacit challenge to the absolutist form of the state, their property excited the envy of their neighbors, and their religion was an offense to the French clergy, particularly the Jesuits. It was finally decided to "convert" the Huguenots. Bribery was attempted, then intimidation, finally force, as soldiers were billeted in Huguenot households. These

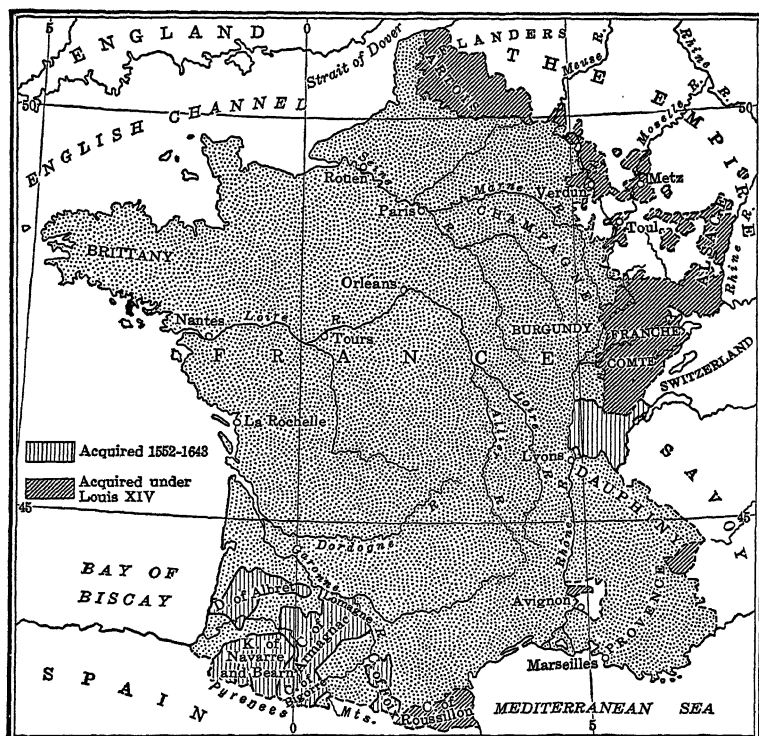
measures met with much success, and tens of thousands gave up the struggle. About two hundred thousand preferred their religion to their homeland and emigrated, settling in England, Holland, Brandenburg, and North Africa, some of the major industries of those lands being established by the immigrants. At length, in 1685, it was announced that since nearly all Huguenots had now become Catholics there was no longer any need for the Edict of Nantes, and it was accordingly revoked. This example of religious intolerance, in decided contrast to contemporary developments in science, was hailed by Bossuet as "the miracle of our time."

### Louis's Wars

The reign of Louis XIV was made brilliant, in the eyes of his contemporaries at least, by the series of wars which distinguish this period as an age of French military glory. Colbert himself was not opposed to war as such. Sharing the mercantilist view that the wealth of the world is limited, he had advocated a war on the Dutch, for example. On the whole, however, Louis's wars represent the influence of Colbert's great rival and ultimate successor in the royal confidence, François Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois.

Louvois was as efficient an organizer of war as Colbert had been of the national economy. Great stores of supplies and equipment were gathered and placed at strategic points. Vauban, the greatest military engineer of the age, was given a free rein. Louvois, who was constantly urging Louis XIV to engage in new wars, wanted to see what his machine could do. The French achieved military predominance, but for a time, at least, their success owed something to lack of real competition. Spain was definitely in decline; Sweden had shot its bolt; England and Holland were locked in a struggle for trade; Prussia and Russia were not yet factors of importance in European affairs.

The first three of the French king's wars were concerned with the eastern frontier of France, and their principal consequence was, perhaps, the creation of the problem of this frontier in its modern form. In 1667 Louis invaded the Spanish Netherlands. Certainly these provinces were culturally more French than Spanish, and doubtless France could usefully reconstruct this sector of her frontier on lines which would be strategically more favorable to her. Louis's personal justification for the war was that on the death of Philip IV of Spain (1665) the Netherlands descended by "Brabant Law" to the eldest daughter of the Spanish monarch, Louis's own wife; actually the war of the Spanish Netherlands (1667-1668) was one of aggrandizement. In a military sense the war went well; city after city fell as the French troops advanced. Diplo-



GROWTH OF FRANCE, 1552-1715

matically, the results were not so happy. French aggression in the Netherlands alarmed the Dutch, who regarded France as "a good friend but a bad neighbor." De Witt, foremost civil magistrate of the Dutch Republic, succeeded in forming an alliance with England and Sweden for the restraint of France. It was something of an innovation, surely, for three Protestant states to form a league for the protection of the property of Catholic Spain. Seeing that he must pause to deal with the Dutch, and feeling sure that he could purchase the neutrality of England and Sweden, Louis made peace with Spain, receiving a dozen border fortresses to strengthen French security (Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668).

Before launching his attack on the Dutch, whom he hated as republicans, as heretics, and as bourgeois, Louis XIV sought to isolate them diplomatically. Treaty after treaty was negotiated with Sweden, England, the emperor, and various princes of the Empire. Of these the Treaty of Dover (1670) with Charles II of England was the most important, since it secured England's active participation on the French side. England's

rivalry with Holland was an established matter, and the published sections of the Treaty of Dover were well received in England, where even Shaftesbury, leader of the opposition, denounced the Dutch as "England's eternal enemy." But Louis had also stipulated that the English king, secretly a Catholic, should in due time acknowledge his religion publicly and secure freedom of worship, at the very least, for English Catholics. French gold was promised, French troops offered, should the English sovereign need them. These provisions of the treaty, aimed at the English constitution of state and church alike, were known at first to only one person in the English privy council besides the king.

Early in 1672 France and England declared war on Holland. Again the French armies were set in motion, one on either bank of the Rhine. Entering Holland, they quickly overran several of the United Provinces and threatened Amsterdam. In desperation the Dutch opened the sluice gates and flooded the countryside. The French advance was checked.

Meanwhile De Witt had fallen from power and had been murdered by the mob as one who had failed to defend his country. The Dutch once more pressed into service the house of Orange, at whose head was a lad of twenty-one. This particular William of Orange proved to be one of the staunchest of the champions of Dutch liberty. To Louis's demand for large cessions of land and the establishment of Catholicism throughout Holland, William made answer that rather than submit he would send non-combatants to the East Indies, cut the dikes, and then die with his men in the last ditch. With the French still in check, Prince William began to make war on the diplomatic front. His skill was considerable and his success gratifying. The emperor, half a dozen German princes, and Spain were soon on the Dutch side. Best of all, the English had begun to smell a rat and Parliament compelled the king to withdraw from the war. In an effort to get England on his side, William married the English princess Mary (1677).

Learning that English neutrality would be turned into open hostility, Louis decided to end the war. By the Peace of Nimwegen (1678) he strengthened his chain of border fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands and secured from Spain the cession of the "Free County" of Burgundy on the Swiss border, a part of the old Burgundian inheritance of the Hapsburgs. France had won the war. Her king was for the moment "dictator of Europe." But more significant was the accomplishment of William of Orange, who had shown how Europe might combine to beat France in the end.

From the Netherlands Louis turned to the Rhine. The elector of the Palatinate having died (1685), the French king claimed the inheritance for the elector's sister, who was the wife of Louis's brother, the duke of

Orléans. Louis's claim had no standing in law and was rejected by the Germans. For the moment the French king let the matter rest. His meddling and interfering nature was again in evidence, however, when in hope of gaining another foothold on the Rhine, he put forward a French candidate for the archbishopric of Cologne. Nothing came of this. Louis then set his lawyers to work to see what might be gleaned from loosely worded phrases in recent treaties between France and the Empire, which had awarded to the former certain territories "and their dependencies." The French experts discovered, among other things, that the whole of Alsace together with the great city of Strasbourg fell in the category of dependencies, and therefore should be "reunited" to France. Louis decided to act. Alsace was occupied without resistance; Strasbourg succumbed after a struggle in which a French "fifth column" played an active part.

These acts of aggression created widespread anxiety. William of Orange now decided to devote his life to opposing Louis XIV as the best means of securing the liberties not only of the Dutch but of Europe. Slowly he built up an alliance which included the emperor and the leading princes of Germany, Sweden, and Spain. It was plain that the weight of England would prove decisive. Happily for William, the English repudiated their pro-French Catholic monarch (James II) in 1688 and turned to William's own wife, Mary, as the nearest Protestant heir. As Louis XIV equipped a fleet and army to restore James to the English throne, William became co-sovereign of England with his wife. This was on William's own terms: England to join the alliance, and William himself to be administrative head of the English government. William landed in England in November, 1688.

Two months earlier French armies had invaded the Palatinate. A hundred thousand peasants were now driven from their homes in a campaign whose frightfulness has scarcely been equaled. Later, on the advice of Louvois, German lands were laid waste a second time. A flood of hatred against the French, the "Huns," as they were called, flowed from the printing presses of Germany. The result, and it has proved to be the most enduring result of the war, was the creation of a bitter feud between the French and German peoples, a feud far more intense than the older antagonism between French and Spanish which it replaced.

In the Netherlands the war consisted of a series of protracted sieges of fortified strongholds, with few dramatic incidents. The French strategists laid careful plans for establishing a base in Ireland and then reducing England by direct assault. The Irish expedition failed, however, King William meeting and defeating the enemy on Irish soil in the battle of the Boyne (1690). Recovering from this setback, the French gathered a

large army with naval convoy in the ports of Normandy within easy reach of England. This project also collapsed when Admiral Russell, commanding Dutch and English ships, destroyed the French fleet in a battle off Cape La Hogue not far from Cherbourg. On the sea the successes of the allies were counterbalanced by the destruction of English and Dutch shipping by French privateers led by the skilled and greatly daring Jean Bart. In North America the French governor of Canada, Count Frontenac, took advantage of the state of war to unleash his red-skin allies in a series of raids against English settlers on the frontiers of New York, Massachusetts (including Maine), and New Hampshire. In reprisal, an ambitious land and water expedition against Canada was set on foot in the English colonies, but the result was failure. To these activities in the New World we assign the name, in American history, of King William's War. The peace was to leave the situation in America very much as before.

Peace finally came to Europe because both sides were weary of the conflict. Louis wished to have his hands free to deal with the problem of the Spanish succession. Also, the facts that his resources were depleted, that 10 per cent of his people were out of work, and that the rest were groaning under a doubled weight of taxation may not have left him entirely unmoved. The principal provisions of the Peace of Ryswick (1697) were, first, that France should keep Alsace and Strasbourg, and second, that Louis should recognize the English Protestant succession and drop his support of James II.

### The Problem of the Spanish Succession

The question of the Spanish succession invited the attention of the whole of Europe. Charles II, king of Spain since 1665, was evidently nearing his end. It was something of a miracle that Charles "the Sufferer," afflicted by a complication of maladies from an early age, had lived so long. Though twice married he had no children and the succession was in doubt. The prize at stake was very great. The empire acquired by Spain in the sixteenth century was substantially intact; it was the richest empire in the world. In Europe Spain had been obliged to acknowledge the independence of Portugal and Holland; but she still maintained her hold on the rest of the Netherlands and, through her possession of the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, controlled the Italian peninsula.

Both Leopold I, archduke of Austria and emperor, and Louis of France laid formal claim to the whole of the Spanish inheritance, and it was easy to see that a bitter struggle might ensue. Each was a first cousin



of the slowly dying monarch. Furthermore, each had a claim through his wife. Leopold had married Margaret Theresa, a sister of Charles II, and Louis XIV had married Maria Theresa, a half-sister. To make his claim more acceptable to the powers of Europe Louis XIV engaged to avoid uniting the crowns of France and Spain, putting forward his grandson Philip of Anjou as the future king of Spain. Leopold likewise passed his claim along, selecting his second son, the archduke Charles, who was born of a marriage contracted by Leopold after the death of Margaret Theresa, his first wife. The sole child of that first marriage was a daughter, Maria Antonia, who had married the elector of Bavaria. Needless to say, this German prince also came forward at the proper time as a claimant to the Spanish inheritance. The recital of these facts, unimportant in themselves, will help us to realize how different was that age from our own day, with its belief in self-determination through plebiscites.

Despite conflicting claims, a peaceful solution of the Spanish succession seemed possible. Partition treaties were drawn up which preserved intact the major portion of the Spanish inheritance while satisfying France and Austria and even England and the Dutch. Unfortunately these treaties did not satisfy the Spaniards, who contemptuously rejected all proposals to divide their empire. An English diplomat prophesied, "They would rather deliver themselves up to the French or the devil, so they may all go together, than be dismembered." He was right. When Charles II finally laid down the burden of his life, November 1, 1700, it was found that he had left the whole of the Spanish inheritance by will to Philip of Anjou, the French claimant, who was promptly recognized by the Spaniards as King Philip V. Charles II and his advisers had calculated, probably correctly, that the integrity of the Spanish inheritance stood the best chance of preservation in the strong hands of France.

The seemingly inevitable war might have been avoided had Louis XIV adopted a policy of conciliation. But, giddy with his dazzling success, the French king publicly announced that the rights of Philip V of Spain, and of his heirs, to the French throne were unimpaired, thus giving support to the exultant exclamation of the Spanish ambassador, "There are no more Pyrenees." Not long thereafter Louis expelled Dutch garrisons from the Spanish Netherlands in flagrant violation of the Peace of Ryswick. In further contravention of that treaty Louis, upon the death of James II, exiled king of England (September 6, 1701), recognized James's "warm-pan" son as rightful king with the title of James III. To these threats to the security of the United Provinces and of England Louis added attacks on their trade when he sought to exclude their merchants from the Spanish colonies. On the day following Louis's recognition of James III as king of England, that country, the Dutch, and the Empire announced

a "Grand Alliance," with the following objectives: (1) to prevent the union of France and Spain; (2) to obtain compensation for Austria for her loss of the Spanish inheritance; (3) to ensure the safety of the United Provinces; (4) to compel Louis to renounce James III. In May, 1702, the Grand Alliance declared war on France and Spain.

### The War of the Spanish Succession

Nearly the whole of western Europe was involved in the struggle which followed, and the clash of arms resounded in the New World as well. The vast theater of the war, if not the importance of its issues, makes the War of the Spanish Succession the greatest conflict Europe had known since the fall of Rome. In Europe itself there were four fronts, the Netherlands, the Rhine, Italy, and the Spanish peninsula. England and the Dutch centered their military effort in the Netherlands. The Dutch supplied most of the troops; but England balanced the account with subsidies and, more valuable still, with a commander in chief of genius, the duke of Marlborough. On the sea England outdid her ally, and increasingly so as the war wore on; indeed, this war marks the definite achievement of British supremacy on the sea. Austria spent most of its strength in Italy; France, on the Rhine. The allies did not at first plan to exclude the French candidate but aimed at keeping the thrones of France and Spain separate. England wanted the aid of Portugal, however, in her effort to secure naval bases in the western Mediterranean. The Portuguese were more than willing to come in, but on the condition that the Austrian candidate be installed at Madrid.

Assuming the initiative, a French army of 50,000 set out for Bavaria, just across the Rhine. From this friendly base and with Bavarian help the French proposed to march straight to Vienna. In the meantime another French army crossed the Alps into Italy, where, having joined with Spanish forces in Milan, it was to attack Vienna from the south, thus putting Austria out of the war. Learning of the plan, Marlborough acted swiftly. Mobilizing his Dutch and English forces, he marched hundreds of miles up the Rhine and across the watershed into the valley of the Danube to catch the French in Bavaria. Knowing full well that the Dutch governor would never consent to such a withdrawal of troops from the home base, the daring duke first sent word of his departure when he was beyond recall.

Swift messengers carried the news of Marlborough's march to Vienna, and Austrian forces under Prince Eugene proceeded westward. Joining forces with his ally and seeking out his enemy, Marlborough attacked the French. The battle raged along the banks of a marshy stream which

flows into the Danube through the Bavarian village of Blenheim (Blindheim). With forces no greater than the French, the brilliant English commander so manipulated his troops as to kill, wound, or capture half the enemy, driving the rest from the field in utter rout. Europe rang with the fame of this amazing victory, for French troops had not been beaten for more than fifty years. The military supremacy of France ended at Blenheim (1704). Two years later Marlborough drove the French from the Netherlands at the battle of Ramillies. Two years after that he won again at Oudenarde and followed his triumph by taking Lille, a fortress on the soil of France itself and Vauban's masterpiece (1708). Malplaquet, in 1709, completes the list of the major victories of this greatest of English generals, who never lost a battle. Two hundred years later men still sang of his fame with the words, "Malbrouck s'en va t'en guerre," to the tune of "We won't go home till morning."

Meanwhile Prince Eugene, not far inferior in ability to Marlborough himself, had driven the French out of Italy. On the sea, also, the war had gone well for the allies. The English admiral Sir George Rooke defeated a French and Spanish fleet in Vigo Bay, on the northwest coast of Spain, and then burned to the water's edge a Spanish treasure fleet from the West Indies. In 1704, just a week before Blenheim, Sir George and his associate in command, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, both "tarpaulin admirals," took Gibraltar, thus giving England a base of power at the entrance to the Mediterranean. In the New World the English colonists joined the fray; with France and Spain both hostile, Florida and the Carolinas were threatened, as well as New York and New England. The principal achievement of the colonists in Queen Anne's War, as we call it, was again to take Port Royal in Acadia, a French naval base.

Louis XIV was badly shaken by these reverses. But the blow to his prestige was a small matter in comparison with the disastrous effects of the long war upon the French people. Taxes grew heavier and heavier. The peasants were bled white and many of Colbert's new industries were wiped out. Profiteering became rife again. Such was Louis's weakness that when the allies presented their peace demands in 1709, the French monarch assented to all the forty articles save one. That one was that French troops should join with the Portuguese, English, and Austrian forces to drive Philip V finally from Spain. Fighting was resumed, but Spanish national resistance stiffened month by month. In 1710, however, a complete political turnover in England brought in the unwarlike Tories, who entered upon secret negotiations with France, calculating correctly that if the two principals came to terms the others would have to fall into line. Marlborough, who had just executed a brilliant maneuver, outflanking the enemy without the loss of a man and opening the road

to Paris, was dismissed from his command and indicted for theft. British troops were ordered home. England's allies were bitter and they denounced "perfidious Albion" for her desertion in no uncertain terms.

### The Peace of Utrecht

The Peace of Utrecht (1713) is the principal landmark in Europe's international relations between the Peace of Westphalia and the Congress of Vienna (1815). The French Philip V made good his claim to Spain, at long last, having twice been driven from Madrid in the course of the war and twice restored; but it was specifically provided in the treaty that the thrones of Spain and France should never be combined. All of Spain's European holdings were taken from her, and she was thus confined to her own homeland. Austria was awarded the Spanish Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the island of Sardinia. Spain's long and oppressive dominance of the Italians thus came to an end, and Austrian rule, even longer and scarcely less oppressive, was begun. The Dutch were well pleased to have Austria rule the southern provinces in the place of Spain, but even so demanded and received the right to garrison certain border fortresses. To secure themselves commercially from the competition of the southern provinces, the Dutch stipulated that the river Scheldt be closed to navigation, thus leaving Antwerp high and dry.

England's gains were few but significant: from Spain, Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; from France, Nova Scotia (Acadia) and a clear title to the long disputed Newfoundland and the territory around Hudson's Bay. These were well-chosen "centers of power and colonization" for the future. The right to supply the Spanish colonies with Negro slaves also passed to England for a period of thirty years, with other limited rights of trade. The loot from the French empire was not shared with the Dutch; indeed, the Dutch could no longer keep pace with England, and Holland drops from the list of first-class powers.

We may observe in the Peace of Utrecht a statesmanlike balance of forces. The attempt of France, prolonged through the reign of Louis XIV, to make France the master state, with the rest of Europe in dependence, had definitely failed, and the exhaustion of France coupled with the strength of her neighbors made it reasonably sure that the attempt would not soon be renewed. In the world of trade and colonies, also, a reasonable balance of power had been achieved as among Holland, England, France, and Spain. Small wonder that Abbé de St. Pierre (1658-1743) thought the moment favorable for making the European and imperial balance permanent. A well-known writer and reformer, he had served as

a secretary at the conference of Utrecht. His peace plan fixed the number of states at twenty-four, the Turks being ignored. The boundaries and forms of government of these states were to be unchangeable. To secure these and other objectives, the twenty-four states were to join in a league which would undertake to protect each member state from wars of conquest and defend each government against internal revolution. Colonial boundaries also should be unchangeable, the author thought, and colonial trading rights should be shared equally by all the states. This project was quoted with approval by the philosophers of the time, but there is no evidence that the political leaders paid it any attention. Without the assistance of an international organization the balance of power arrived at in the Peace of Utrecht lasted for fifty years.

Louis XIV had toddled to the steps of the throne at the age of four. Seventy-two years later, at his death, the unlimited power of the greatest monarchy of Europe fell to a lad of five. Calling the boy to his bedside, the dying king gave him some good advice: "My child, you will soon be sovereign of a great kingdom. . . Endeavor to live at peace with your neighbors; do not imitate me in my fondness for war, nor in the exorbitant expenditure which I have incurred. Take counsel in all your actions. Endeavor to relieve the people at the earliest possible moment." It was excellent advice, for Louis's wars had been enormously expensive. During his last years revenue failed to match expenditures by about 30 per cent. The total funded debt at the time of his death was approximately two billion livres and the unfunded debt, or short-term loans, was of unknown magnitude. Louis XV was too young to understand what his great-grandfather was saying, however, and when he was grown he had forgotten it.

### Reign of Louis XV: Monarchy in Decline

Louis XIV had appointed a council of trusted ministers to rule during the minority of his great-grandson; but this arrangement was brushed aside the day after the death of the Sun King, and Philip, duke of Orléans, nephew of the late king, became regent for the next eight years. Philip had long been critical of his uncle's policies. He now proposed to reissue the Edict of Nantes, recalling the exiled Huguenots; then to revive the Estates-General, after a century of neglect, and recast it in the shape of the English Parliament, of which the duke was a great admirer. Neither project was carried through. Incurably indolent, as well as extraordinarily dissolute, the regent was unable to swim against the current. There was one governmental problem which even the regent had to take seriously, however, and that was finance. It was apparent that many years of peace together with rigorous economy were absolutely essential. Peace was ac-

ceptable to the regent, who was convinced that Louis's many wars had been unwise, but the hard way of economy he rejected in favor of a financial heresy which, though now hoary with age, still has adherents.

John Law (1671-1729), a Scotch gentleman of fashion and fortune and a noted gambler, was fascinated by problems of high finance. His favorite thesis was that the activities of both industry and trade depend upon an adequate supply of currency. The precious metals then in common use were both scarce and, as then minted, of uncertain value. Law believed that gold and silver should be supplemented by quantities of paper currency, to be supplied either by the governments concerned or by banks chartered for the purpose. In his zeal to sell the idea, Law made a tour of the principal capitals of Europe. Neither the English nor the Scotch could see things his way, at the moment, but in Philip of France John Law found an eager listener and a ready convert. As fully developed, the plan included a project for retiring the national debt by selling shares in an enterprise called the Mississippi Company, organized to trade in Louisiana. For a time all went swimmingly, as in the early stages of all periods of inflation. Then as the speculative mania gripped the business world, prices, including those of shares in the Mississippi Company, skyrocketed to a dizzy height, leaving purchasing power far below. Finally came the crash (1720), with bank closures and business failures. Law died after a few years of wandering about Europe, subsisting on a small pension from the French government and occupying his mind with "figuring on an envelope." As for the Mississippi Company, it not only survived the disaster but played an important part in the development of Louisiana. The name of the modern city of New Orleans reminds us of the regent of France, for whom it was named.

Shortly after the death of the regent a former tutor of the king named Cardinal Fleury became the chief minister of the crown. The eminent ecclesiastic was past seventy when he assumed the direction of French policy. His ability had never been great. He had acquired a habit of parsimony in youth, however, and this, coupled with a prudence which was proper to his age, redounded to the advantage of France during the last twenty years of the cardinal's life. It was Fleury's view that France, satiated with conquests, was in need of a prolonged period of peace in which to regain her normal vitality. Fleury's policies merely postponed the collapse of the old regime; they did not attack its cause.

After the cardinal's death Louis fell more and more under the control of his mistresses. Indeed, Madame de Pompadour, for another twenty years or so, was the real successor of Orléans and Fleury. Indolent and indifferent, Louis XV beheld the steady deterioration of French institutions with equanimity. Satisfied that things would outlast his life, he ex-

claimed, "Après moi le deluge." The king was fond of coffee, more even than most men of his time. "What would life be worth without coffee!" he would exclaim with satisfaction as he quaffed his favorite beverage and savored its aroma. And then as the tide of his ennui, only a little receded, turned again, he would add, "And yet, what is life worth even with coffee!" In his will he wrote, "I have governed and administered badly, because I have little talent and I have been badly advised." A frank admission, to be sure; but why accept bad advice? Smallpox, which he had escaped so long, carried him off at last, and he was hastily buried in quicklime for fear of infection. Few regretted his passing. The king's son had died of tuberculosis many years earlier, and the throne now devolved upon his grandson, a youth of twenty. Well-meaning and honest, Louis XVI, like Louis XIII before him, was a country man in his tastes and no statesman. To the indolence of Louis XV, he was soon to add his own peculiar incompetence. Truly, "the reason for the failure of monarchy was the lack of a king."

## CHAPTER XIII

### *Rise of Russia; Dismemberment of Poland*

THE TRANSFORMATION of Russia into a European state and, after that, her development into a great power constitute one of the most important chapters in modern history. The tsardom of Moscow was as remote from and unknown to the people of western Europe in 1500 as was China. Movements such as the Renaissance and the Reformation had no more influence on Russia than on the Orient. Indeed, the Russians were at least quasi-Oriental in their way of life. The men wore long beards and skirts. The women were secluded in Oriental fashion. The clergy were incredibly superstitious and almost wholly ignorant. All forms of authority, as one historian observes, were clothed in violence; the father flogged his children, the husband his wife, the landlord his serfs, the bishop his priests, the tsar his nobles. Europe classed Russia with Turkey, and at the court of Henry III of France it was proposed that both be expelled from Europe in a common crusade.

The government of the tsar was a despotism—the government of an unlimited autocrat to whom the property and the very lives of his subjects were deemed to belong. On coming into his presence the subject was required to prostrate himself, touching the floor with his forehead. Some of the ceremonialism and isolation of the modern tsars was due to the fact that they regarded themselves as the heirs of Byzantium, a view which was supported by the fact that Ivan III (1462–1505) had married Sophia Palaeologus, heiress of the emperor of Constantinople, in 1472. The same Ivan adopted the famous double-headed eagle of the Byzantine emperors as his emblem, and Ivan IV (1547–1584) first assumed the title of “tsar,” the modern form of an old Slavonic word for Caesar (*Tseasar*).

The lands of the tsar, at the opening of the sixteenth century, began somewhere east of the Duna and Dnieper rivers but did not extend south of the Oka, westward tributary of the Volga. Sweden, dominant power in the Baltic, cut the Russians off from access to the sea on the northwest. Poland, with her close associate the grand principality of Lithuania, stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea, thus setting a bound to Russian advance westward, besides holding in subjection considerable



areas inhabited by peoples who were Russian in culture and religion. South of the Oka lay surviving fragments of the Tartar empire, the khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea. Riding boldly northward year by year, the Tartars of this area made forays into the lands of the tsar of Moscow and carried off thousands of Russian peasants to the slave markets of the Black Sea. Fanatically Mohammedan in religion, the khanates were in close alliance with Turkey, farther south.

### Early Russian Expansion

Russian expansion came first in the south. Not only were the slave raids an intolerable injury calling for reprisal, but the good soil that lay between the Oka and the Black Sea was a temptation to the land-hungry nobles and peasants of Russia. Here was rich grain-bearing land, quite different from the poorer forest land around Moscow. Groups of hardy hunters and frontiersmen of mixed race known as Cossacks pushed to the south and southeast, preparing the way for the less venturesome but more industrious tillers of the soil. One of the greatest achievements of the reign of Ivan IV, called "the Terrible," was the taking of Kazan in 1552. Four years later Astrakhan fell. This brought the Russians into contact with the Turkish Empire, and advance in that quarter stopped, for the time being, with the shores of the Black Sea still out of reach. This same tsar, the insane excesses of whose personal life have made his name a by-word, anticipated Russian expansion in another direction by thrusting westward toward the Baltic. In 1558 he took the port of Narva in Livonia and began the construction of a navy. This move aroused the fear of his western neighbors and Ivan was compelled to withdraw (1582). Poland annexed Livonia, while Sweden took Esthonia and Ingria. It was many decades before Russia broke through this Baltic barrier.

Russian expansion to the east proved to be easier and far more rapid. Only a low-lying forest-clad zone of hills separates European Russia from Siberia, and across it Cossacks and peasants soon made their way. In 1587 they founded Tobolsk on the Tobol River. In 1604 they settled Tomsk on the Obi. Twenty-eight years later they were to be found hundreds of miles eastward on the Lena River, where they founded Yakutsk (1637). In 1638 Russian pioneers reached the Sea of Okhotsk, an arm of the Pacific Ocean, and in 1697 they occupied the peninsula of Kamchatka, stretching far out into the Pacific. Early in the eighteenth century the Bering Sea was crossed and Alaska occupied, whence Russian traders and explorers pushed southward to California, coming into contact there with the Spaniards. Between them the Spaniards and Russians had well-nigh girdled the globe.

We must not suppose that Russia's eastern empire was of any especial importance to her as yet. Trappers and fur traders roamed at will through its vast extent, seeking ermine and sable; groups of peasants outfitted by the Russian government formed agricultural colonies here and there; prison camps were established. The systematic exploitation of the resources of Siberia, however, of its forests, its mines, and its agricultural wealth, has come in quite recent times.

### Advent of the Romanovs

Meanwhile Russia had lost one dynasty and gained another. In 1598 died the last of the house of Rurik, a family of Swedish origin that had presided over Russia's destinies since the ninth century. There ensued a period of civil war and foreign invasion which is known as the "Time of Troubles," during which the Poles pushed eastward as far as Moscow and endeavored to install their own ruler as Russian tsar. A rising, of which a butcher and a noble were leaders, put an end to this, and a fifteen-year-old boy was installed as Tsar Michael (1613-1645), the first of the famous family of Romanov. The boy's father was a great noble, the patriarch of the Orthodox Church of Russia. The lad's greatest political asset, however, was the fact that he was the first cousin, though once removed, of one of the last of the former tsars, his election assuring a continuance, however tenuous, of the hereditary principle. Michael's grandson was the famous Peter the Great.

### Early Europeanization

For some time Western ideas and Western ways had been slowly filtering through to Russia, their spread being part of that expansion which was so great a feature of the life of western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. English "merchant adventurers" founded a company for trade with Russia in the sixteenth century, making contact by rounding the North Cape and sailing through the White Sea to the mouth of the Dvina River. There Archangel developed into a thriving community as Swedish merchants joined their enterprises to those of the English. This route could not develop into a broad channel for trade, however, since the White Sea is ice-free only three months of the year. Individual Westerners, in search of opportunity, made their way into Russia on their own account—artisans, physicians, artists, soldiers of fortune—and European colonies grew up in Moscow and a few other Russian cities. The masses of the people were wholly unaffected by the slow infiltration, however, and even among the leaders of Russian society opinion was divided, those who favored Western ways being stigmatized by some as

social outcasts. Indicative of the slight progress of Western civilization is this comment by a German who visited Moscow in 1636 and wrote of the Russians as follows: "They never learn any art or science or apply themselves to any kind of study; on the contrary, they are so ignorant as to think that a man cannot make an almanac unless he is a sorcerer, nor foretell the revolutions of the moon and the eclipses unless he have some communication with devils." By the time of Peter the Great, however, the West had made some little impression on Russia.

### Peter the Great

Peter the Great (1682-1725) was a giant of a man, six feet eight and a half inches tall, with superhuman energy which he often wasted in emotional frenzies and attempts to outdo his companions in the consumption of vodka. On the other hand, Peter dispensed with ceremonial and worked long hours in directing the affairs of the Russian state. In his youth he had frequented the foreign quarter of Moscow and become passionately addicted to Western ways, vices included. Peter's formal education had been of the most elementary nature, but he delighted in things mechanical and from a Dutchman named Timmermann he acquired the rudiments of various crafts. In 1697, at the age of twenty-five, the young tsar made his famous journey through western Europe, attaching himself to a diplomatic mission and visiting the various capitals as plain Peter Mikhailov. In Holland he studied shipbuilding, in England, textiles, in Austria and Prussia, military methods. Everywhere he engaged artisans, engineers, and technicians of all sorts to return to Russia with him. His journey, which lasted over a year, was terminated by the news of the revolt of the royal bodyguard, the Strelsi, or musketeers. Before his arrival in the Russian capital their attempt to dethrone Peter had been defeated, but the tsar was in time to play a part in the purge that followed. With a ferocity worthy of Ivan the Terrible Peter indulged his blood lust to the full, even wielding the executioner's sword in person.

### Peter Attempts to Westernize Russia

It was Peter's purpose, apparently, to Westernize the Russian state and people, and to do it in a hurry. With restless energy he reformed the calendar and the currency, removed eight letters from the alphabet, and established vocational schools. He abolished the Strelsi, the very name being dropped, and organized an army on Western lines, in uniform, under discipline, and equipped with Western arms. This army, based on conscription, was one of the largest in Europe. Particularly interested in

shipbuilding, Peter built a navy which later on gave a good account of itself in his wars with the Turks and the Swedes. The central government was reorganized into ten departments of state. Men serving in the higher ranks of the civil service were rewarded with patents of nobility. This new nobility, based on service to the state, was an important counterpoise to the traditional nobility based solely on landed wealth. Peter's practical mind also grasped the good points in the Western theory of mercantilism, and he sought to apply them to Russian conditions by founding new industries, especially such as would contribute to the task of clothing and equipping his army.

It has been said, with some truth, that Peter's method of waking up the Russian nation was to "pull it out of bed and make it stand on its head." He brought the women of the upper classes out of their Oriental seclusion, forbade them to wear veils, and told them to marry whom they pleased. He introduced Western modes of mixed dancing and the practice of tobacco smoking. The men he compelled to cut off their skirts and to shave their beards. This last the Russians were especially loath to do. Had not Ivan the Terrible said, "To shave the beard is a sin that the blood of all the martyrs cannot cleanse; it is to deface the image of God created by men"? Tsar Peter himself used the scissors on reluctant courtiers and thus succeeded in altering the appearance of some, at least, of those about him. To spread the reform, he stationed officials at the gates of Moscow to offer gentlemen whom they encountered the choice of a shave, a severe beating, or a heavy fine. Activities such as these gave the tsar a glow of satisfaction but left more important things much as they were before. The peasantry, some 95 per cent of the whole population, was exempt from Peter's innovations; European influences had little or no effect on the masses until well along in the nineteenth century.

Peter's reforms roused the implacable hostility of the clergy, custodians in chief of Russian traditionalism. To them the tsar was "Anti-Christ," and they industriously circulated the report that he was possessed of a devil. Peter was already of the opinion that an independent clergy was a menace to royal absolutism, an idea he may have picked up in western Europe. When the office of patriarch fell vacant, Peter left it so for some years, then formally transferred its authority to a body known as the Holy Synod. Since the bishops, who were members of the Synod, and the lay official who was its head were royal appointees, it is apparent that the supreme governor of the Russian church, thereafter, was the tsar himself. The wealth of the church, however, Peter did not touch. In matters of faith, religious toleration was his practice, religious indifference his personal point of view.

### Russian Expansion under Peter the Great

The enduring changes of Peter's reign were those which were directed toward increasing the military power of the Russian state. While Russia remained landlocked she could not take the place which he coveted in the family of European states. Russia, he insisted, must have "windows" opening on Europe. These could not be had for the asking. Sweden and Poland still barred the way to the Baltic, and Turkey interposed a barrier between Russia and the Black Sea.

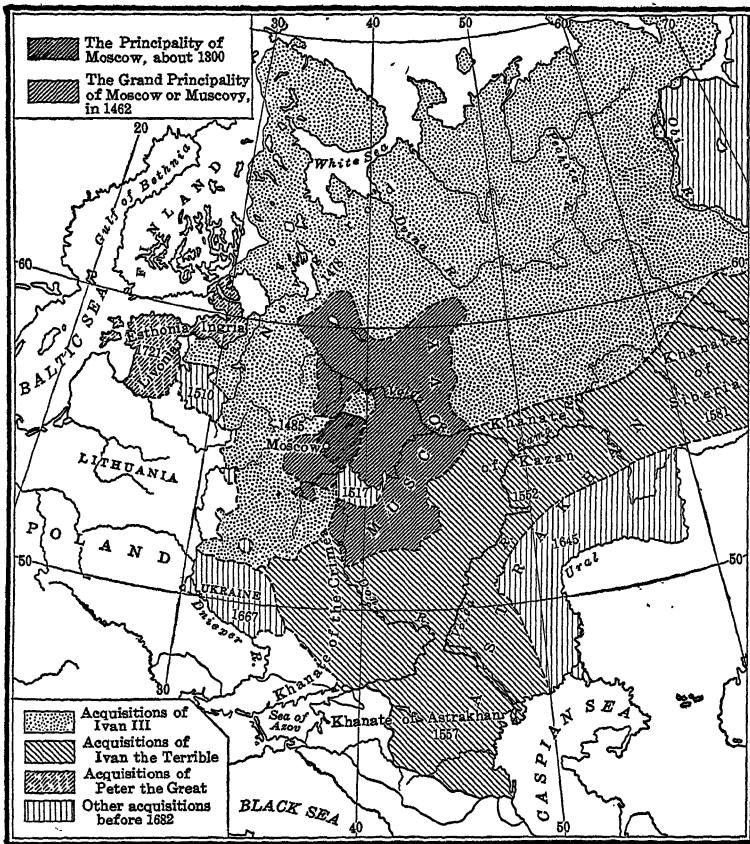
In 1695 Peter launched an expedition against Azov, a great Turkish port at the mouth of the Don on the shores of the Sea of Azov. As the self-styled successors of the Byzantine emperors, the Russian tsars regarded the Turks, captors of Constantinople, as their natural enemy. Furthermore, Azov could be reached from Moscow by water, and it was easier to improvise a fleet than an army. Success crowned Peter's first effort and Azov fell (1696). Since the Turks, however, still held the mouth of the Sea of Azov opening into the Black Sea, the new Russian port was worthless in itself, and Peter next sent a diplomatic mission to the West to recruit allies. Though an utter failure diplomatically, since Western powers were then occupied with a general war, this mission is famous as the one with which the youthful tsar traveled incognito to familiarize himself with Western ways. In the meantime Turkey made friends with Poland and Austria by well-planned cessions of territory, and thus was able to present a front before which Peter had to draw back. Abandoning for the time being his hope of securing a window on the Black Sea, the tsar turned his thoughts to the Baltic.

Drawing their strength from a comparatively small homeland, the soldier kings of the house of Vasa had created an extensive Swedish empire in the Baltic basin. Besides Sweden itself, this included Finland; the east Baltic provinces of Karelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia; and important stretches of the south Baltic coast—western Pomerania and the mouths of the Elbe, Oder, and Weser rivers. Most of these conquests had been originally made by Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632), the greatest of Vasas. (See p. 146.) Denmark and Poland, the chief losers, had not given up the fight until they had been soundly beaten for a second time by Charles X (1654-1660). They were constrained to acknowledge their losses in 1660 by the treaties of Oliva and Copenhagen. The Swedish empire, about the size of modern Sweden plus the whole of Germany, then enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. Practically the whole of the Baltic trade was in Swedish hands. The Russians and even the Poles traded through the Swedish port of Riga, second only to Stockholm among the cities of the Swedish empire.

In 1697, however, when Peter first turned to the north, conditions were no longer so favorable for Sweden. Charles XII (1697-1718), a boy of fifteen, had just ascended the throne. Malcontents among the many subject nationalities of the Swedish empire had succeeded in inducing Denmark and Poland to join once more in an attempt to get back some of their own. The Polish king being also elector of Saxony, the resources of that important German state were at the disposal of the allies. This coalition Peter joined. What followed is one of the romances of history. The boy king Charles, placing himself at the head of the Swedish veterans and sharing their hardships, fell upon his enemies with swift and success. First Denmark, then Poland, were knocked out of the ring. Turning to Russia, the young king sought out the army of forty thousand raw recruits which Peter had gathered and inflicted upon it a defeat which must rank as one of the most brilliant operations in the history of warfare (battle of Narva, 1700). Denmark promised to keep the peace and paid a large indemnity. Poland gave up her Saxon king and accepted a new king of Charles's choosing.

Russia was willing to make peace, but Charles had not yet finished with her. His successes, however, had gone to his head and undermined his judgment. As he prepared to carry the war to the heart of Russia, Poland recalled her exiled king. Ignoring this, Charles pressed forward, determined to dethrone the tsar. Peter's policy was the familiar one, in Russian history, of orderly withdrawal plus systematic destruction of shelter and supplies. Unable to take Moscow, the Swedish king ranged far to the south in hope of rallying to his standard the Cossacks of the Ukraine. Disease and the privations of a Russian winter of unparalleled severity cost the "madman of the north" half his troops. At Poltava (1709) he was met by a Russian army vastly improved since its first defeat at Narva and overwhelmingly superior in numbers. The Swedish army was annihilated.

With a few followers Charles escaped to Turkey, where he succeeded in persuading the sultan to declare war on Russia. The Russian tsar, however, expertly secured Turkey's withdrawal by the re-cession of Azov. Peter had no time for a war with Turkey because he was now engrossed in digging the Swedes out of their Baltic provinces. Then, as Charles stayed on in Turkey clamoring for a renewal of the Turkish offensive, all of Sweden's Baltic foes rose up against her. Finally, reappearing after an exile of five years, the "wild bareheaded figure in top-boots" flung himself against his foes, resolved to win back everything or die in the attempt. It was a brave effort, but the Swedish king was killed while leading an invasion of Norway in 1718. He was only thirty-six years old. Sweden was promptly stripped of everything except her one depend-



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ency of Finland. Denmark, Hanover, and Prussia divided Sweden's German lands on the southern shore of the Baltic, (Treaties of Stockholm, 1719 and 1720). Russia received Karelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia, together with a small corner of Finland containing the important stronghold of Viborg (Treaty of Nystad, 1721). At last Peter had his window to the west; it was really a doorway, for the whole Baltic coast from Viborg to Riga was now his.

In a swamp on the banks of the Neva, the short river which connects Lake Ladoga with the Gulf of Finland, Peter had already laid the foundation of his new capital, St. Petersburg (1703), now Leningrad. Inadequately housed and insufficiently fed, the workmen died by thousands, but the tsar was determined to complete the city during his own lifetime. Although he failed to do this, a sufficient beginning had been made for

St. Petersburg to become the seat of the Russian government before Peter's death. So it remained until 1919, a symbol of the European policy of the great tsar.

### Peter the Great's Successors

During the forty years following the death of Peter the Great the crown of Russia changed hands five times as a result of palace revolutions in which the army, or that part of it known as the "Guards," played a dominant role. Alexis, Peter's son by his first wife, had been killed by his father's order when he proved to be "reactionary," an execution in which this unnatural father himself took part. Peter's second wife was a maidservant from Livonia who had previously been a "regimental favorite." She bore her imperial spouse twelve children, but only two survived, both girls. Before his death Peter had established it as a principle that the tsar should name his successor. He himself, however, did not do so. Those who succeeded him for many years (1725-1762) were all related to him in varying degrees: his widow (Catherine I), his grandson by his first wife (Peter II), his half niece (Anne), his half great-grandnephew (Ivan VI), his daughter (Elizabeth), and his grandson by his second wife (Peter III).

Peter III (1761-1762) was a German prince, his mother having married outside of Russia. His aunt, however, the Empress Elizabeth, had made him her heir and found a bride for him. The bride was Sophia, fifteen-year-old daughter of the ruler of the German principality of Anhalt-Zerbst. The young girl, whose principal asset was a desire to please, flung herself wholeheartedly into her chosen task of becoming a Russian, learning the language and accepting the religion of the land of her adoption. In addition, she changed her German name for a Russian one, Catherine Alexeievna. Her husband, meanwhile, remained as German as he was born, flaunting his German ways in the face of the Russian people even after he became emperor. There was no love lost between this pro-German tsar and his pro-Russian wife, and it was perhaps natural that Catherine should become the focus and inspirer of yet another palace plot. Made prisoner by the conspirators, Peter III died four days later of "hemorrhoidal colic," a diagnosis more convenient than convincing. Catherine then disposed of her son, eight years old, by placing him in custody, a restraint that endured throughout the thirty-four years of her reign (1762-1796). Having thus grasped the power of a Russian tsar, she kept it in her own hands. Though her private life was the scandal of Europe, Catherine did not share the public authority of the crown with any of her lovers.



### The Reign of Catherine the Great

Catherine's reign is one of the most important chapters of Russian history. Her Western birth predisposed Catherine to an interest in Western culture, and following the fashion of the day, she displayed a great fondness for the artists, writers, and reformers of the Enlightenment. She formed an Imperial Academy of Art, bought the famous collection of paintings assembled by Sir Robert Walpole, and obtained a "Discourse to the Royal Academy" by Sir Joshua Reynolds, sending the author a diamond-encrusted gold snuff box decked out with her own profile in low relief. It was especially fashionable in those days to lionize the French savants, and Catherine carried on an active correspondence with several whose writings she had read appreciatively. She caused a new code of laws to be drafted on the principles laid down by Montesquieu and tried for years to lure Voltaire to her court. None of this activity bore much fruit in Russia, however; the empress was merely titillating her palate. "You philosophers are fortunate people," she said; "you write on patient paper, whereas I, poor empress, am forced to write on the sensitive skins of human beings." The Enlightenment was a fashion in Russia, never a fact. With the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, liberalism ceased to be even a fashion, and when she learned of the execution of Louis XVI, Catherine took to her bed. A strict censorship was maintained to ensure the exclusion of French ideas, and Frenchmen of republican sympathies were deported.

The essential backwardness of Russia is well illustrated by the condition of the peasants. About 90 per cent of the land was owned by the tsar, members of the royal family, and the nobility. This land was tilled by peasants, who constituted all but a very small percentage of the population. More than half the peasants were serfs, and in contrast to the trend in western Europe, the lot of the peasants in Russia was growing steadily worse. Formerly they had enjoyed personal liberty, though bound to the soil. Eighteenth-century rulers made drastic inroads on their liberty, however, the most conspicuous offender being Catherine herself. By the time of her death the Russian nobles were armed with authority to judge and punish their serfs in all but major crimes, to send them to the army or exile them to Siberia, to deprive them of part or all of their land, to command or forbid their marriage, and to sell them as individuals or in families. The labor service exacted from the Russian peasants by their landlords was always more onerous than such service had ever been in western Europe. The aping of the ways of western Europe by the Russian nobles and their growing fondness for the luxury products of the West had the further effect of separating them culturally from their own

peasants. This tended to destroy the paternal relationship which normally exists between a landlord and his tenants. The widening social chasm between peasant and noble was to have fatal consequences.

The enduring fame of Empress Catherine in Russian history rests upon the brilliant success with which she pursued a policy of territorial expansion. Peter the Great had dealt with Sweden; it remained for Catherine to deal with two other powers, namely, Poland and Turkey, which checked Russia's expansion to the west and south. She aimed at nothing less than the extinction of both.

### Poland a Major Power

We have noted the rise of Poland in early modern times to the position of a major power. Her territorial size gave her third place among the states of Europe in the eighteenth century, while in population, with eleven and one half million inhabitants, she was fourth. The land of Poland extended from a line well west of the Vistula to a line somewhat east of the Duna. In the south, Poland narrowed to the area between the Dniester and the Dnieper rivers. Not much more than half the population was Polish, however. In the coastal cities of Poland's Baltic provinces were numerous Germans, while in her southeastern provinces were many Russians. These minorities were religious "dissidents," either Lutheran or Greek Orthodox, and as such were subject to many political and civil disabilities, for the Polish majority was strongly attached to its Roman Catholic faith.

### Polish Government and People

By the eighteenth century the Polish state and nation had developed certain weaknesses which proved fatal in an age when, in the field of international affairs, a country must be strong or perish. Though under a king, Poland called itself a republic. The kings of Poland, elected by a legislative diet, had gradually sunk to a plane of political weakness comparable to that of the kings of the German states. Each Polish king had to swear, on his accession, not to attempt to increase his prerogatives, already at the vanishing point, nor to attempt to name his successor. The diet, therefore, was the sole repository of power, having authority to declare war, levy an army, impose taxes, and perform other functions of sovereignty.

Not only was the Polish diet unique in Europe for its sweeping powers; it was distinguished also by the fact that it represented only the nobility. The towns had sent representatives in earlier centuries, but owing to the successful opposition of the nobles these had long ceased to appear.

Polish towns had been important during the middle ages, when trade went overland from the Black Sea to the Baltic; later, the shifting of the trade routes to western Europe had ushered in a decline. The Polish nobles themselves had given the finishing touch by restrictive legislation reflecting the viewpoint of the landlords at a time when other governments were striving in every way to build up a middle class by favoring legislation. In the eighteenth century the Polish middle class consisted almost wholly of Germans and Jews dwelling in Poland's cities. Only half a dozen of Poland's cities had more than ten thousand inhabitants.

With no limitation on their power, the nobles had acquired for themselves a highly privileged position. All the higher posts in the church were theirs, as well as the offices of state. To the nobles was reserved the exclusive privilege of military service and thus the honor of defending their country. Only a noble could own land outside the cities. The nobles had made use of their political power to grind down the peasants, some 75 per cent of the population, and serfdom had so increased since the sixteenth century that five sixths of the peasants were depressed to that status. The medieval serfs of western Europe had had definite, if limited, rights which individual lords were powerless to gainsay. A Polish noble could fix the amount of the labor service of his serfs and compel them to sell and buy at his discretion. Polish serfs, in fact, were practically without rights, and as they sank lower in the economic scale they became increasingly dispirited.

The nobility in Poland formed a numerous body, amounting to about 8 per cent of the population. There was, however, great economic inequality among them. Some few families were immensely wealthy and lived in kingly fashion; others were more moderately endowed with land; below these groups was a swarm of lesser nobility who lived on the edge of poverty. Forbidden by the rules of their order to engage in trade or to practice a profession, these impoverished nobles sought to attach themselves to families more fortunate.

Economic inequality was not accompanied by political inequality, however. In the diet each vote was of the same weight. Indeed, each Polish noble had the right to stand out against all the rest if he so chose; any measure, to be enacted, must receive the affirmative vote of all those present. While such a rule sounds strange to modern ears, it was generally accepted in the middle ages. It goes back to a time when the state consisted of a large number of units—bishoprics, abbeys, lay baronies, and corporate towns—loosely associated under the overlordship of a monarch but each jealously retaining its rights of local self-government. Any measure of nation-wide import required, if it was to have the force of law, ratification by each of the many princes and communities within the state. In

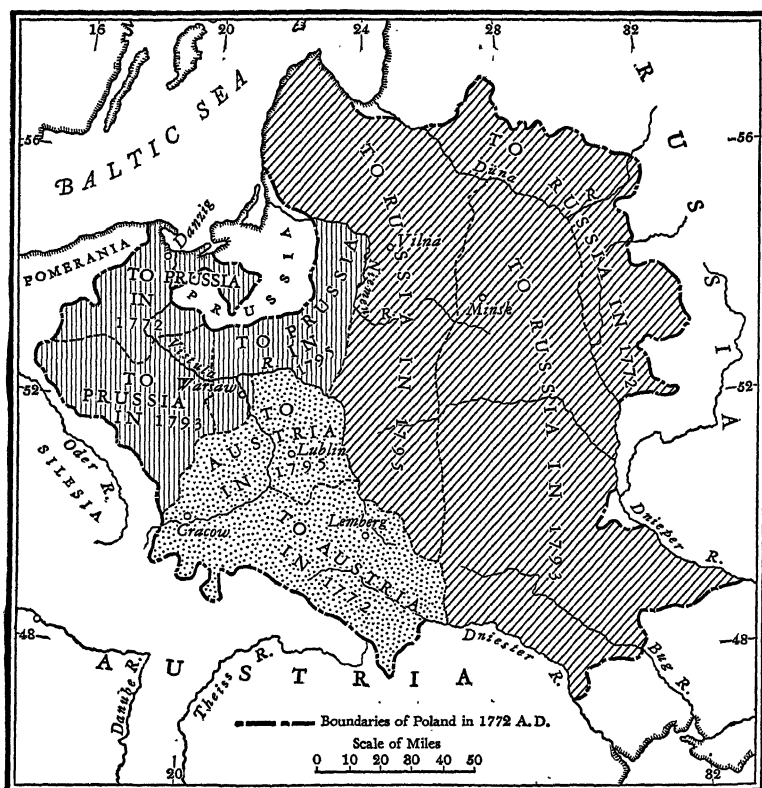
such essentially medieval bodies as the German diet and the Polish diet the rule of unanimous consent persisted into the eighteenth century. The theory and practice of majority rule is modern; it appeared first in states which were integrated and in governments which had become centralized.

In Poland the veto power (*liberum veto*) extended to the right of an individual noble to effect a dissolution of the diet at any moment, invalidating all laws previously passed at that session. This right of "exploding" a diet was exercised infrequently, but the lesser veto right was paralyzing enough. It was almost routine for the governments of foreign powers, through their representatives at the Polish capital, to "buy up" at least one Polish noble and thus have on call an effective instrument of intervention. Polish diets met but once in two years for a six-weeks session and thus did not offer at best an adequate opportunity for the enactment of needed legislation.

To political anarchy Poland added military weakness. Except at the southwestern corner, where the Carpathians interposed a physical barrier, the whole country was wide open to invasion. And what provision did those guardians of the nation, the Polish nobles, make for safeguarding their country? In 1717, still jealous of the royal authority, the diet limited the army to 17,000 men. In an age when Russia maintained a striking force of 200,000, and little Prussia, 80,000, this unilateral limitation of armament by Poland was suicidal. Actually, of the number specified seldom more than half was attained in practice. Characteristically, the nobility concentrated on cavalry to the neglect of other arms. Furthermore, at any particular time the spirit of the Polish army depended entirely on the temper of the nobility, which was wayward and sensitive to small points of personal pride. Such an army was no match for the disciplined professional soldiers who fought in the ranks of Poland's neighbors.

### The Partitions of Poland

During the eighteenth century it became a habit for her neighbors to intervene in Polish affairs. Russia and Prussia would demand relief for their coreligionists, or some other measure of reform. Reforms did not come, partly because the Polish government was not inclined to reform, and partly because the Prussian and Russian governments were constantly at work beneath the surface to prevent a degree of reform that would deprive them of further cause for intervention. France, on the other hand, favored the maintenance of a fairly strong Poland as an offset to the power of Prussia and Austria. In 1733 Louis XV endeavored to



### THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND

place his father-in-law, the Polish noble, Stanislas Leszczyński, on the throne of Poland, but this project failed. Another effort to displace the Saxon dynasty, which was currently at the head of the Polish state, was more successful. In 1764 Catherine of Russia, with the friendly connivance of the king of Prussia, contrived to secure the election as king of Poland of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski (Stanislas II), a Polish nobleman and one of Catherine's handsome favorites.

It soon became evident that the installation of Catherine's candidate as king was for Poland the beginning of the end. In the discussion begun by Russia and Prussia, the empress of Austria, Maria Theresa, was soon included, and in 1772, after mutual accord, the three states helped themselves to slices of Poland (the first partition). Prussia took West Prussia, connecting Brandenburg with East Prussia; Austria took Galicia, Maria Theresa weeping at human perfidy as she signed the document of partition;

Russia took White Russia, the Polish lands to the east of Duna and the Dnieper.

All this cold-blooded land-grabbing, with the promise of more to follow, called forth a patriotic effort, on the part of the Polish nobles, to strengthen the state. A new constitution was drafted making the monarchy hereditary, setting up a legislature on the English model with a responsible ministry, and laying down the lines along which the emancipation of the serfs was shortly to proceed (1791). A few irreconcilable Polish nobles appealed to the Russian empress against this infringement of their freedom, however, and Catherine responded with an army. Prussia, not to be left out of the deal, also invaded Poland. In the second partition (1793), in which Austria did not share, Poland was reduced to one third of her original size. With their land-hunger unappeased the three powers completed the extinction of Poland in a third partition (1795). This time the Poles, led by Kosciusko, hero of the American Revolution, offered a desperate though unavailing resistance. "Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell." Prussia secured the lower valley of the Vistula, including Danzig, in the second and third partitions, and Austria the upper valley. Russia got all the rest, the lion's share.

It was always Russia's contention that the lands she took from Poland in the eighteenth century were Russian in population. However that may be—and no attempt was made then or later to determine the facts objectively—this could not be said of the areas annexed by Prussia and Austria. The vitality of the Polish nation was sufficient, however, to survive political partition and foreign rule, which lasted throughout the nineteenth century.

### The Decline of Turkey

The designs of Catherine II on Turkey exceeded even her designs on Poland. Poland she was willing to share with others. The empire of Turkey, however, at least its European territories, she proposed to replace by an empire of her own based on Constantinople. She took steps to instruct one of her grandsons in the Greek tongue and in Greek ways in preparation for his installation in the Turkish capital.

It was of the nature of Turkish rule that it began to disintegrate the moment expansion ceased. A conquering minority of landlords and officials, alien to their subjects in creed and in way of life, the Turks could survive only if their vigilance was unceasing, their discipline perfect. After Suleiman the Magnificent (d. 1566) the sultans for a time had been content to relegate affairs of state to their board of ministers (the *divan*) while they explored the pleasures of the palace and the harem. Corruption set in. Offices high and low were offered for sale. The army, once

Europe's finest military weapon, was neglected. Recruits, after the seventeenth century, were no longer exacted from the Christian communities. No effort was made to keep pace with the many improvements in the art of war in western Europe. Turkish rule remained characteristically tolerant and indulgent, however, with brief and widely spaced intervals of oppression. The subject populations, therefore, were in no hurry to raise the standard of revolt, and this explains, in part, the slowness with which western powers profited by Turkish weakness.

The first state to make decided gains at Turkey's expense was not Russia but Austria. At the high point of Turkish advance, seven tenths of the kingdom of Hungary had passed under the Crescent. Gradually, during the course of the seventeenth century, all of Hungary was regained. In the midst of the process, however, a dramatic explosion of Turkish energy carried an army of Moslems to the very gates of Vienna. Christian Europe as a whole exhibited only a mild interest in this challenge, but a movement for the relief of Vienna was launched by the pope. Its hero was John III Sobieski, king of Poland. Having relieved the Austrian capital, Sobieski proposed to expel the Turk from Europe, bag and baggage, pursuing the Turk, as he put it, "from victory to victory over the very frontiers that belched him forth from Europe, . . . hurling him back into the deserts and raising upon his ruins the empire of Byzantium." The republic of Venice, never a very zealous crusader, joined with Poland and Austria in what is sometimes called "the last crusade." All three states were suitably rewarded, though the Austrian gains were the most considerable. By the treaty of Karlowitz (1699) the whole of Hungary was freed from the Turks.

### Russian Gains at Turkish Expense

Russia's first war with Turkey, in the reign of Catherine, was a result of the violation of Turkish soil by Russian troops in 1768. The war, which lasted six years, revealed the Turkish military weakness which western Europe had long suspected, and Russian victories were continuous. Azov was occupied once more, and turning westward, the Russians overran Turkey's Rumanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, reaching the Danube. The outstanding event of the war, however, was the voyage of a Russian fleet from the Baltic around western Europe and through the Mediterranean to the Aegean Sea. There it won off Tchesmé on the west coast of Asia Minor the greatest naval victory in Russian history. At this point Turkey sued for peace. The treaty, signed at the Bulgarian village of Kuchuk-Kainarji in 1774, gave to Russia the Turkish lands on the north coast of the Black Sea to the eastward of the Crimean peninsula,

together with the freedom of the Black Sea, from which other states were still excluded. This treaty is remarkable for its recognition of Russia's right to take an interest in the welfare of all the Greek Catholic subjects of the sultan, and for its provision that Turkey should reform the government of her Rumanian provinces. Many a Russian war on Turkey was to have one or the other of these provisions as its justification.

In 1787 Russia returned to the attack, but her military success was not so pronounced. Preoccupied with Polish affairs and disturbed by the progress of the French Revolution, Catherine made peace with Turkey in 1792. The treaty, signed at Jassy, extended Russia's annexation of Black Sea territory through the Crimean peninsula and westward to the River Dniester.

The population of European Russia, which had grown to twenty million at Catherine's accession, was increased during her reign to thirty-seven million, largely through territorial gains, making Russia the most populous state in Europe. With her western frontier touching Prussia and Austria, she was well placed strategically to play a determining part in the politics of Europe. The commanding position Russia had won on the death of Catherine II she has never lost.



## CHAPTER XIV

### *Developments in Germany, Especially in Prussia and Austria, 1650-1800*

#### Germany: Political Disintegration and Economic Disunion

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA marked a new stage in the dismemberment of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation and the dissipation of its authority. Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands became free in form, as they had long been in fact. Sweden and France exacted from the empire, as the price of their intervention, lands along the Baltic or on the Rhine. Moreover, the princes of Germany were now declared to be free to do what several of them had long been doing, that is, pursue purely dynastic and nonnational policies. A number of them did so with notable success. The duke of Saxony became king of Poland in 1697. After 1701 the elector of Hanover was the heir to the throne of England. The margrave of Brandenburg had in Prussia non-German interests which were more extensive than his German interests. Most successful of all the German families in its policy of dynastic aggrandizement (*hausmacht*) were the Hapsburgs. The hereditary holdings of this family, traditional leaders of the German nation, were as large as the rest of Germany put together, and well over half of the Hapsburg lands were outside the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire. The smaller princes of Germany, unable to engage in an active or successful foreign policy, busied themselves during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in developing and extending their authority over such subjects as they had. Since there were well over three hundred states in the empire, some of them were of course exceedingly small. The margrave of Reineck, for example, could boast of but one castle and twelve subjects.

The success with which the princes of Germany pursued the policy of absolutism may be explained in part by lack of opposition. The German middle class was in a state of collapse. It is estimated that fully two thirds of the movable wealth of Germany was destroyed during the first half of the seventeenth century. Hundreds of market towns had lost all their population and great cities had been all but totally annihilated. The Hanseatic League had to be discontinued for the simple reason that the member-cities were unable any longer to pay their dues. The plight

of the German peasants was even worse than that of the middle class; indeed, throughout the eighteenth century their condition continued to be the worst of any group in western Europe. As for the clergy, its independence had been utterly destroyed in the Lutheran north and, as a result of the long wars of religion, seriously compromised even in the Catholic south. There was thus literally no class that could interpose a barrier to the growth of despotic authority on the part of the German princes. And, in the direction of absolutism, the example of Louis XIV acted as a powerful stimulant. Each German prince sought to imitate the Grand Monarch, even to the last detail of court life.

Of most human institutions it is true that the less vital they become the more faithful are their adherents in observing formalities. The diet of the empire continued to meet regularly. The longest and most anxious debates of that body, however, were likely to concern which of two princes had the right to cast his ballot first, or whether the seats occupied by the greater princes should be upholstered in red or blue. The rule of unanimous consent, still adhered to, made it all but impossible to secure the enactment of any measure, important or unimportant. The imperial army, made up of quotas from many states, was, as might be expected, small in size, inferior in quality, poor in spirit, and badly armed. The supreme court of the empire functioned so poorly and fell so far behind its schedule that at one time more than sixty thousand cases were awaiting trial. The imperial electors, increased to nine in 1692, continued to elect the emperor, as of old. The Hapsburgs maintained a monopoly of the office, however, by the simple expedient of securing enough pledges long before the death of an incumbent to ensure the selection of a successor from the same family. There was thus no break in the continuous tenure of the imperial office by this Austrian family for three and a half centuries.

To political disintegration was added economic disunion. Succumbing to the mercantilist practices of the day, each prince, however small his holding, sought to render his principality self-sufficient by surrounding it with a tariff wall and by otherwise reducing the inflow of commodities from the outside. Germany's rivers, important as highways of trade in an age that had no railways, were made comparatively useless by a multitude of tariff barriers. On the Rhine, between Strasbourg and the Dutch border, there were some thirty of these. The free flow of trade was further hampered by the lack of a common medium of exchange. Each prince had the right to coin money and most princes exercised the right. The uncertainty of the value of money was increased by the prevalent practice of clipping and debasing.

The lack of national feeling is revealed in the universal preference, among all those able to afford them, for the products of French civiliza-

tion. A French governess, a French maid, and a French chef were necessary adjuncts of a refined household. The German language and German manners and customs were relegated to the common people. Educated persons carried on their correspondence in French. University professors conducted their classes in Latin. An instructor who ventured to lecture in German late in the seventeenth century did so only, it was said, because his knowledge of Latin was insufficient.

### The Mark of Brandenburg

The most important political development in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the rise of Prussia. It was also a most important development for Europe as a whole. The territorial beginnings of this state take us back to the days of Charlemagne. That great conqueror had pushed his eastern frontier to the line of the Elbe and even a little beyond. Here he had established a system of border counties or marks, one of which was known as the North Mark or Old Mark. This mark, gradually colonized by Germanic people, came to occupy the whole of the land between the Elbe and Oder rivers in their lower courses, extending indeed a little beyond each stream. As finally fixed in the twelfth century, the boundaries of Brandenburg, to give the North Mark its more familiar name, included about ten thousand square miles of land, mostly of good agricultural quality. A succession of families ruled Brandenburg in the middle ages, the most famous and the last of which was the house of Hohenzollern. This family, first heard of in the eleventh century, took its name from a tiny principality high up in the mountains where lie the sources of the Rhine and the Danube. In the early fifteenth century the head of the family was the right-hand man of the Emperor Sigismund, valiantly aiding his master in the Turkish wars and in his struggles with the rebellious Hungarians. Casting about for a suitable reward for his faithful friend and vassal, Sigismund bestowed upon him (1417) the mark of Brandenburg, to which the emperor had previously fallen heir. The name of this able and fortunate Hohenzollern was Frederick, a name destined to become famous in the annals of the family.

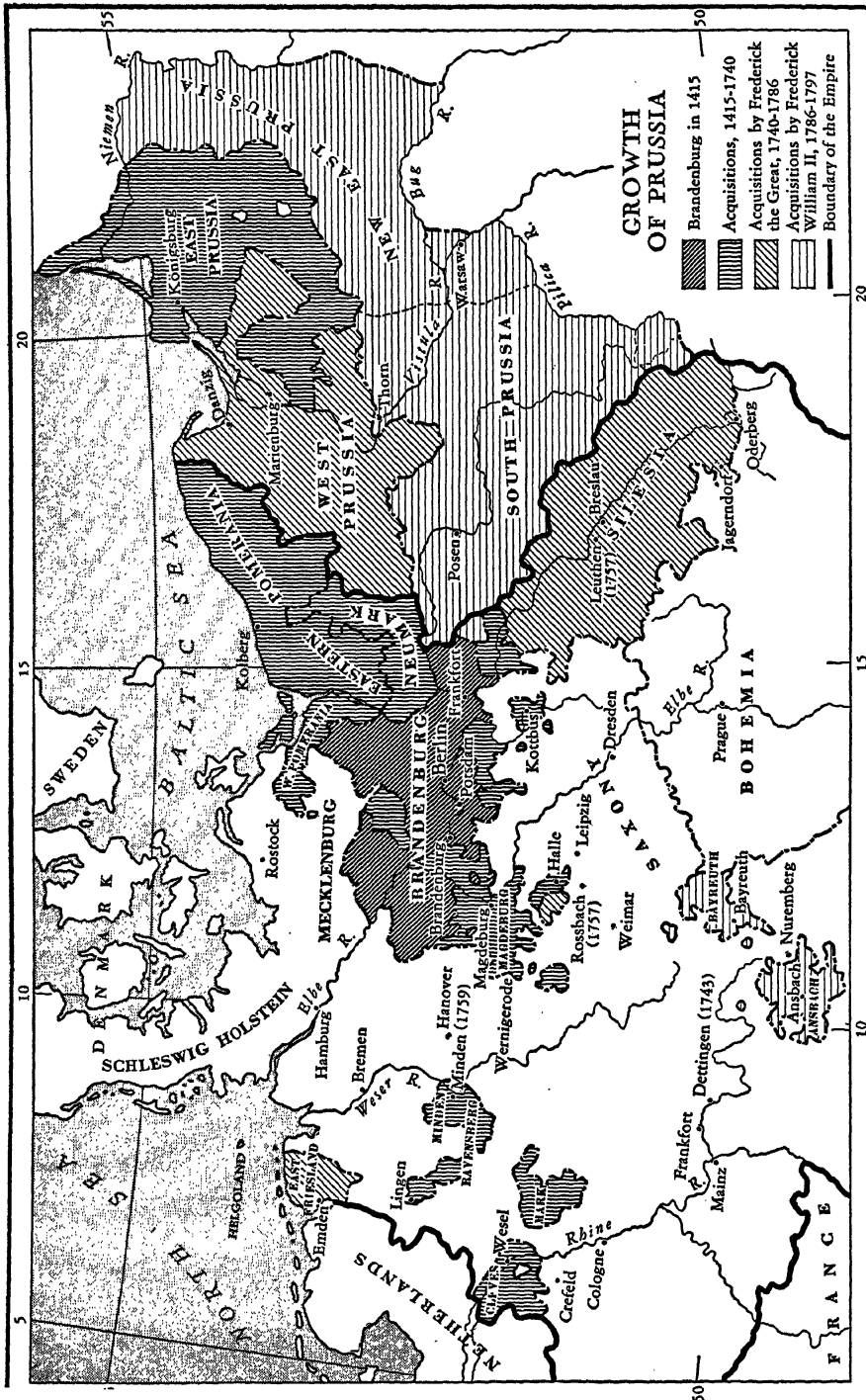
The acquisition of Brandenburg founded the fortunes of the Hohenzollerns. Five hundred years later the event was quietly but appropriately celebrated in the midst of a world war which was to bring to a final and disastrous end a dynastic history which had been the most brilliant, perhaps, in the modern history of Europe. In general, the princes of this house have displayed a high order of ability. Their policies have been, at times, enlightened, and their dispositions tolerant.

During the sixteenth century a large accession of authority came to

the Hohenzollern margraves (or electors) of Brandenburg when they adopted the Lutheran cause. They attained great wealth when the lands of bishoprics and abbeys were seized, and their authority grew also as they became heads of both church and state in their domains. Each margrave himself determined upon the particular type of Protestantism to be observed by his subjects. As Joachim II (1535-1571) said of his confession of faith, "I wrote it with my own fist." A foreshadowing of the tolerance for which the Hohenzollerns of later times were to be noted is to be found in one of the provisions on religion dictated by this same prince: "If anyone should be so obstinate as to refuse to conform to this very Christian regulation, we shall permit him, by our generosity, to go and reside in some other land where he can live as he chooses." Partly as a consequence of the increased authority of the margraves, the elector's council came to show a clear differentiation of its functions, judicial, financial, and administrative. An exactly parallel development had taken place in France and in England some three centuries earlier. In Germany, however, such a development was a great advance over conditions generally prevailing at the time, and it anticipates the institutional development in Brandenburg which was to do so much to make her the leading state of Germany in the eighteenth century.

### Early Prussia; the Teutonic Knights

Not only did the Reformation bring a great increase of power to the Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg itself; it was also the means whereby this fortunate family came into possession of Prussia. Between the Vistula and the Niemen rivers, along the shore of the Baltic, there lived a pagan people of primitive customs known as the Borussi, or Prussians. They spoke a language which stands midway between the Teutonic and the Slav tongues; the Prussians are thus classed with the Letto-Lithuanian or Baltic peoples. These Prussians long and stubbornly resisted all attempts to Christianize them, killing promptly any missionaries they could lay their hands on. The Poles to the south and west had been particularly anxious to bring the Prussians within the circle of Christian civilization. Other means failing, Prince Conrad of Mazovia in 1226 took the momentous step of inviting the famous military-monkish order of Teutonic Knights to undertake the task, promising that any lands conquered by them in the ensuing crusade should be held by the knights in full sovereignty, independent alike of Poland and the empire. The order soon supplemented military conquest with agricultural settlement, offering German peasants exceedingly attractive inducements. Thus was Prussia slowly colonized by Germans, just as Brandenburg had been a few cen-



turies earlier. By 1309 the work was so far advanced that the knights removed their capital from Venice to Marienburg on the Vistula. There they built a splendid stronghold which impresses the modern beholder with the greatness of vanished power. Within a century after the removal of their capital to the north, the knights had carried their banners far beyond the Niemen to the Gulf of Finland, and by the purchase of Pomerelia (West Prussia) from Poland, had linked their lands with the Holy Roman Empire on the west.

### Poland Defeats the Knights

There followed a century of decline, during the course of which the knights lost much of what they had gained. For this result external developments were partly responsible. Much of the order's later expansion had been at the expense of the pagan prince of Lithuania. In 1386 a marriage alliance effected a union of Poland and Lithuania, the latter accepting the Christian religion. (See p. 21.) The immediate objective of the united states was to check the advance of the Teutonic Order. Their success was the easier since the internal policy of the knights had not been an enlightened one. They had never identified themselves in interest with their subjects but had maintained an aristocratic aloofness. The little oligarchy of four hundred members was recruited solely from the noble families of Germany, and the feelings of the Prussian nobility, many of whom aspired to membership, were seriously wounded. Furthermore, the towns which had sprung up along the Baltic in the domains of the Teutonic Order chafed under the narrowly feudal policies of their rulers, whose minds were not open to the commercial opportunities which appealed so insistently to the merchant class. In the battle of Tannenberg (1410) the forces of Poland-Lithuania triumphed decisively over the knights. For half a century longer the order kept up the losing struggle, though its failure to reform alienated its subjects more and more. Finally in 1466 the knights capitulated and signed the Treaty of Thorn. West Prussia was returned to Poland; and Prussia itself remained in the hands of the order but as a fief of Poland. Each grand master in turn, upon election, made the trip southward to Warsaw and there did homage to the king of Poland, swearing to "love those whom Poland loves and hate those whom Poland hates."

### A Hohenzollern Duke of Prussia

After this crowning catastrophe it seemed to be only a matter of time before the order, fatally weakened, should fall a prey to one or another of the predatory powers of the Baltic. To postpone the fatal day, the

knights adopted a policy of electing as their grand master one or another of the greater princes of Germany, hoping thus to gain the support of an important power. Thus it was that, in 1511, Albert of Hohenzollern, a cousin of the elector of Brandenburg, was chosen grand master. As it happened, this election, so far from prolonging the life of the order, ended it. Secretly interested in the Protestant faith, Albert visited Luther at Wittenberg in 1523 and was thus advised: "Give up your vow as monk; take a wife; abolish the order; and make yourself hereditary duke of Prussia." This advice appealed not only to the cupidity of the Hohenzollern but to his sense of humor as well, and he burst out laughing. Quickly recovering his equilibrium, Albert laid his plans, and in 1525, by the Treaty of Cracow, he was received as a vassal of the king of Poland with the title of duke of Prussia. In 1618, upon the death of Duke Albert's son, the duchy of Prussia passed to Brandenburg.

### Brandenburg Secures Cleves

Four years earlier the elector of Brandenburg, John Sigismund, had come into possession of lands in western Germany. He had married a granddaughter of the last of the dukes of Cleves-Julich, who held five small duchies and counties in the lower valley of the Rhine on the border of the Netherlands. The disposition of these lands on the death of their ruler, Duke William the Rich, seemed destined to be the occasion of a general European war, so vital to the cause of Catholics, Lutherans, and even Calvinists had their possession become. For once Lutheran and Calvinist forces united, however, and the elector of Brandenburg became the candidate whose claims were supported by the Protestant Union, the Dutch, Henry IV of France, and James I of England. The Catholic world, on the other hand, joined in support of the emperor, who claimed the lands as escheated fiefs. French troops played the decisive role in the brief war that followed. The Catholics were expelled, and in 1614 the elector of Brandenburg entered into possession of Cleves, Mark, and Ravensburg, while his Calvinist associate took over Julich and Berg. Compared with Brandenburg and Prussia, these three small parcels of the Rhineland may seem of little importance. One has only to note, however, that the Ruhr, most completely industrialized area of modern Germany, lies within their borders to see how significant was the acquisition of what was, at the time, mere pasture land.

### Frederick William, the Great Elector

During the reign of the Elector Frederick William (1640-1688) Prussia became a leading state of Germany, and indeed one of the smaller

powers of Europe. The Thirty Years' War had left his lands bereft of over half their inhabitants and Berlin stood in the center of what was little better than a desert. In true mercantilist fashion he raised a tariff wall, subsidized industries, and improved communications by road building and canal digging. Particularly important was the Friedrich Wilhelm Canal linking the Oder River with the Spree, which flows westward through Berlin to the Elbe. The mark of Brandenburg was thus provided with an important channel of commerce.

Believing as did Colbert that labor is the most important resource of the mercantilist state, the Great Elector, as he is called, strove to attract immigrants to his lands. Many families were induced to come from Holland and Frisia to teach the Germans better ways of dairying and farming. Swiss families brought with them their expertness in various crafts. Jews from Poland engaged in banking and merchandising. The greatest wind-fall of the elector's reign, however, was the immigration of Huguenots whom Louis XIV's intolerance was driving from France. Frederick William, himself a Calvinist, promptly offered them land, building material, and a six-year exemption from taxes if they would settle in his dominion. Some twenty thousand agreed to do so and were supplied with guides and traveling expenses. In return the Huguenots raised the level of Prussian cultural and economic life with their skill, their intelligence, and their industry. Especially to the liking of Frederick William were the prowess and military capacities of the young Huguenot nobles. The elector did nothing, however, to relieve the condition of his own peasantry. The social welfare and political privilege of the laboring classes seem not to have been any part of the concern of the mercantilist school of thought.

Inheriting lands widely scattered (it took a week for letters to travel from Cleves to Prussia) and of varied institutions, William undertook to coordinate his dominions. This he did, chiefly by centering all authority in himself, a practice which was to be favored by future Hohenzollerns. The nobility he deprived of all political functions, while emphasizing their social distinctions. Like so many other Hohenzollerns, he made the army his particular care. At its head was a minister of war directly responsible to the king. The proceeds of certain taxes were set aside for the support of the armed forces, which reached a total of twenty-six thousand men. Territorially, also, the reign of the Great Elector marks an important stage in Prussian history. In 1648 the province of Eastern Pomerania was obtained from Sweden, and Brandenburg thus acquired a long frontage on the Baltic. In 1660 Poland recognized the independent sovereignty of Frederick William over East Prussia (the original Prussia), formerly held in a feudal relationship. Toward the end of his reign the ambitious



monarch turned his thoughts to the founding of a colonial empire and the establishment of a navy. These interesting ventures, the success of which would have changed the history of Europe, did not survive their prime mover.

### The "Kingdom of Prussia"

A hard-driving Hohenzollern was not unfrequently succeeded by a son who was out of sympathy with the ways of his father. This was so when Frederick I (1688-1713) succeeded the Great Elector. Frederick's health was delicate and his interests lay in literature, music, and philosophy. Berlin now became one of the cultural capitals of Europe, with an Academy of Arts and an Academy of Science. In 1694, at the instance of the Pietist Spener (see p. 295), Frederick founded the University of Halle. The most conspicuous political event of the reign was the transformation of Brandenburg into a kingdom. Two of Frederick's fellow princes, William of Orange, count of Nassau, and Frederick Augustus of Saxony, attained royal rank at this time, the former as king of England (William III, 1689-1701) and the latter as king of Poland (Augustus II, 1697-1733). Stimulated by their example, Frederick pressed the emperor to elevate his electorate to the rank of kingdom. This Leopold I at first refused to do, but with war impending with France over the Spanish succession, a bargain was struck, and on January 18, 1701, Frederick crowned himself king at Königsberg. His title was to be "King in Prussia," a form designed to keep the title outside the empire and spare Polish feelings. It soon became common, however, to regard all of the newly crowned king's dominions as provinces of the kingdom of Prussia. The setting up of the possessions of the Hohenzollerns as a kingdom marked a formal stage in the rise of Prussia and was a practical recognition of the importance to which the Great Elector had raised the Brandenburg power.

### A Spartan King

The next king, Frederick William I (1713-1740), had even as a youngster disliked the easy-going and cultured life of his father's court. Consumption of beer and tobacco, with an exchange of coarse jokes, among companions with tastes similar to his own, the physical excitements of stag hunting and boar hunting—such were the recreational preferences of the new king.

His father had made a leisurely progress to Königsberg to be crowned, traveling with a retinue of 2000 horses and expending as much as 3,000,000 talers. Frederick William made the trip with fifty horses in four days, spending about 2500 talers. Where Frederick I had chosen Athens as the

model for the Prussian state, the son chose Sparta. He consolidated departments, pruned the civil administration of superfluous offices, and installed a rigorous accounting system. He lowered the salaries of his officials and lengthened their hours of labor. "To work for the king of Prussia," soon became a by-word for hard work and low pay. Taking over a bankrupt administration, the new king managed to triple the annual income and pile up a large surplus.

The army was the king's special care and pride. From a force of 40,000 he increased it to one of 83,000, giving Prussia the fourth largest army in Europe at a time when she ranked thirteenth in population. Army officers were drawn from the ranks of the landed nobility. The king himself set them an example by always appearing in uniform. Accustomed to lording it over their own peasantry, from whose ranks the soldiery were drawn, the Junkers, as the landed nobles were called, made excellent commanders. A new link, which was to be of the greatest importance, was thus forged between the nobility and the crown. Through a long future the Prussian officer caste was famous for its loyalty and its sense of duty. The king also increased the efficiency of his soldiers, equipping them with the latest type of arms. His constant efforts to improve the alertness and maneuverability of his troops by constant practice won him the nickname of "the royal drill sergeant." Frederick William's "pet" was a regiment known as the Potsdam Giants, soldiers well over six feet whose pointed helmets made them seem even taller. Armed with hand grenades as well as the flintlock, these grenadiers were famous outside of Prussia as well as at home, and his fellow sovereigns sought the king's favor by sending him choice specimens of their tallest soldiers.

Frederick William had the satisfaction of seeing one important accession of territory; the liquidation of Sweden's Baltic empire brought him Western Pomerania (Treaty of Stockholm, 1720). This gave to Prussia both banks of the River Oder, lengthened her Baltic coast line, and furnished her, in Stettin, with a first-class seaport. These gains cost Frederick William very little in military effort. In fact, he seems to have been something of a bluff, preferring loud talk to hard fighting. It was been suggested that he loved his soldiers so much that he disliked risking their lives in battle.

The king could seemingly bend everyone to his will except his son and heir. This lad, who loved music and art, literature and philosophy, turned with loathing from his coarse-grained, hard-driving, tyrannical father and even, as a young man, attempted to escape to England. Captured and imprisoned, Prince Frederick's life lay in the balance while his royal father meditated his execution as a military deserter. The prince's bosom friend and companion in the attempted escape was condemned to death

on the express orders of the king. The sadistic father compelled his son to witness the decapitation. Yielding to the pleadings of the emperor, however, the king spared the life of his son, but kept him imprisoned for a time to think things over. It was a successful policy, apparently, for the young man soon resolved to fall into line with his father's policies of state, while maintaining, privately, his interest in the arts. Marrying a princess of his father's choice, he soon won even his father's approbation by the way he apprenticed himself in the military and administrative system which we have come to call Prussianism.

### Frederick the Great

King Frederick William I forged the weapon of Prussianism; Frederick II (1740-1786) wielded it brilliantly. During his reign the population of Prussia rose from 2,500,000 to 5,000,000. The army increased from 83,000 to 200,000. The annual revenue advanced from 7,000,000 to 19,000,000 talers. Population, army, revenue, these were the yardsticks with which European states measured themselves against each other in the eighteenth century. When Frederick died his kingdom ranked, in power politics, with France, Russia, and Britain. The equilibrium which the nations of Europe had fashioned at Utrecht in 1713 was completely upset. Similarly the equilibrium of overseas empires now became a thing of the past with the rise to predominance of the British Empire.

### The Austrian Succession

In 1700 the death of the head of the Spanish branch of the house of Hapsburg had been followed by the War of the Spanish Succession. (See p. 223.) Forty years later the death of the Austrian head of the same house, Charles VI, precipitated the War of the Austrian Succession. This Charles VI of Austria was the same Charles who as archduke had been the Austrian claimant of the Spanish inheritance. In 1711 he succeeded his brother as head of the Hapsburg family and was chosen emperor. Charles's holdings were vast and varied. Around the archduchy of Austria, with its capital at Vienna, clustered a group of provinces which stretched southward to the Adriatic and westward to Switzerland and the upper Rhine, among them Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Tyrol, and Breisgau. Throughout this whole region German speech prevailed. But the Austrian archduke was also the king of Bohemia, with its German dependency of Silesia and its Slav dependency of Moravia. He was also head of the Magyar kingdom of Hungary, with its Slav dependencies of Croatia and Slavonia, and its Rumanian dependency of Transylvania. Under the Peace of Utrecht,

furthermore, the Hapsburgs had acquired the Austrian Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples. The variety of languages employed by the subjects of Charles VI was equaled if not exceeded by the variety of customs, laws, and institutions to be met within his dominions.

The central problem of his reign, as Charles saw it, was the succession. By Hapsburg law only a male heir could inherit the throne, and Charles had neither sons nor brothers. He therefore set about the long and difficult task of securing the succession for his only daughter, Maria Theresa, as high-spirited and courageous as she was beautiful. A document was drawn up known as the Pragmatic Sanction, which proclaimed the inseparable nature of the Hapsburg dominions and assured their descent to Maria Theresa. The local authorities of each of the Hapsburg dominions signed this document in a particularly solemn way. To make assurance doubly sure, Charles then sought, in return for substantial concessions, the ratification of the powers of Europe. They all signed—Prussia, France, Great Britain, Holland, Russia, Poland, Spain. The emperor's bequest to his daughter, then, was a collection of signatures. The advice of his ministers for a different settlement Charles had rejected. The fortresses were in decay, the army small, poorly equipped, and badly led; and such was the financial condition of the Hapsburg state that for two years both army and the civil service had gone unpaid.

### Frederick Takes Silesia

The house of Hohenzollern had long had its eye on Silesia, a rich province larger than any of the provinces of Prussia and with over a million inhabitants, many of them engaged in industries. At first glance Silesia would seem to be an awkward appendage to the Prussian state. But it is really more closely connected with Prussia, by the valley of the Oder, than with the kingdom of Bohemia, of which it formed a part. The Hohenzollerns had claims of a sort upon certain of the districts of Silesia, but Frederick II did not bother even to present his claims. "The orders to the troops have been issued," he said. "The legal question is for you ministers." Later on, having seen a draft of the formal claim, he cried, "Bravo! This is the work of an excellent charlatan." Writing to a friend, he confided that "the satisfaction of seeing my name in history has seduced me. But for this cursed desire for glory I assure you I should think only of my ease. What are fatigue, illness, and danger compared with glory?" This Hohenzollern seems to have been pretty well Prussianized. In the first year of his reign, in the dead of winter, Frederick crossed the border into Silesia at the head of his troops.

### War of the Austrian Succession

Five other powers which had signed the Pragmatic Sanction also advanced to the attack in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). Together, the six—France, Spain, Sweden, Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussia—aimed at nothing less than the dismemberment of Austria. England, watchful of French designs on the Austrian Netherlands and eager to gain some advantage over her great colonial rival, gave her support to Austria and sent an army to the Continent. The Dutch, concerned as always for their security, also entered the war on the side opposed to France. The war saw important fighting in North America, the West Indies, and India and on the sea, but both England and France were of the opinion, as yet, that victories won on the continent of Europe would be decisive for the colonies as well.

Austria was not dismembered. Maria Theresa's subjects showed remarkable loyalty and her enemies displayed little cohesion. Yielding to Prussia's determined attack, the empress ceded Silesia, whereupon Prussia retired from the war. France had beaten Dutch and English forces at Fontenoy in 1745, but on the sea and in the colonies had lost ground and was willing to withdraw on the basis of a mutual restitution of conquests. The minor powers were not anxious to continue after the principals had withdrawn. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) recognized the Pragmatic Sanction and confirmed Prussia's conquest of Silesia; otherwise, everything remained as before.

Evidently this peace was but a truce; indeed, fighting continued, as between the French and English, in both North America and India. In Europe, Maria Theresa and her ministers were occupied during the eight years of formal peace in overhauling the whole of the Austrian administrative, financial, and military system, centralizing and unifying it, to the end that the vast resources of the Hapsburg dominions might be placed at the disposal of the crown. At the same time, under the leadership of Count Kaunitz, one of the greatest of eighteenth-century diplomats, an alliance was built up which isolated Frederick of Prussia and looked forward to his hoped-for annihilation. The eager allies divided up Prussia in advance. Russia was to have East Prussia; Sweden, Pomerania. To Saxony was allotted Magdeburg; to Denmark, Holstein.

Most important of all the allies, and most doubtful, was France, traditional foe of the Hapsburgs since the days of Francis I and Charles V. That Count Kaunitz had been able to persuade the French to come in must be accounted one of the major triumphs of eighteenth-century diplomacy. Austria had something to offer, however. She held out to France the rich prize of the Austrian Netherlands. In the decision of France

to join with Austria the French king had a share. Louis XV, a lazy man, disliked the energetic Frederick. Moreover, Louis had long been alienated by Frederick's outspoken, not to say slanderous comments upon Louis's private life. Finally, Louis XV was a warm admirer of Maria Theresa. Under the terms of the alliance, France was to supply an army of 100,000 men, together with heavy subsidies. Thus did Kaunitz seal the doom of Frederick II. The count prided himself upon the mathematical precision of his calculations. By political algebra he demonstrated to Maria Theresa and her council of ministers that Prussia was annihilated before a shot was fired.

It was inevitable that England should be drawn into the war now impending. She was already at war with France on two continents and in many seas, and had been so for more than two years. Moreover, to the Whig statesmen who presided over England's defenses it was unthinkable that the Austrian Netherlands should be allowed to fall into unfriendly hands. In addition, France might seize Hanover, family possession of the English crown, and use its capture as a pawn in exchange for valuable colonial possessions at the peace table. Naturally, the best defender of Hanover was Frederick of Prussia, her next-door neighbor. With characteristic caution, however, the English waited to see how the fighting would go. It was only after Frederick had won his first brilliant victory that the English agreed to an alliance.

### The Seven Years' War

In a military sense, the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) is the story of the epic struggle of Prussia for survival. Literally surrounded as she was with enemies, her annihilation might, indeed, be deemed mathematically certain. There was not the slightest vestige of national feeling among the inhabitants of Frederick's varied dominions. There was not, in fact, even geographical unity. Silesia, for instance, was joined to Brandenburg by a corridor no more than seven miles wide. Frederick's capital, Berlin, was but a few miles from the Saxon frontier. Outlying provinces to the west it was quite impossible to defend. It had always been Frederick's view that a campaign should be lively and short. This was especially necessary in the war now upon him. The least slip would expose his capital to invasion. Unfortunately it was impossible for him to defeat all his enemies in a single campaign. Summer after summer he had to do it all over again. He was always facing armies larger than his own.

To meet this difficulty Frederick had recourse to an oblique battle order. He would concentrate his cavalry, heavy artillery, and shock troops on the right wing, let us say, while the left wing held its ground. In case

of defeat, the left wing would cover his retreat. If the enemy gave way, however, as Frederick anticipated, left-wing troops, in echelon formation, would join in the attack, and the retreating enemy would be forced into a rout as Frederick rolled up his front. In this way battle after battle was won. In many cases half of the enemy troops were never able to join in the fight.

Napoleon's verdict was that Frederick's success was due to the king himself, not to his army. Maintaining no court, observing no holidays, eschewing family life, Frederick gave his days almost wholly to labor, and he worked swiftly, without confusion or delay. "The haggard little man with his face unwashed" had a vial of poison concealed on his person, and pledged himself with simple literalism to "victory or death." Of course England's heavy subsidies were of some use to Frederick, but the Prussian king's financial position would not have been in danger even if subsidies had not been forthcoming. England sent very few British troops to the Continent in this war, for her brilliant minister, William Pitt, believed that North America and India could be won on the spot. To organize the defenses of Hanover, England was content to borrow a general from the Prussians.

Frederick's brilliant victories came in the early part of the war. Later on, his resources were so depleted and he suffered such a series of military reverses that he was on the point of ending his life. Then came a great stroke of fortune. In 1762 Empress Elizabeth of Russia, Frederick's personal enemy, died. Her successor was her nephew Peter III, German-born and a stanch admirer of Frederick. The new tsar promptly took Russia out of the war. Better than that, he sent troops to Frederick's aid. Pitt's brilliant victories over France helped to make a cessation of hostilities attractive to that country also, and in 1763, at Hubertusburg, peace was made on the basis of the *status quo* in Europe, with Prussia keeping Silesia.

### An Enlightened Despot

During the twenty-three years yet remaining to him, Frederick engaged in no more wars of importance. His concept of government was that of the "enlightened despot," an ideal which had numerous followers in the eighteenth century. The advance of science had led to a rational approach in the field of human affairs, and a series of famous writers and reformers, chiefly French, known as the *philosophes*, had set forth in detail the abuses of contemporary society with suggested remedies. The pattern of policy for an enlightened monarch comprised centralization of administration, erasure of provincial boundaries, breakdown of class distinction, enforcement of equality before the law, equalization of tax

burdens, and the betterment of the masses through economic reform. To achieve these results, unlimited authority was required. What was needed, in each state of Europe, was a Newton of the social sciences who could draft the necessary legislation and, by his autocratic authority, enforce it. Everyone who was anyone was reading the works of the philosophes. To advance a whole people through the necessary stages of social evolution by education would be very difficult; besides, it would take too long. On the whole, it would be simpler, and it might be sufficient, the philosophes thought, to convert the rulers of Europe.

Frederick of Prussia was the most famous of the converts to enlightened rule. In his youth he spent many hours a day reading the works of the reformers. His principle of government was that "the people are not here for the sake of the rulers, but the rulers for the sake of the people." When a group of villagers came to thank him for helping them rebuild their fire-swept dwellings the king replied, "You have no need to thank me; it was my duty; that is what I am here for." If his was not a government by the people, it was at least a government for the people. It thus stands closer to democracy than the divine-right monarchies of an earlier time.

The king set everyone an example of hard work, beginning his day at six o'clock in the morning or earlier. Much time was spent on tours of inspection, during which the king filled his notebooks with opinions gleaned from all kinds of people and with facts taken in by his own shrewd glance. He dictated endless memoranda to his secretaries and ministers, requiring and obtaining an efficiency, an honesty, and an industry in the civil service which became one of the strongest traditions of the Prussian government. Amidst his exhausting campaigns, however, and his scarcely less exhausting peacetime activities, the king never neglected the studies of his youth. His own literary works and correspondence fill thirty-three volumes.

With respect to religious toleration, Frederick was the most enlightened ruler of his time. "Here everyone may seek salvation in his own way," he said. The Jesuits were allowed to remain in Prussia even after they had been suppressed by the pope and expelled from all the Catholic countries of Europe. Frederick reformed the legal institutions of his land, making the administration of justice more equitable as well as quicker and cheaper. He was a strict mercantilist, saying, "The basic rule to follow . . . is to prevent money from flowing permanently out of the country"; this can "best be prevented by producing in Prussia all kinds of goods formerly imported." To this end he employed tariffs and subsidies.

The peasants—and Prussia remained overwhelmingly agricultural—were encouraged to improve their farming by new methods brought



from England. Among these were the increased use of fertilizers, a new system of crop rotation, and the selective breeding of livestock. Drainage projects were carried forward, and agricultural colonizers were settled on the new lands. With no body of political or religious refugees at call, Frederick II nevertheless surpassed all of his predecessors in the number of colonizers (300,000) he was able to attract to Prussia. The Prussian peasantry, however, remained sunk in serfdom which Frederick did nothing to relieve. His enlightenment stopped short, also, of the Jews. In his view, they were not entitled to become citizens of Prussia, though he tolerated their religion. They were excluded from agriculture, hampered in other economic enterprises, and heavily taxed. On the whole, one is entitled to wonder whether Frederick's government in practice was not traditional Prussianism, with only lip service to the Enlightenment.

### Other Enlightened Despots

Most zealous of the enlightened monarchs of Europe was Joseph II of Austria (1765-1790). Maria Theresa, with the support of her husband, Emperor Francis I (1745-1765), had reorganized her ministries at Vienna and established a unified army. These moves were dictated by the will to survive in a world of war. Joseph II, son and successor of Maria Theresa, was completely captivated by the new political ideas of the philosophes. "I have made philosophy the legislator of my empire," he said; "her logical principles shall transform Austria." In the space of ten years he issued six thousand decrees and more than eleven thousand laws. Ignoring historic boundaries and provincial loyalties, he divided his domain with geometric precision into thirteen districts, placing at the head of each an army officer responsible to himself. The German language was decreed to be the one official language throughout the empire. Serfdom was abolished everywhere, the peasants to be freed from compulsory labor in return for a fixed rent. Landlord and peasant were to pay a common tax of 13 per cent of their income. "I could never bring myself to skin two hundred good peasants to pay one donothing lord more than he ought to have," said the emperor. The Catholic Church was deprived of its special privileges, and its worship was purged of what Joseph called "superstitions." Protestants and Jews were placed on a basis of equality with Catholics.

The innovations of Joseph II met with widespread resistance. Netherlanders and Hungarians revolted against the loss of their cherished institutions; the nobility rose up against the emancipation of their serfs; the peasants resented the emperor's efforts to compel them to do service in the army; the Catholics rallied to the defense of their faith. The Austrian

emperor was a humanitarian in a hurry; Frederick of Prussia said of him that "he never took the first step before he had taken the second."

Joseph II died at the age of forty-eight, his death undoubtedly hastened by overwork. Most of his reforms were failures and he directed that his epitaph should be, "Here lies the man who, with the best intentions, never succeeded in anything." His self-indictment was too severe. His reforms probably saved his land from the horror of a French Revolution. There can be no doubt, furthermore, that his reign contributed greatly to a concept of government in Germany which was in contrast to the Prussian model. The Austrian concept had good temper, moderation, even charm and color; the Prussian was hard, brutal efficiency.

Among the other enlightened monarchs of the time were Charles III of Spain (1759-1788), Joseph I of Portugal (1750-1777), Gustavus III of Sweden (1771-1792), and such minor monarchs as the kings of Sardinia, Tuscany, and Sicily. Some have doubted the sincerity of the attachment of these men to a philosophical principle of government and have labeled the whole movement, "death-bed repentance." However that may be, nature, whose attributes the philosophers of the day so much admired, failed, not infrequently, to make provision for one good king to succeed another. The successor of Frederick the Great (his nephew, Frederick William II, 1786-1797) was a pious fool and a weakling; the king who followed Charles III of Spain was a halfwit; and the successors of the enlightened monarchs of Sweden and Portugal were entirely bereft of their senses. Democracies, whatever may be said in their disfavor, do better than this.

### Germany, Poor in Deeds but Rich in Culture

Politically a failure, the German nation made contributions to the culture of Europe, during the eighteenth century, which rank among the richest ever made. "France ruled the land, England ruled the sea, Germany ruled the clouds." Her great writers, Lessing, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, were sincere believers in the brotherhood of man. Their creative life was passed in the smaller states of Germany. Herder, Goethe, and Schiller all lived in the city of Weimar, "the Athens of Germany." In no case was their creative spirit confined within the limits of a narrow nationalism. Their works were addressed to the world, and they belong to the world. To be sure, men of creative genius are seldom provincial in their outlook or transitory in their appeal. Writings in the German language restored to that tongue all of its lost prestige, and to those who spoke German there came a feeling of pride and a sense of possession. Frederick of Prussia evidently felt none of this, for he wrote in 1780, "We

have no good writers whatever." Nevertheless, these German writers proved to be "the creators of the soul which in the nineteenth century at last wrought itself a body."

Still less nationalistic, more universal, were the German composers of the period, Bach, Handel, Gluck, Hayden, Mozart, and Beethoven. Their works belong not to Germany but to the world. Even during a war in which Germany appeared as the enemy of civilized man there was no diminution in the world's enjoyment of the works of these German men of genius.

## CHAPTER XV

### *England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1689-1763; the Struggle for Empire*

By 1700 the population of England and Wales was about eight and a half million. Eighty per cent of the people made their living from the soil, a somewhat smaller proportion than in France. The status of the English peasantry was free; serfdom had wholly disappeared. Most peasants were laborers at the bottom of the economic scale, possessing a patch of land and a one-room cottage in which the entire family lived. A few vegetables were grown; a few geese, a pig, or even a cow might be kept also. The "upper crust" of the peasantry was a group of small proprietors and tenant farmers known collectively as yeomen. This yeoman group numbered about one hundred thousand families in 1700 but was maintaining itself with difficulty in the shifting sands of economic change. Dominating the agricultural life of the times was the landlord class of squires, living in their "halls" or country places scattered by the thousand over the English countryside. For the most part, the squires identified themselves with the local life about them. Cultivation of "open fields" by the village community was still the rule, though many squires had separated their acres from the village lands and had "enclosed" them in compact blocks where they could employ the improved methods of farming which were coming into use. Standing above the squires were the seventy or more territorial magnates with their vast estates, the great families of England. The typical magnate maintained, in addition to a number of country seats, a town house in London where his family commonly spent the parliamentary and social season.

#### Golden Age of the Squires

The eighteenth century has been called the golden age of the squires. They dominated both houses of Parliament. The peerage was, as a matter of course, recruited almost exclusively from this class; but the House of Commons was their preserve as well. The representative basis of the Commons had not been changed since the close of the middle ages. Each

county sent two members, and both the right to vote and the qualifications for membership depended upon the ownership of land. To be sure, a far larger number of members were returned by the boroughs of England, but many of the boroughs were so tiny that the local magnate could influence or control their elections. It was not uncommon for an eighteenth-century peer to have eight or ten seats in the House of Commons at his disposal. Local government was even more completely controlled by the squires. It had been a matter of Tudor policy to lay all manner of administrative, judicial, and financial responsibility on the shoulders of the justices of the peace. These justices, serving without pay, came to be recruited solely from the class of squires. Within each county the group of justices meeting every three months, in "quarter sessions," ruled with a self-sufficient authority which was scarcely challenged by the central government. In his own locality the single justice was invested with ample powers of summary jurisdiction, subject to the quarter session. It has been said that "the squire ruled his village like a king." Fielding has given us a picture of a typical eighteenth-century figure in Squire Western of *Tom Jones*, and Addison has depicted a variant of the type in his portrait of Sir Roger de Coverley. Not only did the squirearchy practically dominate Parliament and monopolize local government; it controlled the church as well. Bishops and deans were recruited almost universally from the greater landed families, and the parish clergy from the ranks of the lesser squires. The universities were little more than private lounging places where the sons of England's privileged classes were "gently sprayed with culture," or training grounds for ambitious sons of the middle class who hoped to serve the squires as tutors and chaplains. Even the great public schools like Eton, Harrow, and Winchester, founded for the use of "poor scholars," were now wholly given over to providing the scions of the aristocracy with a minimum of book learning and a maximum of good form.

### England's Middle Class

In comparison with other lands of Europe, England at this time had a large urban population. This was an indication of the comparatively important part played by commerce and industry in English life. London, with about one million inhabitants, was the largest city of Europe, but no other city of the British Isles was one tenth as large. Commerce was assuming greater and greater proportions as a result of colonial expansion and the fuller exploitation of the colonial market.

Among the industries of England the most important was textiles, more especially the woollen industry. This had escaped the confines of the guild system and was in a transitional stage of economic organization

known as the domestic system of manufacture. Thousands of urban workers were engaged in combing and carding wool, and in weaving, dyeing, and finishing cloth. The intermediate stage of spinning was as yet chiefly in the hands of rural workers, and the money earned by the cottagers and their families made the spinning wheel "the sheet anchor of the cottage." Another industry of more recent growth, and greater potential importance, was coal mining. English coal is well distributed and comparatively easily mined. The closing of the monasteries placed the coal lands more generally in the hands of landlords eager to develop them. The approaching exhaustion of the timber supply made fire wood so expensive as to be almost beyond the reach of the poor, and the timely invention of the chimney flue enabled the poorer families to make use of coal for domestic purposes. In scarcely more than a century the use of coal had so developed that by 1700 nearly three million tons a year were being mined. Heavy and bulky, coal was transported chiefly by water (whence, "sea coal"), and this encouraged a marked increase in ship-building. Coal was being used also in the manufacture of salt, glass, and gunpowder. Iron was still smelted with charcoal, however; indeed, the iron industry was as yet a by-product of agriculture and the output did not exceed twenty-five thousand tons a year.

England's urban population took little part in political life. The urban workers had no political rights whatever, and in their economic life they were at the mercy of their employers. The wealthy merchants, however, and moneyed men of the towns, while not as a rule in Parliament, were in a position greatly to influence national policies, since it was to them that governments had to go for financial help. In the year 1694 Parliament authorized a group of wealthy Londoners to raise a capital of about a million pounds and form a bank. The government promptly borrowed the capital from the bank, paying 10 per cent interest, and authorized the banking company to receive deposits and issue paper currency. Thus was founded the Bank of England, destined to play an important, at times even a determining part in financing the English government whether in peace or war.

### The Union with Scotland

The consequences of the Revolution of 1689 were not limited to England. The establishment of the supremacy of Parliament and the repudiation of the Catholic Stuarts had important consequences in both Scotland and Ireland. Relations between England and Scotland had been much better during the first two centuries of the modern era than in medieval times. Both lands were Protestant and, beginning in 1603, both

paid allegiance to the house of Stuart. The traditional hostility of the Scotch and English peoples continued to be sufficient, however, to prevent closer integration. Cromwell, who made hard things look easy, united the two kingdoms in a common Parliament, but this project died with him. Under the second Charles and the second James things were as they had been under the first of those names. When England rid herself of James II, however, Scotland did the same, and wonderful to relate, when the English Parliament invited William and Mary to share the throne, Scotland likewise received them and on the same terms.

During the reign of William and Mary, however, England and Scotland were brought again to a parting of the ways. England insisted that the king, queen, and other important members of the royal family be of the Anglican faith. This the Scottish Parliament declared (1689) to be "a great and intolerable grievance." A Protestant sovereign the Scottish Presbyterians were determined to have, if possible a Stuart, but not necessarily an Anglican. Another grievance was economic. The growing commercial wealth of England had stirred Scottish merchants to unusual activity. English merchants and the English Parliament, however, went out of their way to block Scotch enterprises. The English and the Dutch together destroyed the Scotch East India Company. Another colonial venture was launched in 1699 with the backing of the Scotch Parliament. The promoters sent their first expedition to the isthmus of Darien in Spanish America, ill-advisedly no doubt, since the economic possibilities of the region had been insufficiently explored and the climatic conditions were adverse. The expedition was a total loss, and with it disappeared practically all the capital which the Scots could summon for investment in colonial enterprises. Widespread resentment followed, and the Scotch people, unreasonably, blamed their losses on England.

It was in this mood that Scotland learned of the Act of Settlement which the English Parliament passed in 1701. Queen Mary had died childless in 1694, and William III failed to remarry. The next Protestant Stuart heir was Anne, younger sister of Mary. Long since married, Anne had borne no fewer than seventeen children but only one had survived childhood, and the death of this boy was the event that stirred the English Parliament to make further provision for the succession. The Act of Settlement provided that on the death of Anne the throne would pass to the German house of Hanover, Lutheran descendants of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. In prompt rejoinder, the Scotch Parliament passed an Act of Security (1703) which announced that on the death of Anne Scotland would choose some other sovereign than the one named by England. The War of the Spanish Succession was already under way, its decisive battles yet unfought. England's principal enemy, France, was the traditional

friend of Scotland. It seemed all too probable that events would follow a familiar pattern as both the Scotch and the English strengthened their border fortresses. And yet, under the circumstances, war would have been so harmful to both countries, and peace and friendship were so obviously helpful, that for once saner counsels prevailed and the two Parliaments appointed commissioners to consider terms. The result was the Act of Union, ratified by both Parliaments in 1707.

According to the Act of Union, each kingdom merged its identity in a new political unit to be known as the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The Parliament of the new kingdom was to meet at Westminster, and in it the Scots were to be represented by forty-five commoners and sixteen peers. The national flag was to be the Union Jack, in which the white cross of St. Andrew was incorporated with the red cross of St. George. There could no longer be any question of excluding Scottish goods from English markets or Scottish merchants from English colonial and commercial opportunities. The island of Great Britain, thereafter free of customs barriers, thus became the largest free trade area in Europe. During the more than two centuries that have elapsed since the Act of Union the relations of the two peoples have shown how cultural nationalism can be combined with political and economic internationalism. The people of Scotland have not become less distinctly Scottish with the lapse of years; indeed, England herself has become a debtor to the proudly independent culture of Scotland. The contributions of Boswell, Burns, and Scott in literature, of the Adam brothers in architecture, of Raeburn and Willkie in painting, of Erskine and Mansfield in law, of Hume in philosophy, of Carlyle in history, and of Adam Smith in economic theory are known and valued throughout the English-speaking world. All these Scotchmen lived and worked within a hundred and fifty years after the union. Full partnership in England's economic enterprises was of immediate and continued benefit to Scotland. As for partnership in the political field, one has only to note the number of Scotch names in the roll of British prime ministers.

### England's Oppression of Ireland

The Revolution of 1689 brought on a crisis in England's relations with Ireland also. After more than five centuries of effort England's conquest of Ireland was incomplete; Irish opposition still flared up from time to time, especially when England was in difficulties. To political and economic exploitation by England there had been added, during the period of the Reformation, religious oppression. An attempt of James II to regain his throne with the help of the Irish and the French was a new



source of bitterness. James's attempt was a failure, for King William with Dutch and English troops triumphed over James and his allies on Irish soil at the battle of the Boyne (1690).

In the years that followed, Parliament took as its objective the destruction of the economic, political, and social influence of the Catholics of Ireland. This was merely, of course, an effort to complete a process already begun. Successive rebellions, followed by confiscations, had transferred to English hands the ownership of about nine tenths of the soil of Ireland, and the Irish had become a nation of tenants. In certain areas, moreover, the very cultivation of the soil had passed into alien hands as tens of thousands of Irish peasants were swept from the land and settlers from England and Scotland took their places. The most famous, or notorious, of these "plantations" took place in and after 1610, when two million acres, about two thirds of the province of Ulster, were confiscated and the Irish Catholic inhabitants were displaced by Scotch and English Protestants, chiefly Presbyterians. The effects of the Ulster plantation have survived to our day as the most persistent and resistant of all the features of the "Irish problem." After 1689 the English Parliament completed the ruin of the Irish by forbidding them to export their wool and woolen products except to England, and by prohibiting entirely the export of cattle, Ireland's principal wealth. Needless to say, Ireland was altogether excluded from England's colonial trade.

As regards religion, little could be done that had not already been done. Existing laws were rigorously enforced, and the Irish Catholics kept their faith alive only at the cost of incredible sacrifice. Their twenty-four bishops lived in concealment under assumed names, and the head of the Irish Catholic Church had his residence in Brussels. No Catholic might attend a university in Ireland or become a teacher or lawyer. Intermarriage of Catholics and Protestants was forbidden. If one of the sons of a Catholic landowner turned Protestant, he was made the sole heir of his father's estate. The social debasement of the Catholics is well illustrated by the curious law that no one of them might own a horse worth more than five pounds. In a land which produced the finest horses in Europe, the quality of a man's horse was an accurate measure of his social status. Ireland's Parliament, as old as that of England, was placed entirely in the hands of the Protestant minority. No Catholic could vote for a member or be one.

The Irish of the eighteenth century thus became hewers of wood and drawers of water, living under the rule of conquerors. Thousands of them, especially of the more enterprising, left the country, making their way to America. Many, also, migrated to the continent of Europe, where they often rose to positions of influence in Spain, Italy, or France. A great



FREDERICK THE GREAT  
(pp. 260-262)

An engraving by Von Menzel (1815-1905), who illustrated the life of the King of Prussia with hundreds of engravings and pen-and-ink drawings. (Permission of Max Schmetterling)



THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO (p. 243)

He was awarded American citizenship for his services in the Revolution.



CATHERINE THE GREAT  
OF RUSSIA (pp. 237-239)

By J. B. Lampi, renowned for his portraits of the royal families of Austria, Russia, and Poland.



WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER  
(pp. 293 and 313)

By Thomas Gainsborough, whose subjects included most of the public figures of the time.



THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE (p. 272)

historian has charged that this weeding out of the young men of "ability, high purpose, and energy of will" through several generations was followed by a marked decline in "the standard of public morals and public spirit" in the home country. However that may be, the repressive and oppressive rule of Ireland by England has borne bitter fruit. A liberal and in some respects generous policy was adopted in the nineteenth century, but in the words of a British prime minister of recent times, "centuries of brutal and often ruthless injustice, and what is worse, centuries of insolence and insult, have driven hatred of British rule into the marrow of the Irish race."

### The British Empire

It has been said that the British Empire was acquired during "a prolonged fit of absence of mind." If this remark has any validity it is in reference to the period before Cromwell, when there seemed to be no directing mind behind the varied ventures of English merchants and colonists. With Cromwell there begins the time of conscious thought in the realm of colonial affairs. Navigation Acts reserved English trade for ships built, owned, and at least three-quarters manned by Britishers. A Board of Trade and Plantations was established to coordinate the affairs of the colonies and administer their economic life in the interest of the home country. The Royal Africa Company was founded (1662) to tap the riches of the slave trade on the west coast of that continent, and the Hudson Bay Company (1670) to help harvest the fur trade of North America. Meanwhile, the British hold on the Atlantic coast of North America was made much firmer by the seizure of New York and New Jersey from the Dutch, and by the founding of the colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas. In a twenty-five year conflict with the Dutch, England prevailed, and incidental to England's participation in the last two wars of Louis XIV there were preliminary clashes between British and French colonists in North America and the West Indies.

### The Great Triangle Trade

In the early decades of the eighteenth century the interest of European mercantilists was focused on overseas trade more sharply than ever before. "The great triangle trade" had come to full development, and there has never been a more lucrative trade. To the west coast of Africa went hundreds of slave ships laden with cottons, beads, and rum, there to be exchanged through the slave traders for a human cargo. Thence the captive Negroes were taken to the sugar plantations of the West Indies and the tobacco and indigo plantations of Virginia and the Carolinas.

Colonial sugar, tobacco, and indigo went from America to Europe to complete the circuit. India played its part in this trade as the source of most of the cottons. The New England colonists, also, were in a good position to profit, for their timber and fish were in active demand in the West Indies.

The huge profits of the great triangle trade made a powerful appeal to the imagination of the investing public. For the first time in the history of Europe all classes of people who had money to spare invested in one or more of the numerous companies engaged in tropical trade. So widespread and so powerful was the speculative appeal that the cautious Scots engaged in the memorable Darien venture, and that epitome of medieval unprogressiveness, the German emperor, founded a company. In England, trade interested more classes of the people than in any other European country except perhaps Holland. Early in the century the speculative craze in England reached an unparalleled intensity. In a single year (1719) twice as many companies were founded as in the whole previous hundred and fifty years since such companies were first established. We read of an English company which offered shares in a project the exact nature of which was to be revealed at a future date! The South Sea Company, which had a solid foundation of trading rights, overextended itself, with the connivance of Parliament, to such an extent that its stock rose to 1000, then fell to 135. This bursting of the "South Sea Bubble" brought ruin to thousands and disgrace to such highly placed officers of state as the prime minister and the chancellor of the exchequer. The failure of the Mississippi Company in France was contemporary with the crash in the London market.

In spite of craze and crash, the overseas trade of both England and France developed enormously. During the last two decades of the seventeenth century and the first two decades of the eighteenth, British colonial trade multiplied by five; indeed, it amounted by 1720 to a full third of England's total foreign commerce. In France a similar ratio held good, colonial trade playing a far more important part in the French national economy in the eighteenth century than in the nineteenth. In England, trade had come to be of central importance in the life of the nation. Even the landed aristocracy, who affected to despise trade, had become deeply involved in it. More than three thousand ships were engaged.

As a trading country, England had a special advantage, for she boasted the only populous overseas colonies in the world. The one and a half million English colonists along the Atlantic seaboard in North America produced an abundance of raw materials for the English market. These were exchanged for manufactured goods, all of which came through English ports and at least three quarters of which were produced in the

British Isles. France had in her sugar islands of the West Indies the most valuable colonial possession in the world in proportion to its size. England's sugar islands were less important; indeed, England's North American colonies supplied themselves with sugar and molasses from the French West Indies, though the British government tried vainly to check this commerce by the Molasses Act of 1733. In the west African slave trade both countries were active, the slave ship captains of each nation waging war on those of the other. England had fourteen slave stations and a hundred and fifty ships engaged in the slave trade alone, and these supplied to the plantations of the west some 12,000 Negroes a year as compared with the 7000 supplied by French slavers. Hardly anyone as yet thought of the slave trade in terms of man's inhumanity to man.

### British Merchants Seek Spanish Trade

In India there was as yet ample room for the trading companies of both France and England, and both countries were content with the peaceful prosecution of trading activities. The French and English were eager rivals, however, for the lion's share of the trade with the Spanish colonies. This trade was of course closed to them both in law, but the Spanish government remained preoccupied with the development of the New World mines and gave next to no attention to the needs of Spanish settlers in the West Indies and on the mainland. Spain had an insufficiency of ships, sailors, and goods for the legitimate needs of her own colonists. France, presumably, was in a favorable position with respect to Spanish trade because of the dynastic tie (at least, the English thought so), and in fact, a series of family compacts beginning in 1733 secretly transferred to France certain trading privileges in direct contravention of the Peace of Utrecht. English suspicions and fears of the French as commercial rivals were probably grossly exaggerated, yet we have the hard fact that at least seven ninths of the goods sent out from Spain to her colonies at the end of the seventeenth century came from French sources. In the early decades of the eighteenth century English merchants became increasingly alarmed. French trade, they said, was advancing by leaps and bounds, whereas their own was standing still. What gave point to this anxiety was the mercantilist thesis, which everybody believed, that there is only a certain amount of trade in the world. As a British merchant put it, "Our trade would improve by the total extinction of French trade."

Law or no law, British ships continued in active trade with the Spanish colonies. England enjoyed, of course, a monopoly of the right of supplying the Spanish colonists with Negro slaves. She also enjoyed the more or less

nominal privilege of sending a single ship, not to exceed five hundred tons burden, to trade with the Spanish colonists each year. This latter privilege was subject to particularly shameless abuse. A whole fleet of merchant ships would accompany the one ship allowed by law which would then be unloaded and loaded as often as might be desired. Spanish colonists themselves, in their eagerness to secure the goods which they needed, connived freely in the great game of smuggling. It is estimated that in Spanish territorial waters there were at least fifty British ships to one Spanish.

Spanish authorities struggled weakly to keep smuggling activities within bounds. For one thing, Spain claimed the right of search of all ships using her territorial waters. British captains were indignant at the exercise of this right. Under the Spanish system of law enforcement, the *guarda costas*, who were charged with preventing smuggling, worked on a commission basis, taking prizes in lieu of salary. Naturally they were not always careful to distinguish between lawful and unlawful trade, nor was their own conduct precisely law-abiding. The most famous victim of the Spanish officials was Captain Jenkins, an English trader to Jamaica, engaged, as he always maintained, in legitimate trade. According to Jenkins' story, his ship was stopped and searched, and he himself was robbed. A Spanish sailor then "took hold of his left ear and slit it down with his cutlash, and another of the gang tore it off and ordered him to be scalped, but his head being close shaven prevented the execution of it." Captain Jenkins' deposition is dated 1731, but in 1738 he was still carrying his ear wrapped in cotton wool, and telling his story to anyone who would listen.

The policy of the English government under the leadership of Sir Robert Walpole, prime minister from 1721 to 1742, was a consistently peaceful one. Despite the political pounding of British merchants and the shrill cries of jingoes, Walpole persisted in employing diplomatic means for the settling of difficulties with Spain. So successful was he that in the "Spanish Convention" (1739), balancing the claims of England against the more justifiable claims of Spain, the latter agreed to pay into the English treasury the astonishingly large sum of £95,000. It was with the greatest difficulty, however, that Walpole secured the ratification of this convention by the House of Commons. "Is this any longer a nation," declaimed a fiery young member named William Pitt, "if with more ships in your harbors than in all the navies of Europe you will bear to hear the expediency of receiving from Spain an unsecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonest convention?" Walpole's reply was noteworthy; indeed, it still has meaning and worth for the world. "It requires no great art," said he, "no great abilities in a minister, to pursue such measures as might make a war

inevitable, but, sir, how many ministers have you had who know the art of avoiding war by making a safe and honorable peace?"

### War with Spain and France

Yielding to insistent demand, later in the same year, Walpole went to war with Spain, hoping that the struggle could be confined to naval activities. As in so many such conflicts, however, all hopes of a limited struggle were vain. The war which broke out in 1739 proved to be the beginning of a world-wide contest fought on four continents and all the seas and lasting for a quarter of a century. It should have been obvious to Walpole that a colonial war with Spain would almost inevitably lead to war with France as well. France could not afford to remain indifferent to any change in the balance of power in the West Indies, for example, unless she was prepared to write off her own rich holdings there. Nor was she indifferent. In 1740, the French government dispatched two strong battle fleets to the West Indies with instructions to destroy the British fleet there and to invade and lay waste the British plantations. One month later, however, there occurred the death of the Hapsburger which led to the War of the Austrian Succession. The French fleets were recalled as France prepared to plunge into the maelstrom of European politics. The outcome was to be a calamity for France.

Both English and French leaders, during the War of the Austrian Succession, concentrated their thought and effort on the Continent. France, having withdrawn her forces from the West Indies, sought to protect her trade, but beyond that gave the overseas situation no further thought. England sent the bulk of her armed forces to Flanders, with her navy in support. If Carteret, who succeeded Walpole as the director of England's policy, ever gave a thought to England's maritime interests, he came quickly to the conclusion that those interests could best be served by victories on the continent of Europe. The one triumph of England overseas was the capture of Louisburg. The position of France in North America had been weakened by the withdrawal of the French from Newfoundland and the installing of the English in Nova Scotia in 1713. To counterbalance this, the French built at Louisburg on Cape Breton Island a modern fortress, the work of Vauban, at a cost of thirty million livres. With a minimum of assistance from the British squadron in the West Indies, Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, with four thousand colonial troops and one hundred ships, took Louisburg. The fall of Louisburg was followed by attacks of the British navy on the French West Indies and, more important still, by the capture of between two and three thousand merchant ships. France offset these gains, however, by the

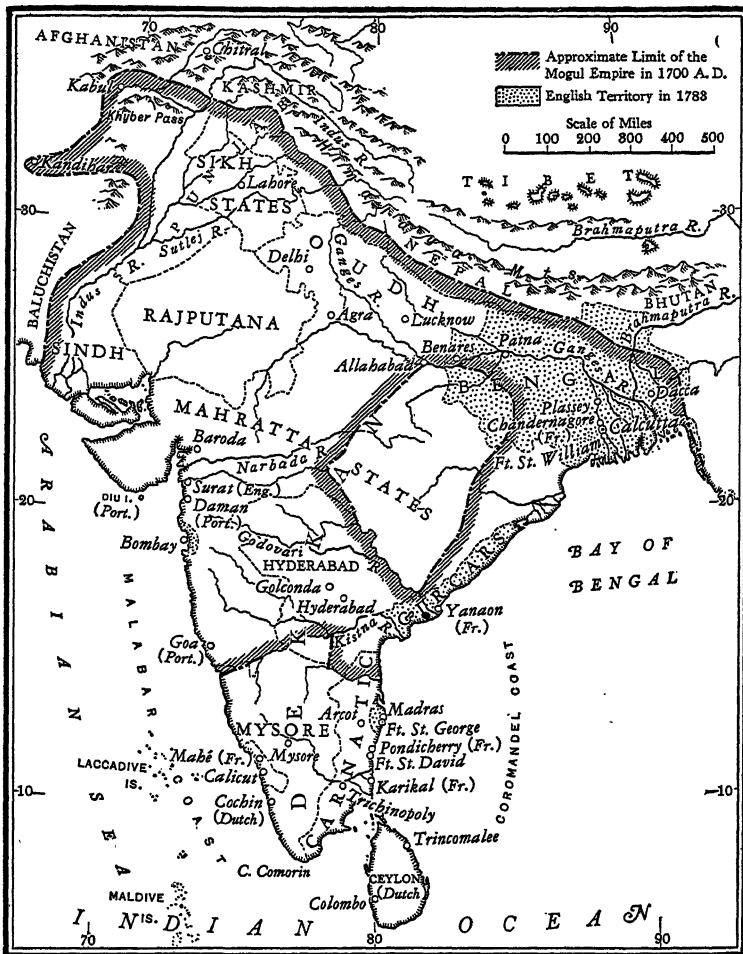


victory of Fontenoy (1745), the occupation of the Austrian Netherlands, and an invasion of Holland. In the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) the French took back Louisburg and their West Indies in return for their own withdrawal from the Netherlands.

### French-British Rivalry in North America

It had now become evident that in North America, at least, further conflict between the French and English was inevitable. The French claimed the whole of the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and they had substantiated this claim with occupation, albeit their forces were slender. One of the greatest problems of the French empire in North America was that of communication. An advance toward a solution had come with the opening of the Ohio valley, long closed to the French by the barrier of the hostile Iroquois. This valley affords practically a straight line of communication from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the point where the Ohio joins the Mississippi. On the southern shores of Lake Erie there were two easy portages to the headwaters of the Ohio. In the early eighteenth century the French established a line of forts along the whole length of the Ohio, and at least 1500 French troops were in the valley at a time when the whole man power of France in North America was not above 15,000.

Obviously, the occupation of the Ohio valley by the French, if permanent, would confine the English colonists to a narrow seaboard. But it was as certain that the expansive energies of one and a half million people could not be so confined. Signs of unrest were not lacking. The year after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Virginia planters combined with English patrons to found the Ohio Company. Securing from the English crown a grant of half a million acres in the Ohio country, the company sent out youthful George Washington to survey the land. He encountered the French, and was disarmed and sent home. News of American unrest reached France, and its implications were not lost. The following minute adopted by the French Council of Ministers in 1752 is significant: "It is of the greatest importance to arrest the progress of the pretensions and expeditions of the English in that quarter. Should they succeed there, they could cut off the communications between the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana and would be in a position to ruin both the one and the other." Two years later the French established a fort at the strategic point where the Allegheny and the Monongahela rivers join to form the Ohio, naming it, for the governor of Canada, Fort Duquesne. Great Britain and France were not at war. Nonetheless the British government sent General Edward Braddock to America with two regiments of regu-



INDIA IN 1783

lars to dislodge the French from Fort Duquesne. The expedition was disastrously defeated, less than half of Braddock's troops, straggling back to the Virginia settlements.

### French-British Rivalry in India

In India also the French and English traders had come to blows on their own account. The directors of each trading company, naturally enough, were interested exclusively in making profits. In the vast continent of India there would seem to have been plenty of room for the two

companies, and there was. Early in the eighteenth century, however, a change came in the political life of India which made profit making not more difficult, perhaps, but more complicated than it had previously been. The last of the Great Moguls died in 1707, and he was succeeded by weaklings whose authority the numerous viceroys or nawabs declined to take seriously. The relation of nawab to mogul became, in other words, very like that of the princes of the Holy Roman Empire to their emperor. Both the British and French East India companies, in the normal prosecution of their trade, began to cultivate the friendship of the local princes. Both companies had factories in the southeastern coastal area of India, known as the Carnatic, as well as in the northeastern coastal area, the province of Bengal.

Especially successful in dealing with the local princes was François Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry in the Carnatic, the headquarters of the French East India Company. Entering upon his governorship in 1741, Dupleix set out to make French influence decisive among the native princes of the region. His policy was to place in the capital of each prince a French resident, whose advice was made obligatory by a garrison of French troops, supplemented by native troops armed and trained by the French. So successful was this policy that Dupleix easily effected the conquest of the neighboring British post at Madras during the War of the Austrian Succession. Of course he had to restore Madras under the terms of the treaty of 1748. Three years later, though France and England were still at peace, Dupleix again assumed the offensive. He had succeeded in installing in the Carnatic a nawab completely under French influence. The candidate whom the English had been supporting was making a last stand in the town of Trichinopoly, his sole remaining stronghold. The capture of this town would inevitably be followed by the expulsion of the English from the southeast coast of India.

### Robert Clive

This crisis in the history of the British Empire was met by a youngster scarcely out of his teens, one of the most colorful of British empire builders, Robert Clive, who had gone out to India as a clerk. Early in the fighting Clive left his desk, where he was an obvious misfit, and joined the army. He was a born soldier, with remarkable power of command. He was also a good organizer and a severe disciplinarian. With Trichinopoly close beset, Clive formed a daring resolution, namely, to make a swift attack on the capital of the Carnatic, Arcot. With two hundred British soldiers and not more than three hundred native troops, in a very climax of audacity Clive captured the city. He was of course promptly besieged by thousands

of native troops, with their French allies. Having successfully withstood a siege of fifty-three days, Clive issued forth from his citadel and beat the enemy in the open. British prestige, in a land where prestige counts for so much, was completely restored. The defense of Arcot has been called "the turning point in the eastern career of England." A year later the English installed their own candidate in the Carnatic; and two years after that the French directors of the East India Company, long out of sympathy with the empire-building policy of Dupleix, recalled him.

In 1756 the Seven Years' War (to be known in America as the French and Indian War) broke out in Europe as a combination of the powers prepared to dismember Prussia. (See p. 258.) Already in conflict with France in India and America, England entered into an alliance with Prussia, supporting her partner with subsidies. At first the war went badly for the British. In America the defeat of Braddock had been followed by repulse at Lake George, and there was every prospect that Montcalm, the French governor in Montreal, would march down the valley of the Hudson in the following spring. In India the new nawab of Bengal, a lad of twenty who viewed all Europeans and especially the English, with suspicion, captured Calcutta. Most of the officers and traders of the British East India Company in Calcutta fled to a river island, where they were left to starve. A remnant, numbering 146 persons, was thrust into a narrow room where there was barely room to stand. Deprived of air through a long June night, all but twenty-three suffocated. The news of the "Black Hole" brought a thrill of horror to English hearts. Earlier in the same year, and before war had been declared, a French fleet conveying a substantial force crept out of the French harbor of Toulon for an attack on Minorca, the principal British naval base in the Mediterranean. The garrison was taken completely by surprise, the governor and most of his high ranking officers being on leave, and Minorca passed into the hands of France for the duration of the war. Of course the British dispatched a fleet to effect its recapture, but after an inconclusive engagement Admiral Byng, the British commander, withdrew to Gibraltar. For not doing his utmost to defeat the enemy Byng was court-martialed and shot.

### Advent of Pitt

These reverses brought the downfall of the British cabinet, a Whig regime of an old-fashioned type. An aroused public now forced upon the reluctant monarch, and the still more reluctant Whig aristocracy which controlled Parliament, a man who for twenty years had been telling Parliament and the country where England's true interests lay and how they should be pursued. The interests of England lay not in the defense of

Hanover nor in the preservation of a continental balance of power, said Pitt, but in the winning of an empire overseas. England's whole strength, therefore, military and naval, should be thrown directly into the struggle for empire in North America, in India, and on the seas throughout the world. A man of scrupulous integrity, William Pitt was also blessed with a power of persuasive eloquence unmatched in English history. Along with his eloquence went great histrionic gifts. He was not an easy man to work with, for he was extraordinarily self-confident and he was unwilling to share responsibility. "I believe that I can save my country and that no other man can." Frederick of Prussia remarked, "England has been long in labor but has at last produced a man."

Pitt came to power in 1757. The political arrangement was that the Whig duke of Newcastle should be party manager, with Pitt as secretary of state for war and director of policy. Pitt set up a small inner cabinet of five men charged exclusively with prosecuting the war. In office he displayed a driving force which communicated itself to all departments of government. The famous naval hero Anson was now first lord of the admiralty. When Pitt demanded that a certain fleet be produced at a certain time, Anson said it could not be done. "In that case you will be impeached in the House of Commons," was Pitt's reply, and the fleet was ready in four days.

### Pitt's Victories

Pitt's strategy was of a single piece throughout the world. We are especially familiar with his American campaigns, which were conducted with adequate naval and military forces and which were admirably led by men chosen by Pitt himself. First a strong expedition was sent out to retake Fort Duquesne on the Ohio. A second expedition marched up the Hudson, turned left into the Mohawk valley, and struck at the French fortresses on Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Communication between Canada and the Ohio valley was cut, and the British forces were then in a position to threaten Canada itself from upstream. A third expedition, under Amherst, likewise sent up the Hudson, continued straight north along Lake George and Lake Champlain to deal with the enemies in that quarter. If all went well and according to schedule, it could join in the attack on Quebec. A fourth expedition made a frontal attack on Canada by way of the St. Lawrence River. British efforts met with success. Louisburg was retaken and a garrison of four thousand French troops fell into English hands, together with a fleet of thirteen men-of-war. An expedition under Wolfe pushed up the St. Lawrence, and when no help came from other quarters, took Quebec, though outnumbered three to one. The fall of Canada came in the following year. Finally, Fort Duquesne was cap-

tured, and the stanch old Scotchman Forbes who took it renamed it "Pittsburgh." "It was," he wrote in his dispatch to Pitt, "in some measure the being actuated by your spirit that now makes us masters of this place."

In the West Indies the French were gradually driven out and the British became masters of all the Lesser Antilles. On the slave coast of west Africa the English again triumphed and the French were expelled. At home in England, however, came the threat of invasion. French reverses had brought to the helm a man of courage and resource, the duke of Choiseul. He formed the bold resolution, of upsetting all of Pitt's calculations by invading England and dictating peace in London. Gathering thirty-six thousand French, Russian, and Swedish troops, he prepared a Swedish naval convoy for an attack on Scotland. This plan fell through when the allied forces failed to cooperate. Meanwhile, however, fifty thousand French veterans were being concentrated in the Channel ports of France. As in the attempt of the Spanish Armada, it was necessary, for successful invasion, that naval supremacy in the Channel be achieved, if only for the time being. France had two considerable fleets, one at Toulon in the Mediterranean and the other at Brest on the west coast of Brittany. The Toulon fleet set sail and slipped past Gibraltar. The British Mediterranean fleet trailed the French, however, and catching up with them at Lagos off the southwest coast of Portugal, inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. Indeed, Admiral Boscawen allowed but two of the French ships to escape. This was in August, 1759.

The Brest fleet, lay at anchor month after month, indeed year after year, under the watchful eye of the British. Venturing forth at last, late in 1759, this fleet was closely followed by a British fleet under Admiral Hawke. Retreating southward, the French took refuge in Quiberon Bay. This harbor was protected by reefs, and with a violent gale blowing, the French felt secure. Hawke thought differently. Sailing through the treacherous reefs, and losing two great ships in the process, he proceeded to annihilate the enemy. It was the greatest naval victory of the war; indeed, the greatest victory in British history except Trafalgar. A popular toast at the time was, "To the eye of a Hawke and the heart of a Wolfe."

The victories of Lagos and Quiberon Bay were decisive not only for the immediate matter of invasion but also for the larger issues of North America and India. It was impossible thereafter for France to send reinforcements to those quarters. The fate of the French in India was decided by this circumstance alone. The disaster of Calcutta was quickly redressed by Clive, who with a British fleet effected its recapture. Setting up a rival nawab in Bengal, he then defeated the reigning one in the battle of Plassey (1759), a victory which marks an important stage in the history of the British Empire in India. Clive then gradually established British ascend-

ancy in the various native states in the southeastern coastal area, where the French had been predominant, and this was followed in turn by the capture of all the French trading posts. We must not, of course, imagine that the armies of the British and French East India companies were marching up and down the length of India after the fashion of an Alexander. Only a few coastal areas were as yet involved; the vast interior was practically untouched.

By the end of 1759 Pitt had won a great empire for England; but he was not satisfied. He wished to leave that empire secure. He wanted to leave France no colonies at all. Moreover, he believed that Spain was likely at any moment to come to the aid of France. Pitt planned to attack Spain before she could get ready. Unfortunately England acquired a new king in 1760. George III, twenty-two years old, was determined to re-establish the monarchy as a force in the national life. This determination had an immediate effect upon the war. Pitt was necessary so long as there was a war, but no longer. Accordingly, George decided to end the war. The king's peace policy found considerable support in the nation. The people were satiated with victories. The mounting cost of the war was becoming a matter of national concern. Thus when Pitt, in 1761, proposed an immediate attack on Spain the cabinet refused. The great war minister resigned.

### The Peace of Paris

The Peace of Paris (1763) is the greatest landmark in the history of the British Empire. Canada, and the Mississippi valley east of the river itself, went to England. To the English also was awarded the exclusive right of maintaining armed forces in India, a provision which was to lay the foundations for British India. On the other hand, much was restored to France for which there was little military or naval justification. She received back the best of her islands in the West Indies, Martinique and Guadeloupe, though part of the British public strongly favored the assignment to France of Canada instead. The French west African trading posts also were restored. On the other hand, Minorca was handed back to England. Pitt, whose fall had been cushioned by an earldom, opposed the peace from his place in the House of Lords in a speech which lasted for three hours and twenty-six minutes before he fell in a faint. He was especially bitter over the disposal of the West Indies, arguing that the restoration of some of their islands to the French endangered the security of the British islands.

## CHAPTER XVI

### *The Enlightenment*

IT IS PROBABLE that greater scientific advance was made in the seventeenth century than in the eighteenth, though the achievements of the latter were not slight. The eighteenth century, however, is notable as a time when science extended its influence from the physical to the social realm. It came to be the accepted view of educated men that the political, economic, even the moral problems of mankind are best solved by the methods made famous by the scientists, and, thrilling thought, that the laws of human affairs may be as easily discoverable as the laws of the physical universe. To this period of the application of scientific methods to human affairs has been given the name of "the Enlightenment."

#### Science Becomes the Fashion

It was the fashion to take an interest in science. Men of letters broadcast its findings in simple language. Oliver Goldsmith published a *History of the Earth and of Animated Nature*, in eight volumes. Voltaire wrote many essays on popular science. Benjamin Franklin, something of a scientist himself, offered to the readers of his famous *Almanack* astronomical and meteorological information, together with "jokes, witty verses, new fashions, and games for kisses." Anatomy became so much of a fad that a certain lady of fashion carried a corpse about in her coach to dissect in moments of leisure. The interest of the public was stimulated by the founding of museums, defined by Dr. Samuel Johnson as "repositories for learned curiosities." Largest of the museums and most valuable, though not the earliest, was the British Museum, founded by act of Parliament in 1753. Encyclopedias appeared, as the volume of scientific data increased. Early works of this nature, like that of Chambers (1728), extended to two or three volumes only. In 1751 there appeared in France the first volume of the greatest encyclopedia of the age, a work which extended through seventeen volumes of text and eleven of plates. The French *Encyclopédie* was as famous for the liberal opinions expressed by its editors as for its presentation of fact. (See p. 286.) The first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, so well known in our day, appeared in 1768. It would be a grave error, however, to assume that the achievements of science were either



as widely known or as appreciatively received then as now. The works of Voltaire, Franklin, and other disseminators of the new knowledge ran through many editions, it is true, but it is to be doubted whether the circle of their readers in France, for example, exceeded 200,000.

### The Philosophy of Rationalism

An earlier philosopher whose thought underlay much of the attitude of mind of the Enlightenment was the Frenchman René Descartes (1596-1650), whose mathematical innovations have been noted. Descartes had gone to the best schools only to become convinced, as he put it, that "I had advanced no farther in all my attempts at learning than the discovery of my own ignorance." He then tried the school of experience, both as a soldier in the Thirty Years' War and as a traveler. After several years spent in studying the book of the world, he said, "At length I resolved to make myself an object of study." His conclusion, published in the *Discours de la méthode* in 1637, was that the only safe guide to truth is systematic doubt. Descartes then outlined a method through which truth may eventually be discovered. "Resolve every problem into its simplest elements," he wrote; "proceed only by the smallest steps so that each advance may be apparent and compelling; take nothing for granted that is not perfectly clear and distinct."

The immediate "apostle of the Enlightenment," however, was John Locke (1632-1704). Educated at Oxford, this young Englishman practiced medicine for a time. The bent of his mind was always toward philosophy and politics, however, and he became the protégé of the great Whig leader Lord Shaftesbury. After the Revolution of 1689, Locke held an important post in the civil administration. His *Essay concerning Human Understanding* was published in 1690, the fruit of twenty years of thought on Locke's part and of discussions in a small circle of friends. Locke proposed "to inquire into the origin, certainty, and extent of human knowledge." He began by denying that there are such things as "innate ideas," that is, knowledge or principles of belief supplied to us from some source or by some authority outside ourselves. No, said Locke, the mind of man at birth is like a sheet of blank paper. Endowed by nature with five senses, and having the light of reason, "a candle of the Lord," set up in us, we learn by experience and by reflection on experience, and in no other way. Anyone who says there are ideas and principles which you must accept, without criticism, has some purpose of his own which he wishes you to serve. This is the first complete theory of knowledge in modern history. It was well known to all the thinkers of the eighteenth century and it had an immense influence.

## Social Philosophers

Inspired by Descartes and made confident by Locke, a host of writers proclaimed their belief in the ability of man to solve his problems by the free employment of human reason, and they proceeded to apply the acid of their thought to the conglomerate institutions of their day. Faced with the fact of religious intolerance, arbitrary arrest, and unequal taxation, or with instances of special privilege, they would inquire whether there was a reasonable basis for them. Their conclusion, as a rule, was that such practices had no basis except immemorial custom and usage. To exempt the nobles of France from the land tax, for example, might have been appropriate in the middle ages, but could have no justification in the eighteenth century when the nobility was society's ornament, not its defender. There is a higher law than that of convention; it is the law of man's nature. By nature man is endowed with certain inalienable rights. There is the right of liberty, for example: Voltaire defined it as "the entire liberty of persons and of goods; the right to speak to the nation through the medium of the pen; to be tried upon a criminal charge only by a jury of independent men; not to be judged in any case except according to the precise terms of the law; to profess peacefully what religion one wishes." There is the natural right of equality, also, a social equality that would obliterate feudal privileges, and an economic equality that would break down the monopolies of the guilds and the barriers to free enterprise erected by the mercantilist governments of Europe.

The temptation to explore the nature of man and expound its laws was one which few of the social philosophers of the time could resist. Moreover, philosophers were confident that their task was comparatively simple. "It has taken centuries to learn a part of nature's laws," said Voltaire; "one day was sufficient for a wise man to learn the duties of man." We, on the contrary, have come to the conclusion that human affairs are much more complex and resistant to analysis than physical phenomena.

While the natural rights of man were theoretically regarded as universally applicable, hardly any philosopher of the eighteenth century actually thought of them as rights of the masses. Ordinary folk were not enlightened, perhaps not even capable of becoming so. Voltaire believed that "the people will always be stupid and brutal"; and John Adams referred to the masses as "that great beast." In their definition of human rights the philosophes usually had in mind the special circumstances and needs of the middle classes.

Most of the countries of western Europe were represented in this philosophic school of thought, but the French writers dominated the age.

In England, the appeal to natural rights as an argument for change could have little force. Englishmen had habitually claimed their rights as laid down in Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights. Moreover, Parliament had made so much progress toward the attainment of civil equality and religious liberty for the middle class that England was regarded as a model by the rest of Europe. Parliament's capacity to effect social change, also, was presumably not exhausted. In Germany, social change of any kind was hardly a political possibility; philosophic enlightenment in the works of Lessing and Goethe took the form of flights of poetic imagination. In France, the Old Regime had yielded so little to the passage of time that political and social philosophers became perforce active propagandists for reform. The opinions of the French writers were the more influential because of the pre-eminence of the French language. As a contemporary observed, "An opinion launched in Paris was like a battering ram launched by thirty millions of men."

Practically all of the French philosophes sprang from the middle class. Voltaire's father was a notary; Rousseau was the son of a cutler. The authorities, both ecclesiastical and political, were pretty unanimous in regarding the philosophes as trouble makers. There was hardly one who did not see the inside of a prison; some of them did so more than once. Highly individualistic, the reformers engaged in one great cooperative enterprise, the *Encyclopédie*, under the leadership of Denis Diderot (1713-1784) and Jean d'Alembert (1717-1783). The purpose of the editors was quite frankly propagandist. For example, whatever specialty Voltaire was supposed to be writing about, he spent a large part of his time attacking religious intolerance. The period of French history between 1740 and 1775 was especially noteworthy for its output of detailed attacks on existing abuses. When at length the ideas of the philosophes became the common property of the French middle classes, revolution came.

### Voltaire

Voltaire was a typical representative of the French philosophes. Born in 1694 of a father named Arouet, the lad launched himself in the field of letters under the name of Voltaire. Gravitating to Paris, he quickly came into prominence as a free lance writer who displayed little respect for authorities and none for personages. He quickly made the acquaintance of the Bastille and after a second experience took refuge in England. There, for three years he immersed himself in English life, meeting everybody who was anybody, mastering the works of English scientists and philosophers, and between times wrestling with the inconsistencies of the English language. This last struggle, which has reduced many a lesser man to

tears, provoked Voltaire to the impatient exclamation that he sometimes wished a plague would take half the English language and an age the rest. Returning to France, Voltaire wrote a book called *Letters concerning the English Nation*, in which he praised the freedom of English institutions and the tolerance of the English church. In England, he observed, "the nobles are great without insolence and the people share in the government without disorder." Having witnessed the funeral of Newton in 1727, Voltaire remarked that in England they buried "a professor of mathematics like a king." His book was widely read by Frenchmen, for Voltaire was already well known; and the authorities gave it additional publicity by condemning it to be publicly burned as "scandalous, contrary to religion, to morals, and to respect for authority." The doors of the Bastille yawned wide once more, but Voltaire betook himself this time to the independent duchy of Lorraine, where he resided for many years. Indeed, during the remainder of his life, and he lived to be eighty-four, the great French writer felt constrained to reside within a few miles of the French frontier when not outside France altogether. After he became wealthy as well as famous, he settled himself as a country squire at a place called Ferney, four miles from Geneva.

Popularizer and propagandist, Voltaire wrote to be read. His style is marked by clarity and simplicity, and through it flows, almost always, a strong undercurrent of irony. He wrote no long book or treatise but an almost innumerable number of short ones; his works would fill about ninety volumes of modern print. In addition, he carried on an immense correspondence with persons of prominence throughout Europe. One of Voltaire's most famous correspondents was Frederick the Great of Prussia. So well did the two get on that Frederick made the mistake of sending, and Voltaire the mistake of accepting, an invitation to take up residence at Potsdam. The visit was marked by unseemly squabbles and recriminations. Frederick was a disciplinarian, and Voltaire was completely undisciplined, in addition to being a born mischief maker. When the men were again separated from each other by a distance of several hundred miles, the correspondence was carried on again as successfully as before.

Voltaire's writings covered an immense range. While not a political revolutionary, he nevertheless believed that the Old Regime was full of abuses which cried out for removal. He fought for the complete abolition of feudalism, for the destruction of arbitrary authority, for the equalization of taxation, and for the establishment of a system of public education. The strongest feeling of his life, undoubtedly, was his hostility to the church. He condemned the church of France as the enemy of enlightenment and the foe of progress. What angered him above all things was religious persecution. "Men will continue to commit atrocities so long as they

believe absurdities," he wrote. He was not the enemy of the Christian religion nor was he in his own personal beliefs an atheist. "I shall always be of the opinion," he said, "that a clock proves a clockmaker and that a universe proves God." Like his famous contemporary Dr. Johnson, Voltaire was almost exclusively interested in conversation and literature. Voltaire indulged as immoderately in coffee as Dr. Johnson in tea, and he was as thin as Dr. Johnson was fat. Voltaire scarcely ever took any exercise; he was all brain. He was indeed "a bundle of nerves charged with electricity that illuminated his century."

### Rousseau

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) reached the same goal as Voltaire, but by a different road. While Voltaire pointed out vices in the functioning of society, Rousseau, on the other hand, examined the foundations of social living. It should be emphasized that Rousseau expressly disclaimed the scientific approach. "Let us begin," he said, "by ignoring the facts, as they do not affect the question." The only safe guide to knowledge, he declared, is the "simple operations of the human soul," that is, sentiment and feeling. Doubtless he erred in ignoring the facts of science; but had not the other philosophes been mistaken in their assumption that man, even when enlightened, is completely rational?

Rousseau affirmed that the original nature of man is sound and good. Its corruption has been the work of civilization. It is imperative, therefore, that men change completely their political and social institutions and thus provide for themselves and their successors a natural environment. Then, to assure the continuance of that happy situation, there must be a law which will prevent any one man from gaining superiority over other men. Such a law, if it is to endure, must rest upon the firm foundation of the general will. This passion for democracy explains not a little of Rousseau's great influence.

Rousseau's view of the deteriorating effect of civilization was only too well exemplified in his own life. Born in Geneva in 1712, his mother dying within a few days of his birth, he grew up without a regular education or indeed training of any sort. Nor did he ever make any substantial progress in self-education, being too indolent and weak-willed to stick to anything for long. Arrived at man's estate, Rousseau readily placed the blame for his lack of worldly success upon society. Upon this convenient scapegoat he also laid the blame for his many moral lapses, for he knew himself to be by nature well intentioned. It is an ugly fact that he washed his hands of his illegitimate children by sending them to a home for foundlings. All this does not seem to be a very promising foundation for a career, and

yet at the age of thirty-seven, Rousseau became famous. Walking from Paris to the prison of Vincennes to pay a visit to his friend Diderot, at the moment confined within its walls, Rousseau read in a newspaper of a prize offered for the best essay on the question, "Has the progress of science and the arts contributed to the corruption or the purification of morals?" His reply was ready and it issued flamingly from the heart. Rousseau not only won the prize; he found himself a favorite of the reading public of Paris, especially of the fashionable sort. The squalor of his lodgings and the rudeness of his manners only added to the conviction of the folk of fashion that they were in touch with a man of genius. Rousseau quickly secured his fame by more extended discourses. In *The New Heloise* (1760) he preached the beauty of the simple life, a life completely free from the artificialities which civilization imposed. Women were especially prominent in the craze which this book inspired. Queen Marie Antoinette and the ladies of her court were carried away by the current fad, and they caused to be laid out in the gardens of Versailles an elaborate establishment called the Swiss cottage, where they might retire for brief intervals to live more simply.

In his book *Emile* (1762), Rousseau attacked the educational methods of the times, which in his view were chiefly responsible for the corruption of the social order. Education, he thought, should safeguard the individuality of the child and encourage its natural growth. *Emile* became and remains one of the most influential books on education ever written. In the same year there appeared the most famous of all his books, *The Social Contract*, with its famous first sentence, "Man is born free but is everywhere in chains." This book was to be known as the Bible of the Revolution. Nearly all of the radical leaders of the French Revolution were influenced by it. Indeed, the very words "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" are taken from it.

Whatever their effect upon society, Rousseau's books wrought no regeneration of himself. Unable to capitalize his fame, he soon resumed his wanderings. In his later years he became more and more unbalanced mentally, and he died in the same wretchedness in which he had for the most part lived.

### Political Science

It was inevitable that the new approach to human affairs should lead to a beginning of social sciences. To several thinkers it occurred that a science of politics was awaiting its discoverer; indeed, the term "political science" was used by Leibnitz. Endeavoring to deal with realities, as in physical science, the first political scientists took as their starting point the individual; "not man as a priest or a soldier, or a member of a guild

or an estate, but man as a base human being, a masterless man." Since there were laws governing the movements of heavenly bodies, there must be laws governing the relations of individuals in a social order.

Contributions were made to the theory of government and economics which were of great importance for the future and which had some effect even upon the institutions of the age in which they were written. John Locke, whose contributions to philosophy have been noted above, published, in the year of the accession of William and Mary, his *Two Treatises on Government*. His purpose, Locke said, was "to establish the throne of our great restorer, the present King William III, to make good his title in the consent of the people." Believing, as did Hobbes, that the basis of human society is a contract voluntarily entered into, Locke held that the original contract was designed not to set up some particular form of government but, more basically, to establish a society. Men were moved thereto by a common desire to protect their lives, liberty, and property. Once established, society made use of many institutions to safeguard and promote the interests of the people who compose it. Among these institutions is government. Society, or the nation, is thus much greater than the government; a government is merely the people's agent or trustee. As such it is expected to display industry, honesty, and common sense. Nothing is easier than to change trustees; it is actually society's plain duty to do so should the trustee fail, as James II had done, to fulfill the obligations of trusteeship. Locke denied that revolution meant anarchy, as Hobbes had taught. Locke, in fact, killed absolute monarchy; its basis was ownership, not trusteeship. Moreover, said Locke, the people must constantly scrutinize the work of their ruler. "The people is to sit as perpetual judge." Every general election is, in reality, a little revolution.

Locke's influence was both deep and wide. Parliament, which displaced the king as the ultimate authority in England after 1689, was at times neither honest nor wise; as a representative body, moreover, it was a perfect farce. Locke's teaching provided the parliamentary reformers of the eighteenth century with all the arguments they could want whenever they cared to use them. Leaders of the American Revolution drew freely from the same storehouse. "By nature all men are free, equal, and independent, and have the right to the uncontrolled enjoyment of their life, liberty, and estate," Locke told them. Furthermore, "it is the natural liberty of man to be free from any superior power on earth." Such ideas had a peculiar appeal to a frontier people.

Montesquieu (1689-1755), a Frenchman of ample fortune, devoted his life to study and travel and brought to his writings a wide knowledge of history as well as of contemporary life. His principal work, *L'Esprit des lois*, took twenty years to write, and it went through twenty-two editions

within a year and a half. "Law in general," he said, "is human reason; . . . the political and civil laws of each nation should be but the particular cases to which that human reason should apply." Thus he believed that the particular form of government which was best for a given country would depend upon circumstances such as physical environment, climate, even religion. Civil liberty flourishes best in a cool climate, he thought. Protestantism and republics go best together; Catholicism and monarchies. Montesquieu was a great admirer of the English government (he had lived in England two years) but he did not believe that the English form of government would necessarily be the best for France.

Neither Locke nor Montesquieu looked beyond the middle class as the beneficiary of the reforms they believed should come in the institutions of their days. Rousseau was the apostle of democracy. "Sovereignty," he affirmed, "is formed wholly of the individuals who compose it." Individual citizens, who should "each think his own thoughts," declare the general will by majority vote. The sovereignty of the people, moreover, is indivisible, irresistible, and indestructible. In a paragraph headed "Dictatorship," Rousseau argued that when the existence of the country is at stake, the democratic method may become an obstacle to the preservation of the nation. In such a case "the method is to nominate a supreme ruler who shall silence all the laws and suspend for a moment the sovereign authority." Rousseau insisted, however, that a dictatorship should be very brief, since the state is "either soon lost or soon saved." He did not foresee, perhaps, that demagogues might arise who would persuade the people that the existence of the country was at stake as a pretext for seizing supreme power.

Considerable time was to elapse before the political institutions of the Western world caught up with the theories of Locke or Rousseau. The English Parliament became representative of a considerable body of people only after the reform of 1832. Sovereignty of the people became fairly general in western Europe after 1848. With respect to Locke's principle that government is servant, not master, the battle has hardly yet been won.

### Economic Liberalism

In the field of economic theory an important advance was made in the age of the Enlightenment with the opening of the attack on the predominant institution of mercantilism. About 1750 a school of liberal economists appeared on both sides of the Channel. The founder of the French school was François Quesnay (1694-1774). Like nearly all of the philosophes, Quesnay was well acquainted with natural science. He had attained fame as a biologist and was the personal physician of Madame de



Pompadour and, later on, of Louis XV. During his long residence in the palace of Versailles, Quesnay devoted more and more of his time to economic speculation, a field of thought which had long fascinated him. Versailles thus became the seat of a group of thinkers who became known as *économistes*. To the volumes of the French *Encyclopédie*, Quesnay contributed articles on the farmer and on grain. In 1758 he published his magnum opus, *Le Tableau économique*. This work was regarded by his followers as the manifesto of the group, and it was proclaimed by them as one of the greatest works of human genius. By this time Quesnay had become so much of a favorite with the king that a special de luxe edition of *Le Tableau* was printed at the palace, the king himself lending a hand.

A few years after the appearance of Quesnay's book, there came to Paris as a visitor a well-known Scotch professor named Adam Smith (1723-1790). Smith had occupied the chair of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow for some years, but had resigned to become the tutor of the young duke of Buccleuch, and it was in that capacity that he resided in Paris for some months. Political economy was at that time regarded as a mere portion of the field of moral philosophy and was thus fair game for the Scotch professor. Somehow, and it could scarcely have been as a result of his studies at Oxford, Smith had become thoroughly acquainted with the scientific achievements and the creative thought of his day. Independently he had arrived at conclusions which were in the main the same as those of the great French economist. Needless to say, Smith joined actively in the discussions of the French group at Versailles. Upon his return to Scotland, Smith completed his researches and clarified his thought, and finally, in 1776, published a book which deserves to rank in its own field beside the famous Declaration penned in the same year by Thomas Jefferson. Smith called his book *An Inquiry into the Nature and the Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. What Quesnay and Smith did, we may say, was to substitute for the old system of mercantilism a new system of "natural liberty." In their view, economic regulations and restrictions of every type and of every degree should be swept away. Let the farmer alone. Urge every manufacturer, every merchant, to pursue his own personal interest without let or hindrance. *Laissez faire*. Everyone who follows his own personal interest in business will be "led by an invisible thread" to promote the good of all. Furthermore, they maintained, the mercantilists were wrong in saying that in trade one nation's gain is another's loss. The truth is that in a trade both sides gain. What is everyone's gain can be nobody's loss; consequently trade should be as free as possible. Even colonists should be allowed to buy and sell in whatever market seems to them to be most advantageous. Quesnay and his French associates went on to argue that the only true source of wealth is land.

They opposed mercantilism the more because they believed that its proponents favored industry and commerce at the expense of agriculture. The essential problem, in their view, was to secure an equitable distribution of the products of agriculture among the various classes of society. This result, they said, could be obtained only in a state of perfect liberty. Quesnay and Smith were alike in their belief that mercantilism fomented national rivalries. International solidarity and permanent peace, they felt, are the essential bases for the economic well-being of man.

The writings of these liberal economists were widely read, those of Smith especially, five editions of his book having appeared before his death. Nor was their teaching without immediate influence. One of Quesnay's disciples, Turgot, became the minister of finance of Louis XVI, as we shall see, and he struggled loyally, though vainly, to secure the adoption of his master's ideas. The English prime minister William Pitt was a close student of Adam Smith, and during the early years of his regime secured the lowering of tariff duties and the simplifying of the collection of revenue. He also negotiated a reciprocal treaty with France to provide for freer trade. Napoleon Bonaparte displayed much interest in the ideas of Adam Smith and put into effect several of the practical suggestions of the Scotch economist. The protracted and exhausting wars of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic period, however, held back the full fruition of the new economy for many years.

### Religion: Lethargy and Formalism

In religion, the age of the Enlightenment was on the whole a lethargic period. This is not unnatural, since the greatest period of religious strife in Christian history had just come to a close. Every government of Europe was invested with supreme authority in matters of religion; and many countries maintained a state church. Religious groups which had formerly fought for existence either went into exile or, as was oftener the case, exhibited an outward and formal compliance with the law of the land. Formalism, as well as lethargy, was a characteristic of eighteenth-century religion. To these twin features we must add an important effect of the scientific advance. The scientists did not repudiate God; they commonly accorded him formal, if cold, recognition. Newton affirmed: "This most elegant structure of the sun, the planets, and the comets could not have come into being except by the design and the authority of an intelligent and powerful being." That is just the point. Instead of the idea of God as a loving Father, caring intensely for each human being, surrounding him with every care, intervening in his behalf in answer to prayer, God became, in the eyes of many, a "First Cause." Having sent "the world

spinning on its axis for all time with one well-directed flick," God withholds himself from intervention in the affairs of the world and of men, allowing his immutable laws, once for all established, to do his work for him.

The theology of the period was transformed by the rise of Biblical criticism, which applied scientific methods to the study of the Scriptures. Thomas Hobbes questioned the historical accuracy of the Old Testament and asserted, also, that certain books of the Bible were not written by the authors to whom they were traditionally assigned. French and German scholars, both Catholic and Protestant, began to subject the Bible to critical examination, both as a whole and in its several parts.

One of the leading protagonists of the new religion, often called Deism, was Pierre Bayle (1647-1706). A Frenchman by birth, he had been Catholic and Protestant in turn, and finally became a skeptic. Finding France an uncomfortable place in which to live, Bayle migrated to Holland, where he settled as professor of philosophy and history at the University of Rotterdam. His greatest work was the *Critical and Historical Dictionary*, published in 1697. Philosophically a follower of Descartes, Bayle made effective use of a clever style and a native wit in examining and exposing the religious beliefs of the time. Protestant and Catholic authorities were of one mind in suppressing his books.

A noteworthy feature of the religious life of the age, however, was the growth of toleration. Statesmen were inclined to place the economic welfare of the state above the enforcement of strict conformity. Furthermore, religious indifference and skepticism formed a mental climate in which fanaticism could not thrive. Men who were deeply religious, on the other hand, and who found no solace in the state churches of the period were inclined to discount outward forms entirely. Finally, the philosophes of the age combined to place toleration on a rational basis. A man's religion is a part of himself, they affirmed; indeed, there is a natural religion, common to all men. This consists chiefly of morality, and they believed that its laws could easily be set down on one side of a single sheet of paper.

### The Pietists

The "cultured doubt" of the rationalists was counterbalanced by the emphasis of many on a religion of the heart. Strongly individualistic, this emphasis led in time to the break-down of the monopoly exercised by state churches and the multiplying of "free churches."

In Germany, in France, in England, and in the Netherlands there appeared religious groups whose insistence was upon a warmer spiritual life, a faith born of a religious experience and issuing forth in a transformed life. Among the Lutherans of Germany the movement was called

Pietism, and its founder was Philipp Jacob Spener (1635-1705). Though a Lutheran, Spener was educated at Calvin's academy in Geneva, and he was also greatly influenced by the writings of certain English Puritans. While pastor at Frankfort, Spener was distressed by the easygoing ways of his flock, and he began to hold meetings of the more spiritually minded at his own home twice a week for meditation, prayer, and the reading of devotional literature. Some time later Spener wrote a book about his group, which he subtitled "Heartfelt Longings for a Reform of the True Evangelical Church which will be pleasing to God" (1675). In this work he recommended the establishment in Germany of other groups, "*Collegia Pietatis*," as he called them, whence the name Pietists. This book brought him fame and widespread influence, and Spener occupied important churches in Dresden, the capital of Saxony, and in Berlin, where he enjoyed the friendship of the king of Prussia. With the patronage of the latter, Spener founded the University of Halle as a Pietist center, thus placing his movement on a firmer basis. Pietists believed that a conscious conversion through struggle and surrender, followed by a deep sense of peace with God, was the only normal type of religious experience. They also held that no man had any business to be a minister who did not feel himself called of God, and that a minister should devote himself to the spiritual upbuilding of his people and let politics and social questions alone. Doubtless these ideals were valuable. In certain individuals, however, religious emotionalism became so exaggerated as to result in "lachrymose self-complacency" and spiritual pride.

Among the more important Pietists of Germany was Count Zinzendorf (1700-1760). Early in life he was known for his religious emotionalism. As a lad he wrote letters to Christ, full of passionate devotion. At fifteen he organized a group of his companions into a "Society of the Grain of Mustard Seed." Seven years later some Moravians fled from the persecutions of their ruler in Bohemia, and Zinzendorf settled them upon his estates at Herrnhut in Saxony and became their leader. The Moravians were Pietists whose way of life resembled early Christian communalism. Their young men, young women, and older folk lived in separate groups under the rule of deacons; much property was held in common. When these social and economic customs, to say nothing of certain other bizarre features of Moravian life, were introduced to Herrnhut, the Saxon authorities intervened and Zinzendorf was banished. The pious count merely converted his exile into a missionary tour, founding communities in Holland, Switzerland, England, and North America. For two years (1741-1743) he lived in Pennsylvania, organizing Moravian settlements there, of which the most important, Bethlehem, retained its communal features for a century.

Another eminent Pietist was Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), whose father was a Lutheran professor of theology in the University of Upsala, in Sweden. After a brilliant career in various scientific fields—mathematics, physics, geology—Swedenborg was suddenly converted while well along in middle life (1745). He devoted himself thenceforth to the production of pietistic writings of a remarkably mystical nature. Some of his followers, inspired by his writings, organized the Church of the New Jerusalem. This church, commonly called the Swedenborgian Church, still retains its pietistic character.

### Quakers

Among English Protestants two important pietistic groups appeared, the Quakers and the Methodists. George Fox (1624-1691), founder of the former, was of humble stock, his father being a weaver. Both of his parents were known among their neighbors as God-fearing and righteous to an unusual degree. The boy, whose schooling never went beyond the three R's, was markedly religious from earliest youth. At nineteen he wrote in his journal, "At the command of God, on the ninth day of the seventh month, 1643, I left my relations and broke off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young." For four years the young man wandered from place to place, striving to find the inner peace which his soul required, frequently seeking the advice of ministers and other "professors." He got nothing to his purpose from such sources, it would seem. One minister advised him to get married; another, to enlist in the armies then engaged in civil war; another, to take up tobacco; still another, to try blood-letting. At last, with the aid of Christ Jesus, as Fox affirms, he found peace: "My heart did leap for joy." This simple-minded, self-taught man came to the conclusion that the Christian religion is pure spirit. It needs no churches, no clergy, no organization. Church steeples Fox denounced as idols. Sermons were impertinent, he thought, since God is indwelling and moves each spirit when and how he wills. Not unnaturally, these views, fearlessly announced, got Fox into trouble and he spent much time in jail. Here his splendid physique and uncommon physical strength stood him in good stead. He wrote and, in his intervals of liberty, he spoke unceasingly, proclaiming his message. Followers increased and a "Society of Friends" was organized. Among Fox's more important converts was William Penn (1644-1718), an English aristocrat who played a prominent part in the colonizing of North America. The Friends, or Quakers, as they are more commonly called, are to this day an influential and highly respected group. Their hatred of war and reliance upon passive resistance may yet serve as guideposts for civilization.

## Methodists

The Society of Friends was formed outside the established church, and it remained comparatively small. The Church of England itself was highly resistant to pietistic influences. Its clergy, especially those in high position, were in close dependence upon the landed aristocracy and shared their secular life. The theological views of the English clergy, as a whole, inclined to Deism. In their attitude toward their calling they were professional; in their performance of its duties, perfunctory. Voltaire described an Anglican sermon as "a solid and sometimes dry dissertation which a man reads to the people without gesture and without any particular exaltation of the voice." In 1729, however, at Oxford, the very stronghold of the English church, a group of students studying for the Anglican ministry formed an association of a pronouncedly pietistic nature. They called it the "Holy Club." Their leader was John Wesley (1703-1791). Disturbed by the prevalent coldness in religion, these young men determined to live a far more spiritual and disciplined life than was common among their fellows. They held weekly meetings where each member confessed his sins in the presence of the others. Not only was the question asked, "What known sins have you committed?" but the still more searching one, "What have you thought, said, or done that you doubt may have been sin?" They fasted every Wednesday and Friday, and through the whole of Lent. They visited the sick and those in prison. They exercised great particularity of conduct. Fellow students nicknamed them "methodists."

Wesley's work was mostly with the lowest classes of the population, at that time practically neglected by the Church of England. By modern standards their condition was indeed appalling from every point of view. Miserably housed in one-room cottages without sanitary conveniences, they lived on wages, whether in town or country, that were on a bare subsistence level. Drunkenness was extremely common, for gin was cheap. Brutalizing amusements like bearbeating and prize fighting, the latter between women as well as men, were the rule. Hospitals were few and bad. Jails were plentiful and very bad—sinks of iniquity, in fact, with no separation of the sexes. To England's underprivileged Wesley went with the message that God cared intensely for each one. Those not drawn by love might be driven by fear, for the learned Oxford scholar believed in a literal hell, full of fire and brimstone, as the sure reward of those who perversely refused to heed God's call.

Wesley wanted to keep his movement within the Anglican church, but his emphasis upon emotional values, his neglect of liturgy, and his preference for the lower classes gradually alienated the ecclesiastical

authorities. As pulpits were closed to him, Wesley took to preaching in the open and finally to building chapels to shelter his flock. Wesley lived and died an Anglican, but his followers soon organized an independent church in England; and in 1771, under the leadership of Francis Asbury (1745-1816), Methodism crossed the Atlantic. Theologically reactionary, English Methodism was socially progressive. Under its influence, it has been said, "a new spirit of tenderness and humanity began to melt the hard frost of the eighteenth century."

### Quietists

Pietist leaders in the Protestant churches had no immediate followers among the Catholics of Europe, of course. We may note, however, the appearance in the Roman Catholic Church of leaders and groups of a similar character. One of the first and most important of the leaders was a Roman priest of Spanish birth named Miguel de Molinos (1640-1697). He by no means rejected the church and its ministrations, but he insisted that the church was not enough. The indwelling spirit of God was essential to salvation, he affirmed, together with a passive acceptance of whatever befalls. This latter emphasis gave to the followers of Molinos the name of Quietists. For a time the movement was quite popular. Bishops, cardinals, and even a pope (Innocent XI) gave it their support. Most eminent of the followers of Molinos was the French bishop Fénelon (1651-1715).

Another such movement sprang from the teaching and writings of Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), a Roman Catholic bishop in the Spanish Netherlands who won a large following in France. Like many of the Protestant pietists, Jansen held that a definite conversion was essential to salvation, together with holy living. The Jansenists of France attained considerable fame through the monastery and convent which they founded at Port Royal, near Paris. Among the men of pious life who lived there was one man of genius, the noted mathematician and man of letters, Blaise Pascal (1623-1662). Unfortunately for them both, the Quietists and Jansenists incurred the hostility of the Jesuits, whose influence in official circles was all-powerful. Accusing them of heresy, the Jesuits secured from King Louis XIV of France the suppression of both groups. Molinos was convicted of heresy and died in prison. Port Royal was closed by the French king in 1709, and Jansenism was declared heretical by the pope in 1713.

During the eighteenth century, toleration became the policy of all enlightened rulers, even in Catholic Spain, and the changed temper of the times may be seen in the suppression of the Jesuits themselves. Indeed,

through the Enlightenment there came a fundamental change of emphasis in the Catholic Church: not authority but persuasion; not restraint but freedom of religious expression.

Especially gratifying was the dying out of the witchcraft craze. Most of the philosophers of the age, influenced as they were by the findings of science, argued against the existence of witches as contrary to reason. As religious fanaticism died down, a healthier attitude became possible and governments were induced to put an end to prosecution for witchcraft. The last trials for witchcraft occurred in the British Isles early in the eighteenth century (England, 1712; Scotland, 1722). In other lands the end came a little later (Spain, 1782; Germany, 1793).

### Classicism in Literature

One may discern an interesting and important phase of the Enlightenment in the literary style of the period. Sixteenth-century writers, and some writers of the seventeenth century also, had employed a florid style sometimes called, by analogy with the overdecorated art of the period, baroque. Sentences were weighed down with allusions, Biblical and classical; parenthetical asides were introduced; the word order was involved—deliberately so—some sentences needing to be “reread backwards.” Italian and Spanish writers were especially addicted to the baroque style, but England and France both had representatives. The most famous of the English exemplars of this style was John Milton (1608–1674), one of the greatest of English men of letters. Milton’s sentences, in poetry or prose, are sonorous and magnificent in imagery, but too long drawn out for modern taste. One has only to recall the first sentence of his *Paradise Lost*, which fills thirteen lines.

During the course of the seventeenth century, especially in France but also in England, many writers cast off baroque in favor of a style more direct, more precise, and above all, more intelligible. As Pope put it, later on:

Words are like leaves; and where they most abound  
Much fruit of sense beneath is rarely found.

One important factor in the revolution in style was the advance of science. Scientific men, especially the mathematicians, demanded a simplicity and lucidity in language comparable to that to which they were accustomed in their calculations. Descartes, Galileo, and Newton wrote with a neatness, an economy of words, and an exactness almost geometrical. It has been pointed out that, within ten years, the average length of sentences in the publication of a certain learned society of the period was



cut in half. A second influence on style was the appearance of a wider reading public. A writer formerly depended for his livelihood on a patron—prince of the church, monarch, or aristocrat. Gradually, as readers multiplied, a writer could count upon a "public." Louis XIV and England's Queen Anne are among the last examples of the royal patron. The death knell of the system was sounded by Dr. Johnson. Offended by Lord Chesterfield's belated offer of his favor, the learned lexicographer stigmatized the patron as "one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help." Writers who desired to reach the ear of the whole of the literate public began to prune away wordy excrescences and cancel the more recondite of their allusions. To assure authors of a reasonable return for their output, copyright laws were passed, England's first being enacted in 1710.

### Classicism in Education

The rational habit of mind which marked the leaders of thought and action was inspired, in the main, by the contemporary advance of science, but it owed something also to the cumulative effects of the classical education which had now for several generations been the staple fare of Europe's institutions of learning. Every school program, whether Jesuit or Calvinist, Lutheran or Anglican, had as its core the masterpieces of antiquity. Preachers filled their sermons with quotations from the classics; parliamentary debaters pointed their arguments with apt aphorisms in Greek or Latin; poets modeled their works on classical lines and made use of classical themes. In other fields, architects still drew inspiration if not instruction from the ruins of the forum and the acropolis, and painters lived and worked under the spell of the classical ideal of beauty. Order and law, methodical exactness and unemotional restraint, characterize the classical spirit no less than the scientific.

### Baroque Art

As an illustration of the pervasive character of the classical influence, as well as of the cultural oneness of Europe, we may glance at the architecture of the period. Throughout the seventeenth century and during the first half of the eighteenth, European architecture was dominated by a classical style known as baroque. This was a further phase of the Renaissance style. In the capitals of Europe, far more buildings of this style greet the traveler than of any earlier inspiration. Nineteenth-century taste, in reaction against the baroque style, condemned it for its divergences from the "purer" Renaissance pattern and pronounced it decadent. This

attitude cannot be justified. The large number of important buildings produced during this period, and their splendor, make it one of the most important in the history of European art.

Baroque structures are characterized by ornamentation and elaboration of detail. No longer content to achieve their effects by proportion and simplicity of line, baroque architects delighted in the lavish use of colored marbles and gleaming metals. To the dismay of the purists the architects of the period, in their zeal to arrest the eye, sometimes violated the laws of dynamics. Columns, whose normal function is to bear weight, were so twisted as to be incapable of doing so; architraves, which usually continue in straight lines like beams, were curved or even broken. In one of the squares of Rome stands an elephant with an obelisk on his back.

Rome was the center of baroque style. There a succession of popes put the finishing touches on the cathedral of St. Peter, and embellished its approaches. The cardinals, also, each in his quarter of the city, constructed palaces and laid out new streets and squares. The casual visitor to the Eternal City today is apt to be shown little that is not of this period. Especially remarkable are the numerous and splendid fountains in various parts of the city, the Fountain of Trevi by Salvi, and the Fountain of the Four Rivers by Bernini. Aqueducts built to supply the Rome of the Caesars were pouring into the seventeenth-century city a flood far exceeding its needs, thus enabling Rome to become, as it still remains, a city of fountains.

Greatest of the architects of the period was the Italian Bernini (1598–1680), who was employed by a succession of popes. He was also the greatest sculptor of his time, and it is significant that there is a sculptural quality about baroque architecture. The great altar of St. Peter's, with its bronze canopy, is Bernini's work. Adorned with twisted columns ninety feet high and loaded down with ornamentation, this typical example of the baroque was the labor of eight years. Bernini's also is the splendid approach to the cathedral, called the Piazza of St. Peter. It is in the shape of an open ellipse, the two arcs being 280 feet apart. In the center is an ancient obelisk, with a fountain on either side "waving its plume in the air." The two arcs themselves are colonnades of four rows of Doric columns. The whole, it has been said, "justifies the entire period"; it is "one of the finest monumental compositions in the world." Late in life Bernini was called to Paris by Louis XIV to consult with French architects on their plans for the completion of the Louvre. In sculpture, Bernini's best known work is his "Apollo and Daphne." As the ardent god stretches out his arms to clasp the fleeing nymph, she is transformed into a laurel, her fingers sprouting leaves and her body turning into the trunk of a tree.

From Rome the baroque style spread throughout western Europe. The result was a uniformity in architecture unparalleled since the fall of Rome. One of the most powerful influences both in spreading baroque and in securing uniformity was the Society of Jesus. Its great church in Rome is the Gesù, an early example of the baroque. The order set up an architectural adviser to see to it that Jesuit churches everywhere imitated the Roman model. In the world of palaces and public buildings a like uniformity was attained through the widespread imitation of the French style as exemplified in the palace of Versailles.

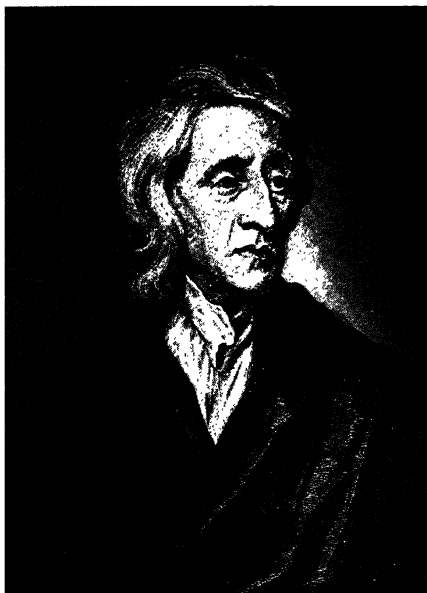
Practically every French architect of note spent a period of his apprenticeship in Italy. French baroque has a quality of its own, however; it remained more faithful to the earlier phases of the Renaissance, and it failed to follow the Roman models in their more bizarre aspects. Some of the most important public buildings of France were constructed in this period. Henry IV completed the quadrangle of the Louvre. Marie de' Medici, widow of Henry IV, built the superlative Luxembourg palace. The architect of the latter was Salomon de Brosse, after Bernini the greatest architect of the age. The Luxembourg gardens, also planned by De Brosse, are among the finest in Europe. Crowning glory of French baroque was Versailles. After Versailles the French Academy of Art stepped in to exercise a restraining influence on the further development of exteriors, while allowing the decorators compensating license in interiors. A consequence of this was the development of the rococo style of interior decoration, in which ornamentation runs riot with a superfluity of cupids, cherubs, and garlands, to the surprise and delight of the beholder. This style was especially characteristic of the age of Louis XV.

Spanish baroque shows both Roman and French influences. The Spanish monarchy continued to dominate the Italian peninsula to the Peace of Utrecht (1713), and cultural relations between Italy and Spain were close. After Utrecht a French Bourbon occupied the throne of Spain, thus opening the door to French influence. The old royal palace at Madrid burned down opportunely (1734), and the splendid new palace, thirty years and more in the building, became the finest example of Spanish baroque. From Spain, baroque spread to the New World, where the cathedral of Mexico City stands as one of the more splendid examples of the style. In humbler form the style was carried by Spanish missionaries northward into New Mexico and California. The so-called "mission style" of architecture was thus derived, a sort of rural baroque.

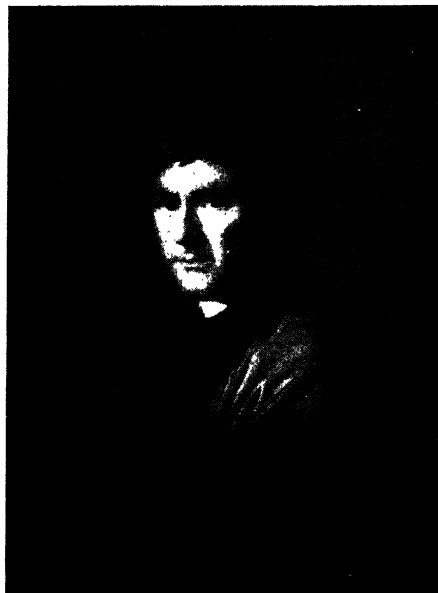
In England, Gothic held sway far longer than elsewhere in western Europe; in fact, it never completely died out. The first English architect of importance to follow the baroque style was Inigo Jones (1573-1652). He had studied in Italy and there fell under the spell of Palladio. Return-



VOLTAIRE (*pp. 286-288*)



JOHN LOCKE (*pp. 284 and 290*)  
From a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller

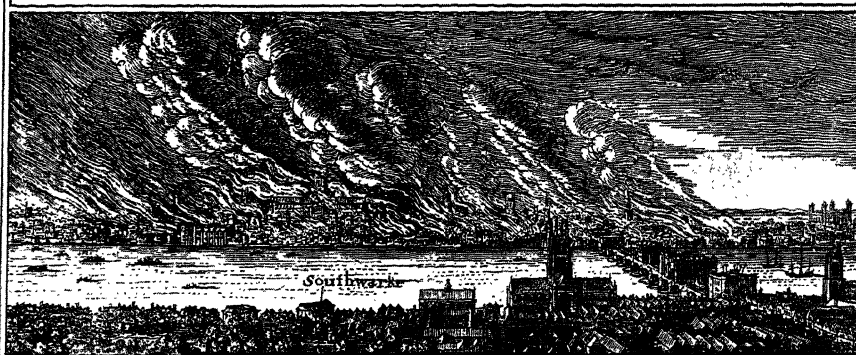


JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU  
(*pp. 288-289*) By Allan Ramsay



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON (p. 303)

PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF LONDON AS IT APPEARED IN THE TIME OF ITS FLAMES



*On the 2. of September in y<sup>e</sup> Years 1666 (being the Lords day) in the morning, there hapned a dreadfull Fire, in y<sup>e</sup> house of one J<sup>r</sup> Berner a Baker in pudding lane, which Continued till about 5 at night the Wednesday following; in which time it burnt 89 Churches, thirtene thousand & two hundred houses, 636 acres, of 97 Parishes within y<sup>e</sup> walls, there was but 11 left intire. One Robert Huibert of Roan in Normandy, upon examination, Confessed he was that fired the first house (viz) At Berners in Pudding lane, for which fact he was shortly after hanged at Tyburn,*

THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON (1666)

In four days a large part of the city was destroyed. In the midst of the flames is "Old" St. Paul's the largest Gothic cathedral in the world. To the right stands the "White Tower," begun by William the Conqueror. Spanning the Thames is London Bridge. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

ing to England as the court architect of James I, Jones rebuilt the royal Banqueting Hall of Whitehall palace, which had burned down in 1618. This set the style for English architects. The next great English architect was Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723). Trained in the classics, Wren turned to mathematics and astronomy, becoming professor of astronomy at Oxford. Commissioned by Charles II as court architect, Wren hastened to Paris (1665), where he studied architecture for six months, meeting Bernini and falling under his spell. In the following year came the Great Fire which consumed the heart of London, ruining St. Paul's cathedral and half a hundred other churches. Wren took the fullest advantage of his opportunity, and the ecclesiastical architecture of London and indeed of England owed much to him. English baroque in the period of Wren's work is characterized by simplicity and restraint.

From England baroque crossed to America, where it blossomed forth in the colonial style, familiar in the older homes and churches of New England, in the mansion which Washington built overlooking the Potomac at Mount Vernon, in the capitol at Washington, and in the many other imposing capitols which house the governments of our states.



## SECTION FOUR

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# Liberalism and Nationalism 1775-1871

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THE LAST QUARTER of the eighteenth century and the first three quarters of the nineteenth constitute a span of Europe's history which has an unusual degree of unity. It was generally accepted among thinking men that the individual was the unit of political society, that the barriers of class and the restraints of custom must be leveled down, and that all the choices and actions of the individual should be voluntary. The privileged classes of clergy and nobility were losers, and the middle class of merchants, bankers, and professional men the gainers, in the sweeping changes that took place. Absolute monarchies, prop and stay of the privileged classes, were constrained to become constitutional monarchies, sharing their authority with the representatives of the middle class. The philosophy of liberalism which led to these changes was partly English and partly French. The movement toward free institutions began in England, but it won its earliest success in America and its most sweeping triumph in France. France, indeed, became and long remained, for the continent of Europe at least, the mother of liberty.

The size and strength of the middle class was decisively increased by an economic revolution, the greatest in history. Beginning with England, Europe was gradually industrialized, with results not merely economic, but political and social as well. No century in human history has witnessed changes of similar extent in the material conditions of man's life.



During this period the nation-state attained a degree of centralized authority, and its subjects a consciousness of community, unknown to any former age. Here, too, France led the way. In their zeal for the transformation of the institutions of their beloved country, French revolutionaries gave to the nation organic unity. Napoleon, gifted opportunist, then achieved a dictator's place and used the splendid power of France to establish a personal empire. The forces released by Napoleon brought forth among the several countries of western Europe vigorous nationalistic movements similar to that of France.

The Congress of Vienna (1815) retarded the Great Revolution in Europe, but only temporarily. From 1820 to 1848 liberalism and nationalism marched side by side, with liberals usually in charge. Important insurrections in 1848, however, were mostly failures, and liberalism for the moment was discredited. Vigorous realists then came to the front, and political unity was achieved in Germany and in the Italian peninsula. In eastern Europe as well as in the west, nationalism and liberalism were beginning to make themselves felt. Russia, long reactionary, made a quarter-turn to the left. In the Balkan peninsula, national groupings became politically important and Turkish rule was partly thrust aside.

## CHAPTER XVII

### *Liberalism in Britain and America*

KING GEORGE III had shown that he could end one war; he was presently to demonstrate that he could stir up another one. It would have required statesmanship of a high order to avoid the American Revolution. In the first place, British taxpayers had become increasingly restless during the Seven Years' War. Landowners paid in taxes 30 per cent on their income, to say nothing of tithes and local rates. British merchants complained bitterly of American violations of the Acts of Trade.

#### Causes of the American Revolution

Trade between the colonists and the French in the West Indies had been brisk in time of peace, but with the outbreak of war, trading with the enemy so far from coming to an end was considerably increased. Colonial ships with full cargoes were passed through the blockade as the carriers of a few prisoners of war, who, incidentally, were obtained for the purpose. Still more transparent was the device of selling colonial cargoes to the Spanish merchants of Monte Cristi, Haiti, just over the line from French territory. In the year 1760, at the height of the war, from fifty to one hundred colonial ships a day might be found in that Spanish harbor. Pitt, who was in close touch with affairs and not unfriendly to the Americans, gave it as his opinion that this selling to the enemy, which the law prohibited but which the British navy could not prevent, prolonged the war with France by three years. It became increasingly evident that Parliament, with the close of the war, would demand a more efficient system of enforcing the Acts of Trade.

Another source of difficulty between England and America was the problem of colonial defense. On the eve of the Seven Years' War, colonial leaders had met at Albany (1754) to plan for the common defense. The conference ended in failure; the colonists were not prepared to agree even on a common policy toward the Indians. During the war the task of colonial defense was undertaken by Pitt with brilliant success, as we have seen. With the return of peace, however, the problems of defense still remained, though different in form. In default of colonial leadership the

home government assumed the initiative. Parliament, speaking for some of the hard-pressed British taxpayers, proposed that the small colonial army for peacetime requirements should be paid for, at least in part, by the colonials. Accordingly, a legislative program was gradually worked out, involving, first, stricter enforcement of the Acts of Trade, and second, taxation for the support of the requisite armed forces.

Protest was quick and decided. The Americans appealed to their rights as Englishmen and their rights as men. There was a higher law than that of Parliament, they contended. Its provisions were to be found in certain great documents of England's past, but still more clearly in the law of nature, "written as with a sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature," as the youthful Hamilton expressed it. The rights of Englishmen under the English constitution were but a partial formulation of the law of nature. "Government is a conditional compact between king and people," said James Otis, a compact made while men yet lived in a state of nature. "An act [of Parliament] against the constitution is void," said Patrick Henry. Such principles inspired the American revolt; they were also the basis of the new state and federal constitutions which followed.

### Political Radicalism in England

In England itself a similar movement of protest was already under way. This movement became known as "radicalism" because its leaders wanted to go to the root of things. The root of the matter was that as a representative body Parliament was a farce. The famous English institution had passed under the control of the aristocracy. The right to vote was greatly restricted. Of the 513 members who sat for England and Wales in 1760, as many as 254 represented fewer than 11,500 voters. Parliamentary constituencies, furthermore, were very unequal in size. The county of Middlesex, which included London, returned eight members to the House of Commons, while the county of Cornwall, with but a fraction of the population of London, returned 44. Many flourishing cities remained entirely unrepresented. "No taxation without representation" was a valid complaint in England as well as in America. Finally, the tone of parliamentary politics was low. Half a dozen great families contended for control of the machinery of government. Their resources were property and prestige; their weapons, intimidation and bribery.

English Radicals demanded equal representation of the people, annual elections, and the punishment of grafters and bribe-takers and their exclusion from future Parliaments. The immediate occasion for this agitation was the accession of George III. The young monarch had just completed his twenty-second year. Since the age of thirteen, when his

father died, the prince had lived entirely with his mother, and he exhibited during his whole career, according to an English historian, "the defects of a female education." No question arose in the first forty years of his reign on which this ignorant, opinionated, and obstinate sovereign was not in the wrong. He was wrong about America; he was wrong about Ireland; he was wrong about France.

George had come to the throne with a new idea of the place of the crown in politics. He proposed to make himself the most powerful figure in the country, setting himself at the head of a united nation. In this purpose he was following what in Europe was the trend of the age; all monarchs were endeavoring to increase their authority by making their rule appeal to the intelligence and good will of their subjects. An increase in the authority of the crown, however, was against the whole current of England's history.

George's policy was to build up a parliamentary party of his own. He planned to achieve his purpose through the distribution of social favors and political offices, by a judicious use of intimidation, and by the unlimited use of money. Bribes of £200 and upwards were distributed to the members of the House of Commons almost publicly. The king's distributing agent once acknowledged that he had expended £25,000 in a single morning.

Naturally the king had a long and difficult struggle. For some time he had to put up with a succession of prime ministers whom he could bend more or less to his purpose but could not control. By 1770, however, ten years after he had come to the throne, the king had won. He then selected as his political agent Lord North, whose principal virtue was blind loyalty to the king. During the next twelve years, 1770 to 1782, the king was his own prime minister, Lord North expressly repudiating this title for himself. The American period of George III's reign may therefore be divided into two parts: the years 1760 to 1770, during which the king was struggling for power, and the years 1770 to 1782, when the king was the acknowledged leader of the English Parliament.

### American and English Liberals Join Forces

Between 1760 and 1770 the American colonies were passing through the early stages of the revolutionary agitation: the Stamp Act of 1765 was followed by concerted resistance; the Townshend Duties of 1767 were answered by a general boycott of British goods; and the unrest of the period culminated in 1770 with the Boston Massacre. During this time the American leaders were busily engaged in perfecting their arguments against the new colonial policy. In appealing to the rights of Englishmen

and the laws of nature, radicals in both America and England drew upon the political theories of seventeenth-century England, with which they had familiarized themselves. An English merchant named Hollis, of republican leanings, brought out new editions of the works of English republicans like Milton, Harrington, and Sydney. These were widely read on both sides of the water. Copies which Hollis presented to the Harvard College Library were perused by James Otis and John Adams.

A conspicuous leader of the English Radicals was John Wilkes, a man of good courage but bad character. Wilkes took a peculiar pleasure in baiting the king and won a large following both in England and among the revolutionaries of America. On the floor of the House of Commons, in 1775, Wilkes said, "I consider it my duty no less strenuously to defend the rights of America than of England, and I feel an equal indignation against the oppressors of our fellow subjects whether at home or on the other side of the Atlantic." The Patriotic Society of London, at Wilkes's instigation, sent a note to "Mr. Adams of the American Congress," as follows: "Your cause and ours is one and the same. The present Parliament of England, not being duly elected, has no right to make any laws and consequently the people are not obliged to obey such as may be made by them. Be assured you will find in us every support in our power to give."

As an outgrowth of the struggle against the government in England a multitude of patriotic societies had sprung up—the Society of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, the Friends of the People, the London Correspondence Society, the Society for Constitutional Information, and many others. America had its own societies of like character, and between the American and the English societies there was a marked similarity in organization, in views, and in methods. Indeed, an active correspondence took place between the members of these societies on both sides of the water. John Adams of Massachusetts was elected to membership in the London Society of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights. The English societies were fighting the battle for the Americans, for they stressed the right of self-taxation in America fully as much as the rights of equal representation and annual elections in England.

Joseph Priestley, Unitarian minister, inspired by events in America and in England, wrote, in 1768, his important *Essay on the First Principles of Government*. In this work he says: "Men are all equal and their natural rights are indefeasible. . . . No man can be governed without his consent. . . . The people must be sovereign, and interference with their natural rights will justify resistance." It was Priestley, also, who coined the famous phrase "the greatest happiness for the greatest number." This is the same Priestley who figures prominently in the history of science and has been described as "the father of modern chemistry."

William Pitt, England's great war minister and late hero of the struggle with France, was another who was stirred by events in America. In 1771, on reading a statement of the "Rights of the Colonists" with a "List of Infringements" drafted by Adams and Warren, he declared, "These worthy New Englanders feel as old Englanders ought to do." And in 1775 he said in Parliament, "The spirit which now pervades America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money in this country. It is the same spirit which roused all England to action at the Revolution." Americans should read the debates in the House of Commons from the 20th of January to the 1st of February, 1775, on the motion to withdraw the troops from Boston. There is no essential difference between the principles enunciated in the speeches of Pitt and other English supporters of the American viewpoint and those expressed in the resolves of the Continental Congress.

The most important supporter of the American cause was Edmund Burke. Lord Acton says that the influence of the American Revolution on Burke is the "most significant instance of the action of America on Europe." In an address to the colonists Burke wrote: "We highly revere the principles on which you act. We had much rather see you totally independent of this crown and kingdom than joined to it by so unnatural a conjunction as that of freedom and servitude." And in the House of Commons he said, "In order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties we are every day endeavoring to subvert our own."

The Revolutionary War, down to 1778 and the French alliance, was a civil war between Englishmen quite as much as the war between Parliament and the crown had been in 1643. To quote the American historian John Fiske, "The American Revolution was not a conflict between Englishmen and Americans but between two antagonistic principles of government, each of which had its advocates and opponents in both countries; and Yorktown was an auspicious victory won by Washington for both countries." Of material help the English Radicals could give America little, for the king was in control of the government; but they kept alive an opposition in England, and in the end they helped force the government to make peace.

### The French, Dutch, and Spanish Aid the Americans

To the ultimate victory of the American colonists England's old-time colonial rivals made definite contributions. This was especially true of France. There is no evidence that the French government was inspired by motives of mere revenge. Still less was she motivated by sympathy, on the part of the authorities at least, for the revolutionary principles

which the Americans so greatly prized. France was interested in increasing the security of her West Indies, and in gaining some of the valuable trade with the American colonies from which her merchants were excluded by the British Acts of Trade. French aid, official and unofficial, was forthcoming early in the Revolutionary War, and it was placed upon a formal basis by the alliance of 1778. In the following year a French fleet seized the British ports in West Africa. In 1779 the French government also signed yet another family compact with Spain, a principal provision of which, on the Spanish side, was that there should be no peace until Spain had regained Gibraltar. That celebrated fortress was forthwith subjected to a three-year siege. Failing to capture Gibraltar, the Spanish took Minorca. Meanwhile France established her naval supremacy in the West Indies.

The Dutch also showed themselves greedy for American trade. Early in the war they opened up a supply base for the Americans in the Dutch West Indies island of St. Eustatius. Several other European powers, without going to war with England, threw the weight of their influence on the American side. During the peace negotiations the French sought to regain Canada and Nova Scotia, but their good friends the Americans vetoed this plan. France did make small gains at England's expense on the West Coast of Africa, in the West Indies, and in India. Spain recovered, besides Minorca, East Florida.

### Ireland Secures Legislative Independence

Revolt in America had been followed by serious unrest in Ireland, where the radical movement had had significant influence. It is a notable fact that the Irish agitation for a free Parliament, with sole right of taxation and legislation, began one hundred years before the American agitation. Ireland had had her own Parliament from medieval times, but a Parliament entirely controlled by the government in England. The arguments of the Irish patriots of the early eighteenth century resemble very closely those of the American patriots fifty years later. Dean Swift, for example, denied that Ireland was a dependent kingdom. "All government without the consent of the governed," he wrote, "is the very definition of slavery." The Declaratory Act of 1766, which asserted the English Parliament's right to legislate for the American colonies while withdrawing the Stamp Act, was a verbatim copy of an Irish Declaratory Act of 1719. Not unnaturally the outbreak of the American agitation filled the Irish patriots and their English friends with hope. In their manifestoes, the English Radicals always insisted upon the rights of the Irish along with the rights of the American colonists. Pitt condemned the claim of the

English Parliament to tax the Irish as emphatically as he did her claim to tax the Americans. Most of the Irish favored the Americans upon the outbreak of the American war.

The leader of the Irish patriots was Henry Grattan, the most eloquent and the ablest of the Irish leaders of the eighteenth century. When France intervened in the American war in 1778, Grattan organized the United Volunteers for the defense of Ireland, professing, however, entire loyalty to England. All Irishmen, Protestant and Catholic alike, were invited to join this citizens' army. A body of 80,000 armed men was built up. Later this great force was transformed in the hands of Grattan into a political weapon. "England has sown her laws in dragons' teeth," said an Irish patriot, "and they have sprung up in armed men." In 1782 Grattan demanded legislative independence for the Irish Parliament. Face to face with another America in Ireland, the English Parliament gave way. A Renunciatory Act was passed (1782), under which Ireland was to be governed by the English crown and an Irish Parliament independent of the Parliament of England. This act was a notable first step in the liberalizing of England's relations with Ireland.

### Decline in Influence of the Crown

The resounding victory of liberalism in America and its partial success in Ireland were a great stimulus to the radical movement in England. Defeat at Yorktown was a hard blow to the political prestige of George III. Public opinion made itself felt in the more representative constituencies, and a group of Whig leaders came into office in 1782, determined, as one of them said, "to give a good stout blow to the influence of the crown." Parliament voted to inquire into the representative system. In the following year the Whigs were influential in the grant of favorable terms to America in the Peace of Versailles. But that was all. The Whig leaders were factious; none had both the practical ability and the high character required for statesmanship.

George III had a final triumph when, in 1784, he turned the Whigs out again and handed over the government to William Pitt, the brilliant son of England's empire builder. The younger Pitt was a Tory, but an intelligent one who prolonged the life of the Old Regime by sound economic measures. His mild Toryism turned sour, however, when the wild excesses of the French Revolution shocked the civilized world. In fact, the hands of English reactionaries were then strengthened all along the line. Twenty-five years of war followed, and the inquiry into England's representative system which was voted in 1782 waited just fifty years for fulfillment.



### The British Empire: Indifference and Uneasiness

The loss of the American colonies had a profound effect on British opinion. It is hardly too much to say that for the time being the English people lost interest in their empire. The word "colonial" now meant a French-Canadian, or a West Indian Negro, or still more foreign, an Oriental. Both the military and naval establishments needed to defend these outlandish colonists were expensive. Nor were there compensating advantages in the way of colonial trade. England's largest overseas trade had been with her American colonies. Now that they were independent, their trade continued to be important to England—more so than that of her remaining possessions. Moreover, many English leaders felt that Adam Smith, whose famous book *The Wealth of Nations* had been published in the very year of the American Declaration of Independence, had been right about colonies. Given a certain stage of maturity, any colony will leave the mother country as a ripe apple falls from a tree. "Indifference tempered by uneasiness" well describes the attitude of the British public toward the empire for three quarters of a century following the Peace of Versailles. A minister of the crown apologized to the House of Commons in 1834 for venturing to discuss a colonial question; and one British publicist wrote at about the same time, "Colonial dominion has been the bane and curse of the people of this country." Many a British leader would have been glad to get rid of the colonies.

### Captain Cook

Of course Britain did not rid herself of her remaining possessions. Indeed, important developments began to take place immediately after the American Revolution—in fact, even during the war. In India were two men, each in turn governor general, Warren Hastings (1773-1783) and Richard Wellesley (1797-1805), who shared not at all in the prevailing pessimism. Under their leadership British rule was extended directly over a large part of India, and indirectly over nearly all the rest. At the same time England was laying the foundations for a new English-speaking empire in Australasia, though such an empire was far from being her immediate purpose. Britain's territorial claims in that area had been established by James Cook, greatest of British explorers. The son of a rural laborer, Cook went to sea as a boy and, like so many of England's famous naval commanders, came to the top on his merits. Unlike the ordinary run of British commanders, however, Cook developed pronounced scientific interests and made many contributions to the sciences of marine surveying and astronomy. His geographical dis-

coveries were made while he was the head of expeditions sponsored jointly by the Royal Society and the British government. Captain Cook's greatest achievement was to add to the sum total of geographical knowledge an acquaintance with the southern portion of the globe. On one of his expeditions he covered a mileage equal to three times the circumference of the earth. What was perhaps equally remarkable, in that age, was the fact that he made a continuous voyage of one thousand days' duration without the loss of a man. He had conquered scurvy. On one or another of his three famous voyages Cook thoroughly explored the coast line of the islands of New Zealand and the continent of Australia, and claimed them for England. All of these lands had been discovered much earlier by the Dutch—and possibly by others earlier still—but they had been utterly neglected.

### Australia Becomes a Convict Colony

Doubtless England would have allowed her new lands to fall into neglect, her attitude toward colonies being what it was, had it not been for a peculiar circumstance. The American Declaration of Independence had stopped the flow of British convicts to America. There were in the eighteenth century some two hundred offenses for which transportation was at least an optional penalty, and English courts provided the shipping contractors with about one thousand salable convicts per annum. Unloading her convicts on other lands saved England the cost of maintaining them; there was, indeed, a small flow of revenue in the other direction, since the convicts fetched twenty pounds apiece at the point of delivery. During the years of the American Revolutionary War, convicts perforce accumulated in British jails. At length Parliament got around to appointing a commission to survey such possibilities as might remain for transporting them overseas. The West Coast of Africa was tried briefly but abandoned, since it seemed that to sentence a British subject to certain death in the tropics increased unjustifiably the penalty already imposed upon him. Finally, upon recommendation of the commission, the newly discovered land of Australia was fixed upon. The necessary act of Parliament was passed, and Captain Arthur Phillip set sail for Australia with a cargo of 750 convicts. After some investigation on the spot he landed, on January 26, 1788, at Port Jackson near the modern city of Sydney. One of his first official acts was to hang two of his unruly crew. January 26 is now celebrated as Australia Day by the self-governing millions of that continent, a people more purely British than is to be found anywhere else in the world outside the British Isles. New Zealand continued for a long time to lie unsettled as British colonial enterprise flagged,

## CHAPTER XVIII

### *The French Revolution*

FRENCH REFORMERS had long looked upon England as a model, and the activities of the English Radicals gave them fresh hope. For half a century the leaders of thought in France had been unanimous in their verdict that the institutions of their native land were irrational, outworn, and unsuited to the use of an enlightened country. Then came the American Revolution. Its brilliant success convinced the French reformers that it could happen there. Revolution broke out in France not because her social and economic conditions were the worst in Europe, for they were not. France was first because there the middle class was sufficiently strong and enlightened; in a moment of crisis, it was able to thrust aside the monarchy and the privileged classes and assume the leadership of the nation.

#### Bankruptcy of the Government

The immediate cause of revolution was bankruptcy. The French monarchy was accustomed to spend as much as it pleased, without estimating probable expenditures in advance, and then to levy taxes to meet the bill. No government can economize in wartime, but the French government seemed unable to effect retrenchment even in time of peace. Year by year more officials were added to the payroll; year by year the list of pensions lengthened. Meanwhile privileged persons and privileged property continued to be exempt from taxation, and the cost of collecting taxes increased. Government finances reached a stage little short of desperate in the reign of Louis XV, who had trusted that things would hang together until his death (1774). During the next fifteen years the national debt of France, it was estimated, multiplied by three.

#### The King and Queen

It may be doubted whether any French king, even a Henry IV, could have rescued the monarchy under the existing circumstances. The king who had succeeded Louis XV, however, was one of the weakest in the whole long line of French monarchs. Louis XVI, twenty years old at his

accession, was unkingly in appearance and bearing. He had an inordinate fondness for the royal pastime of hunting, however, and no taste for affairs of state or capacity to deal with them. His mind was not active and he came to decisions slowly. This last quality was not too bad in itself, but the king had the further weakness of precipitately abandoning his hard-won decisions under the slightest pressure from persons or circumstances. In this respect Louis was quite unlike his contemporary George III; having come to a decision, however wrong-headed, George stuck to it. Louis's utter lack of self-confidence was perhaps his greatest defect. "It seems as if the universe had fallen on me," he exclaimed at his accession; and to a minister who was resigning, the king said with feeling, "I wish I could resign too."

Louis XVI's queen, who was never an asset to him, became in time a dangerous liability. She was much quicker than the king in every way and much surer of what she wanted, which was chiefly a good time. Only a year younger than Louis, Marie Antoinette used to set the clocks ahead so that her husband, who always slept well, would go to bed the sooner and thus leave her to her own devices. Careless of her queenly dignity, she went about insufficiently chaperoned and played for high stakes. Both her mother, the Empress Maria Theresa, and her brother, Joseph II, pleaded with her to realize more fully her responsibilities and to live up to them. As monarchy became increasingly unpopular, the animus of the people vented itself upon the queen; indeed, it was as a focus of anti-monarchical sentiment that she achieved political importance. The queen of France was probably not a bad woman; in private life she would have been popular, harmless, and decidedly ornamental. There was no doubt in the minds of the French people, however, that Marie Antoinette was an adulteress and that she would not hesitate to betray the national honor.

### Attempts at Reform

Conscious of the imminence of bankruptcy—as who was not?—the young king summoned to the office of minister of finance, shortly after his accession, the one man in France best fitted to deal with the situation. This was Turgot. For fifteen years he had been an intendant and had put into practice in his own quarter of France a program of financial reform which had made him famous. He was also well known as a disciple of Quesnay. (See p. 291.) Turgot's policy was simply to limit expenditures to income. He planned to abolish thousands of offices, to cancel long lists of pensions, and to end the contracts with the tax farmers. Beyond that he dreamed of sweeping reforms in the taxative and even in the social system of the nation. "I shall be feared," he wrote to the king, "hated,

protested by the great majority of the court, by all those who solicit favors." He was right. The well-intentioned king stood up against the pressure of queen and court as long as he could. When he was unable any longer to bear the cross words and sour looks of those by whom he was constantly surrounded, he dismissed his minister.

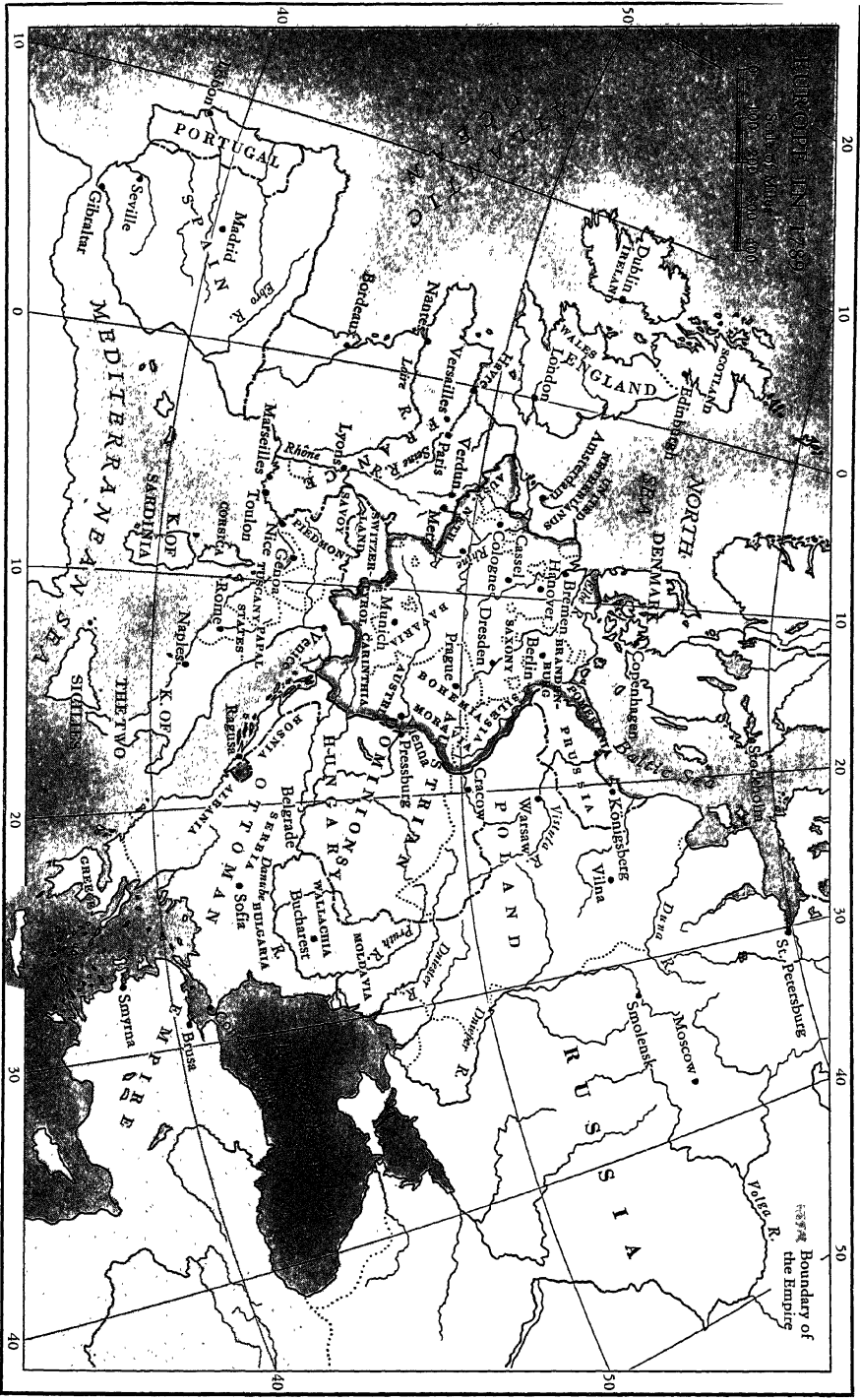
Louis's second selection for minister of finance was also an excellent one. He chose Necker, a Swiss who had migrated to France and become one of the nation's outstanding bankers. Necker's policy as minister was essentially the same as that of his predecessor, and necessarily so. He moved more slowly, however, and lasted longer. Inspired by sound banking methods, he ventured after a few years in office to publish not indeed an estimate in advance, but a statement of what had actually been received and spent for a year. This statement revealed among other things that the interest on the national debt alone absorbed 53 per cent of the total revenue. Among other items in Necker's balance sheet were the amounts paid out to the members of the court, whether for services, mostly nominal, or as outright gifts. Outraged at this inconsiderate publicity, the courtiers forced Necker to resign.

We need not follow the story of French financial history further. The time came, in the summer of 1788, when the government could go on no longer. Salaries were unpaid and pensions in arrears; for the day to day expenses of the royal household, sums of money were being diverted from the hospitals. What brought matters to a crisis was the fact that the bankers would loan the government no more money on any terms. The nation had long been cognizant of the state of affairs. For months provincial assemblies, parlements, political pamphleteers, and other organs of opinion had been voicing a demand that the endless financial fumbling be brought to an end. More concretely, a cry arose for the summoning of the Estates-General. In August, 1788, the king assented, setting the first of May of the following year as the date of meeting.

The Estates-General had last met in 1614, but its composition was still familiar. It had sat in three houses, representative of the three classes of clergy, nobility, and commons. A project of law was deemed accepted if favorably received by two of the three houses. Adverse action by any two houses killed a bill. This medieval plan of representation and procedure was unacceptable to the reformers. "What is the Third Estate?" demanded one famous pamphleteer. "Everything," was his reply. "What has it been in the political order up to the present? Nothing. What does it ask to become? Something." Yielding to the demand of spokesmen of the Third Estate, the king granted it double the number of representatives allotted to the other two houses.

The Estates-General had hardly begun its sittings when representatives

EUROPE JAN 1789  
Scale of Miles  
0 10 20 30 40 50





of the Third Estate demanded that they be recognized as the National Assembly of France, charged with the work of reform. Wishing to be fair, the Third Estate invited the members of the other two houses to join with them. This the upper houses refused to do, though the vote in the House of Clergy was close. A political deadlock ensued and went on for weeks. Finally the king decided that he must intervene. Summoning the three houses before him, he told them to resume their separate sittings and get on with their work. Being informed shortly afterwards that the members of the Third Estate had stubbornly remained right where he had left them, the king weakly gave way. "They mean to stay?" he said. "Well, then, damn it, let them stay." He thereupon ordered the other two houses to join them. Whether he knew it or not, Louis XVI had acquiesced in a revolution.

### The Work of the National Assembly

The National Assembly sat for twenty-seven months, working very hard. It was making up, so to speak, for what a French legislature might have done during the past two hundred years. The work of the National Assembly was the most important and enduring accomplishment of the whole revolutionary period. It drafted a new constitution, transforming the government of France both central and local. It drew up a declaration of rights to serve as the ideological basis of a new social order. It reconstituted the church. It abolished the nobility. It opened the door of opportunity to all. Incidentally, it dealt with the problem of bankruptcy.

These achievements were the work of the rank and file, for the 1200 members of the National Assembly had no pre-eminent leader. The Marquis de Lafayette was the logical choice for the post. He was widely and favorably known for his opposition to the government. He had won great prestige by his personal intervention in the American war. Lafayette was very far from being a creative thinker, however. In plain truth, he was not far from being a man of straw. A much abler man was Mirabeau, also a member of the nobility. Mirabeau was already well known as a political pamphleteer; he was probably the ablest political writer of his generation. His views were both constructive and moderate. He believed that France should have a legislative assembly with full authority over taxation. He believed that taxes should be levied from all citizens in an equal manner. He believed in freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of worship. In all of these beliefs Mirabeau was backed by a preponderant majority of the National Assembly, whose president he was for a time. A large man with a strong voice and a ready tongue, Mirabeau had great political assets. Unfortunately he also had serious defects of character. He was notorious for his debts and for his vices. People did not



trust him. Lafayette and Mirabeau would have made a grand team, Mirabeau supplying the brains and Lafayette the prestige, but they could not work together. Without leaders of compelling qualities, it is clear that the average ability of the members of the Assembly must have been high.

In addition to transforming French institutions, the National Assembly found it necessary to enforce law and order. The financial bankruptcy of the monarchy signalized, apparently, its moral bankruptcy as well. Collapse of prestige was accompanied by collapse of authority. Not long after the Assembly had begun its work, there occurred the famous assault by the people of Paris on the Bastille. Economic distress made the mob excitable. The wheat crop of 1788 had been poor, and during the summer of 1789 bread was twice the usual price. The long struggle of the Third Estate for supremacy had still further roused the Parisians. Rumors reached Paris, where they were industriously spread by radical journalists, that the king was gathering troops in the neighborhood of Versailles preparatory to overawing the Assembly by force. At just the wrong time, or the right time, the king played into the hands of the radicals by dismissing a popular minister. In a spontaneous movement, as spontaneous as such movements ever are, the people of Paris, on July 14, vented their overwrought feelings against the famous symbol of arbitrary power which had stood so long in their midst. First looting the stores for bread and arms, the mob advanced against the frowning fortress-prison of the Bastille. The small garrison could easily have held out but suffered itself to be overawed. Though they surrendered to the leaders of the mob under promise of safe conduct, the commander and most of his men were hacked to pieces. Only seven prisoners were to be found in the many cells of the Bastille at the time, none of them political. As a symbol of the Old Regime, however, the fortress was leveled to the ground and its stones were scattered broadcast through France, and even through Europe, as mementoes. The anniversary of its destruction was celebrated as a national festival in the very next year.

Frightened by this brutal intervention of the mob, as well they might be, French nobles began to migrate. Meanwhile the revolutionary spirit spread. Bourgeois leaders of Paris organized a revolutionary municipal government known as the Commune. Similar action was taken in most of the other large cities of France, in some cases even before the news had come of events in Paris. Nor was the revolutionary movement merely urban. It spread like wildfire through the peasants of the countryside. Of all the ills of society social disorder is the most contagious. The wildest rumors were in circulation. The peasants believed that their lives and homes were in danger, though from what, nobody exactly knew. Moved

by this "Great Fear," as it has been called, the peasants seized their scythes and forks and demanded of their landlords the abolition of feudal customs and feudal rents. Sometimes they gave rough emphasis to their ultimatums by setting fire to manor houses and other buildings. Strange to say, few lives were lost. The aim of the peasantry, it was clear, however, was the complete abolition of feudalism.

Further and conclusive evidence of the collapse of governmental authority was manifest in the events of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789. The populace of Paris was again uneasy. News spread that certain measures of reform advanced by the Assembly were being stubbornly resisted by the king. Radical journalists again leaped to the attack. They reported that army officers at a regimental banquet tendered by the king at Versailles had trampled on the tricolor. This was enough to set the mob in motion, for economic distress continued to be acute. On the 5th of October several thousand women of the working classes of Paris marched on the Hôtel de Ville demanding bread. Somehow they were diverted to Versailles, where they pressed their demands upon the king. Overnight the cry for bread was transformed into a demand that the king and queen come forthwith to Paris. Wonderful to relate, the king yielded and, accompanied by the queen and the dauphin and a great company of hungry women, set out for Paris, the women chanting, "We have the baker and the baker's wife and the baker's little boy, and now we shall have bread." A few days later the National Assembly also installed itself in Paris. Thenceforth, while they lasted, neither monarchy nor Assembly was ever free from the pressure of the mob. The hall in which the Assembly resumed its sittings was surrounded by three large galleries, often packed to the ceiling. Thousands more gathered outside. The pressure of the galleries was increased by a rule of the Assembly that each member must rise when his name was called and announce his vote in person.

### Radical Reforms

Turning to the constructive work of the Assembly, let us begin with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. In a preamble and seventeen articles this document summarizes the ideas of eighteenth-century reformers. "Men are born and remain free and equal," it declared. "All sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. Law is the expression of the general will and should be the same for all. No person shall be arrested or imprisoned save according to the forms of law."

The new constitution drafted by the Assembly provided for a single legislative chamber of 745 members, with a two-year term. Only taxpayers could vote, but the qualification was the equivalent of only three

days' wages. It is estimated that some four million persons out of six million adult males were thus enfranchised. The legislature was invested with complete control over finances. The king and his court were limited, in the new budget, to twenty-five million francs a year. In legislative authority the crown was limited to a suspensive veto; that is, any measure passed by the Legislative Assembly might be vetoed by the king; if the next legislature re-enacted the same measure, the king might veto it again; but if the measure were enacted for a third time, it became law regardless of what the crown might do. The debate over the royal veto was the most bitter and prolonged of all the constitutional arguments. To the time of their deaths the nicknames of Monsieur and Madame Veto were applied to the king and queen.

Sweeping changes were also made in the local government of France. All the ancient provincial boundaries were erased in the zeal of the National Assembly to bring unity to France. The nation was divided into eighty-three departments, each named for its principal geographical feature. The departments were subdivided into cantons, and the cantons into communes. In all of these divisions and subdivisions, elected officials and assemblies replaced the appointive officials of the Old Regime. In rural communities government promptly fell into the hands of groups that were largely illiterate. A communal report of the period bears the signature of the priest with the notation that "the mayor, the municipal council, and the procureur of the commune do not know how to sign their names."

The National Assembly also sought to inaugurate a new social order based on equality, not privilege. "Hereditary nobility," it decreed, "is forever abolished. Titles of nobility shall neither be taken by anyone whomsoever or given to anyone. . . . All citizens without distinction of birth are eligible to any office and dignity. . . . Every person shall be free to engage in such business or the practice of such profession, art, or craft as he shall find profitable."

What the National Assembly should do for the peasants was an important question, for twenty-two out of twenty-six million Frenchmen, perhaps, were peasants. Seventy per cent of the peasants were practically owners of the land they cultivated. That is, although they paid certain dues and performed certain services for their landlords, neither dues nor services amounted to anything substantial. What the National Assembly actually did was to discontinue the dues and services which might be called personal, leaving the vastly more important land rents intact. Such, at least, was the Assembly's intention. But the peasants, unable or unwilling to make such distinctions, assumed that all their rents had been swept away. A few years later, legislation corresponding to the facts was

passed. As yet no one in authority paid much attention to the still more important question of whether peasant holdings were sufficient for the subsistence of peasant families. Nor was any attention paid as yet to the needs of the 30 per cent of the peasants who were landless.

There remains the problem of governmental finance, to which the National Assembly gave attention early and often. The old land tax with its many inequalities was swept away. So also was the hated salt tax. New taxes were levied on land and on profits, but the yield proved to be quite insufficient for the needs of government. Loans were still difficult to float, since the Old Regime had lost what little prestige it had and the new regime had not yet enlisted the bankers' confidence. To meet current expenses and provide for future needs, the Assembly turned its thought to a project which had often been suggested in French history, namely, the confiscation of the lands of the church. The plan was that the state should take over church lands, together with the estates of certain of the nobles who had left France, and hold them for sale at a specified value. Against the total value of this land, variously estimated at 12 to 20 per cent of the national wealth, was to be issued paper money called *assignats*. The plan was of course a perfectly sound one if kept within limits. The old livre, whose value was about nineteen cents, was now replaced by the modern franc of the same value.

The reformers of the Enlightenment were not antireligious, but they were anticlerical. They had a high opinion of the usefulness of the church as a national institution engaged in educational and cultural tasks, but they believed that it should be subordinate to the state. This was evidently the viewpoint of the majority of the National Assembly. First, the monasteries were closed, since it was felt that their time of usefulness was past. Monks and nuns were pensioned, but for the future, monastic vows were prohibited. The lands and most of the other property of the monasteries were confiscated. There remained the vastly more important matter of the secular clergy. This was dealt with by a legislative measure called the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, by which the church became an institution of the state. Instead of 140 bishops, France was to have, in future, 83, or one for each department. Bishops and priests alike were to be elected by the qualified voters, non-Catholic as well as Catholic. The clergy, like all other officials, were to be paid salaries by the state. The salaries of bishops were fixed at twenty thousand francs, as a maximum, and for priests at four thousand francs. The business of bishops and priests was to teach morality, the law affirmed; the function of the church, to make good citizens. The authority of the pope was not repudiated in its entirety but was restricted to the realm of theological dogma. All tithes were abolished. Religious toleration was to be enforced. All bishops and

priests were required to take an oath to support the new constitution of church and state. Most of the men who enacted these tremendous changes probably felt themselves to be good Catholics. It is doubtful whether they fully grasped the implications of their own measure.

It is not surprising that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was condemned by the pope. All but seven of the 140 bishops of France and approximately two thirds of the parish priests likewise repudiated it, refusing to take the required oath. The papal condemnation was announced in April, 1791, in a bull which declared that the whole of the new constitution was based on heretical premises. This action of the pope, supported as it was by many Catholics, divided the French nation into two hostile camps, thus investing the church-reform program of the National Assembly with greater import for the future than any other act of its history. With bishops and priests in revolt against the new constitution before it was even installed, and with thousands of the nobility in voluntary exile, the outlook for the new regime was further darkened by the flight, on the night of June 21, 1791, of the royal family.

### Flight of the King

As a good Catholic the king had been profoundly moved by the pope's repudiation of the constitution. Furthermore, the members of his court were convinced that the new regime would find little support in the nation. For weeks the queen and her closest friends had urged the king to leave Paris, place himself at the head of his troops in the north of France, and launch a counter-revolution. The king at length agreed and the attempt was made. It was badly managed. Desiring to travel in comfort, accompanied by his servants, the king had an especially large carriage built to order. The coach made the king's journey slow when it should have been swift. With the border but twenty miles distant, Louis stupidly exposed himself and was recognized. Detained by local authorities, he was returned to Paris by order of the National Assembly, amid the jeers and insults of the crowd. Both the king and the leaders of the National Assembly made every effort to proceed as though nothing had happened, however. The king accepted the constitution, and with the adjournment of the National Assembly on the 20th of September, 1791, he announced that the Revolution was over.

### The Legislative Assembly

The Revolution might well have ended at this point. The reforms effected by the National Assembly during the two years of its life had been

needed and, in general, were moderate. It was to them that France, after more than two decades of revolution and of war, eventually returned. It is characteristic of the revolutionary process, however, that it is impossible to stop at a predetermined point. There was in France an embittered minority of nobles and clergy with their sympathizers who thought that the Revolution had gone too far. There was also an aggressive minority of Frenchmen who, while not antimonarchical, thought that it had not gone far enough. The leaders of the latter group dominated the Legislative Assembly which, elected under the provisions of the new constitution, came into session October 1, 1791. They were known as the Girondists because many of them came from the department of the Gironde. Learning that noble and clerical émigrés were endeavoring to organize a counter-revolution with the aid of foreign governments, the Girondists made up their minds quickly: "The Revolution needs a war to ensure its success." Within less than a year after the proclamation of a new constitution the Girondists had deliberately involved France in a war.

Like all good revolutionaries the Girondists felt themselves to be the missionaries of a new world order. They felt that the French law of equality should be made universal; that the Declaration of Rights was written for other peoples as well as for the French. If war was what they wanted, it would not be hard to get. The news from France had had a rather mixed reception in Europe. There was undoubtedly a minority, however small, in every country of western Europe which welcomed the events in France, a minority made up of bourgeois intelligentsia whose situation and whose ideas were sufficiently similar to those of the French reformers as to inspire them with the hope that what had happened in France might happen in their own countries. The appeal of the Revolution in France was the greater because of the prestige of France. Great in population, great in resources, great in war, great as an empire builder, France also had been for a long time the premier state of Europe in her cultural pre-eminence.

Of course feelings of this sort did not move the Old Regime monarchs who then stood at the head of the house of Hapsburg, the house of Hohen-zollern, and the house of Hanover. French émigrés, both noble and cleric, found a ready welcome in Germany and remained there to further the downfall of the new order in France. Emperor Leopold II and King Frederick William of Prussia met in solemn conclave in August, 1791, and resolved that "the re-establishment of order and absolute monarchy in France is the concern of all the rulers of Europe." It may be doubted whether zeal for the French monarchy was of the first importance in the motivation of the two sovereigns. Eighteenth-century monarchs were not, ordinarily, crusaders for an idea. At the moment Poland was central in

the thoughts of both Leopold and Frederick William. The Revolution meant that France would not have to be considered in their calculations. And might not France herself be the subject of a partition treaty if revolution continued? While not averse to a war with France, the two sovereigns were not immediately seeking one. Their hands were forced, however, by the war party in France, which on April 20, 1792, declared war upon the emperor as a conspirator against the Revolution. The war thus begun was destined to continue, with intervals, for twenty-three years.

### France Invaded

The war was not many weeks old when France was threatened by invasion both by an Austrian army from Belgium and by a Prussian army on the Rhine. The terrible tidings soon reached Paris that as the Austrian army advanced, the French troops had run away without fighting. The explanation was offered that the men in the ranks had lost confidence in their own officers, drawn as they were from the noble class, and that they questioned the officers' loyalty to the Revolution. French radicals exploited to the limit the dreadful news with its sinister implications. Meanwhile the Prussian army had crossed to French soil and was bearing down on Paris. At that point the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the Prussian troops, published, in deference to the wishes of highly placed French emigrés, a most impolitic manifesto. He declared that "if the least violence or outrage be offered to their majesties the king and queen and the royal family, Paris will be destroyed." The effect of this announcement in Paris can easily be imagined. Radical editors and pamphleteers, having whipped up the anger of the mob, directed it against the royal family. On the 10th of August the mob advanced on the palace. The king and queen with other members of the court took refuge with the Assembly, while the mob roared through the palace looting and destroying. The Swiss Palace Guard of about one thousand, well armed and ready to do its duty, was ordered by the soft-hearted king not to fire on the mob, and the obedient guardsmen were cut down almost to a man.

### The Monarchy Suspended

Propelled by the impact of events, the Legislative Assembly voted the suspension of monarchy and placed the king and queen in protective custody. Its next step was to order the election of a new legislative body to take over the government of France, thus writing "finis" to its own history. During the interim between the suspension of monarchy and the meeting of the new legislative body another ugly outbreak of the mob

occurred in Paris. The city's prisons were filled to overflowing with nonjuring priests and uncooperative nobles and their too outspoken partisans. With the Prussians still advancing, the atmosphere of Paris remained tense. Meanwhile a violent outbreak against the Revolution had occurred in the Vendée. There an army of royalists and Catholics was being enlisted, and it was rumored that these forces also were advancing on Paris. The excited radicals of the capital city were in panic fear that a wholesale prison break might be attempted. A wagonload of priests on the way to jail was stopped and the unfortunate occupants were butchered by the crowd. This was the signal for a general jail delivery by the mob. The total number of victims in the September Massacres, as this episode was called, was between 1000 and 1500. Drunk with blood, the mob made no discrimination among the men, women, and children whom they found at hand; the senseless slaughter went on until it had exhausted all immediately available victims. This horrifying outbreak of mob-mindedness contributed greatly to the "final discredit of the Revolution in the opinion of the world."

### The National Convention

On September 21, 1792, a newly chosen assembly, known to history as the National Convention, formally abolished the monarchy and proclaimed that France was from henceforth a republic, "one and indivisible." Official documents, it was decreed, were to be dated "in the first year of the Republic." The leadership of the new assembly was promptly seized by a group of extremists which, from the elevated seats they chose to occupy, was called "the Mountain." These men belonged to a political party known as the Jacobins. A number of political clubs had sprung up in Paris, as well as in some of the other cities of France, about the time the National Assembly began its sittings. The membership of the various clubs was drawn chiefly from the cream of the middle class, and the club members, ardent patriots and reformers, in their own estimation at any rate, engaged in endless debates on the issues of the day. One such club, calling itself the Society of the Friends of the Constitution, was accustomed to meet in an empty convent belonging to Dominican Friars or Jacobins. A number of the members of the National Assembly had been members of this club of "Jacobins," as they came to be called. These assemblymen had continued to be very active in the affairs of their club once the National Assembly had ceased to be, and had also taken a leading part in the new municipal government of Paris, the radical Commune. Jacobin leaders also went out from Paris to organize clubs in the other cities and towns of France. Thus there came to be a network of something like a



hundred clubs throughout France. Generally speaking, the Jacobins were filled with an almost religious zeal for the social and moral regeneration of society. They believed in private property, but favored a social order in which both the millionaire and the pauper would be unknown. They favored the republican form of government with manhood suffrage and equal civil rights for all. Church and state should be separate, they said. They coveted for France the republican virtues of hard work and plain living, which they believed to characterize the Americans. In France, their principal source of inspiration was Rousseau. In their meetings the Jacobins engaged in responsive readings from Rousseau's writings, in the singing of revolutionary songs, and in listening to the sermonlike exhortations of their leaders.

Among these leaders was Jean Paul Marat, a journalist, founder of one of the most influential reform papers of the period. He called his journal the *Friend of the People* and he appealed in it chiefly to the working classes of Paris. Marat was in middle life when the Revolution broke out. He had planned to become a great scientist, but disappointed in his hopes, he found release and fulfillment in political agitation. His goal for the French Revolution, in his own words, was "the establishment of a democratic republic where virtue will triumph over vice." Marat's talent for agitation was undoubtedly considerable, but whether he could have brought his republic of virtue down from the clouds will never be known. A young woman named Charlotte Corday, pathetically convinced that she was saving France, stabbed him to death as he was taking a bath (1793).

The Jacobin with the most obvious qualities for leadership was Danton. Before the Revolution he had been a middle-class lawyer of some importance. Endowed with the frame of a Hercules and gifted with a voice well suited to his frame, Danton overpowered his audiences when he failed to convince them. Unfortunately the cause of revolution never captured the whole of his thought and purpose, nor had Danton the energy required to attain and retain supreme authority. Still another leader of the Jacobins was Maximilien Robespierre. He also had been a lawyer under the Old Regime and even, for a brief period, a provincial judge. As spare of figure as Danton was gross, Robespierre in his personal life was simple, almost ascetic. As a member of the National Assembly, and in the unending debates of the Jacobin club, he had developed considerable gifts as a persuasive speaker. Of all the sermon makers of his party, Robespierre had the greatest facility for putting his aspirations into words. Unlike so many of his associates, he made absolutely no attempt to enrich himself or to change his way of life. He cultivated assiduously, and paraded ostentatiously, the simple republican virtues.

These leaders and their followers made of republicanism a religion. Their womenfolk laid aside jewelry and ornaments of every kind, affirming that a woman's virtue is her greatest ornament. Republican women wore only their own hair, simply dressed. Many of them donned long white robes like the women of republican Rome. The men wore the long trousers of the working classes and a shirt open at the neck, without a cravat, their costume being completed by a short jacket and liberty cap. In wartime they donned wooden shoes in order to save leather for the soldiers. They gave their children names such as Gracchus and Brutus, symbolic of their republican views. The royal name of Louis was dropped from use. Even the queen bee it was thought necessary to rename the "laying bee."

### Triumph of the Jacobins

The Jacobins were in a minority in the National Assembly but they managed in less than a year to gain control. One of their first triumphs was the trial and execution of the king. To the trial itself there was little opposition; documents had been discovered which proved beyond all doubt that Louis XVI had more than once called upon his fellow sovereigns for aid in putting down the Revolution. The unhappy monarch was judged guilty of treason by an almost unanimous vote of the Convention. To order Louis's execution was a different matter. In a last effort to save his life, the Girondists proposed that the question of execution be submitted to popular vote. This the Jacobins, with all their outward zeal for democracy, successfully opposed. The final vote of the Convention was taken on January 17, 1793, and the verdict was for execution by 387 to 334. Four days later the king met his fate with dignity and courage, as did nearly all the important victims of the guillotine.

In their battle for the supremacy of the Convention, the Jacobins had at their disposal a tremendous pressure group, the Paris mob. Doubtless the concern for the welfare of the masses which the Jacobins displayed was genuine. They fixed prices; they distributed free grain; they even parceled out land to landless peasants on a small scale. The Jacobins were not socialists, however. "The property of patriots is sacred," they affirmed, "but the goods of confiscation are available for the unfortunate poor." The people of Paris displayed their gratitude by invading the hall of the National Convention and expelling the Girondists by force (May, 1793).

Seemingly triumphant, the Jacobins were really in a critical situation. A force of French royalists with its base in Brittany was about ready for an advance on Paris. Girondist leaders, escaping from Paris, were organizing risings in nearly every department of France. Furthermore,

France was invaded once more. The invasion of the previous year had been abandoned. It was the second partition of Poland that then saved the French Revolution by distracting the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia. Early in 1793, however, the Polish matter had been dealt with, and Austrian and Prussian troops again crossed the French border. England also had now entered the war against republican France, partly in response to the Jacobin challenge that "all monarchs are our enemies, all peoples our friends," and partly because the armies of France had occupied the Austrian Netherlands. The British attacked the French naval base at Toulon in the Mediterranean and landed a strong force on the Atlantic seaboard of France to cooperate with the royalists there. With internal revolt "gnawing like Hydra at its entrails and the kings of the world leaping like tigers upon its shoulders," the National Convention established a brief dictatorship.

### The Reign of Terror

The interim of fourteen months' dictatorship, deemed essential to save the Revolution, was the famous Reign of Terror. A Law of Suspects was enacted which branded as enemies of the state "all who by their conduct, their relations, their remarks, and their writings show themselves as partisans of tyranny or enemies of liberty." To deal with the thousands of persons arrested under this law, "revolutionary tribunals" were set up throughout France. The work of these tribunals was supervised from Paris by Jacobin "deputies on mission." The purge which followed claimed some twenty thousand victims. Among them were the pleasure-loving queen and the liberty-loving Madame Roland. In Paris the guillotine was set up in the Place de la Révolution, now called Place de la Concorde. There some three thousand victims were executed. This is of course not the first nor even the worst bloodletting in European history, but it is undoubtedly the most famous.

To deal with foreign invasion, the Jacobins thoroughly reorganized the army. They enacted, on August 23, 1793, the first conscription law in European history. "All France and whatsoever it contains of men and resources is put under requisition. Young men will go to the front. Married men will forge arms and transport foodstuffs. Women will make tents. Nurses will serve in the hospitals. Children will tear rags into lint. Old men will get themselves carried to public places, there to stir up the courage of the soldiers, hatred of kings, and unity in the republic." The new army was drastically purged of royalist officers. It must not be thought, however, that the new officers were raw recruits. They were almost wholly drawn from the professional soldiers of the old army, from

whose ranks Napoleon also was to select nearly all his field marshals. An excellent soldier and organizer was found in Lazare Carnot, to whom the grateful Convention later voted the title of Organizer of Victory. Able field generals came to the front in the persons of Hoche and Jourdan. It was not long before the British had been expelled from Toulon. At the same time the armies of the republic not only repulsed the invaders but were carrying the war to the enemy across the Rhine.

### Republican Reforms

In their impatience to establish the republic of virtue, however, the terrorists did not wait until all their enemies had been routed. Indeed, the entire three years of the National Convention was an extraordinarily busy period of legislation, some 11,210 laws being enacted. We may glance at a few of these. Among the enemies of the new regime the most dangerous, in the opinion of the republicans, was the church. It was resolved to abolish Christianity, close the churches, and establish a new religion, a religion of patriotism. The chief duties of man under the new faith were said to be "to detest tyranny, to punish tyrants and traitors, to relieve the unfortunate, and to defend the oppressed." Four days were set aside in each year as patriotic festivals: the Fourteenth of July, to commemorate the Bastille; the Tenth of August, anniversary of the suspension of the monarchy; the Twenty-first of January, in memory of the execution of the king; and the Thirty-first of May, to celebrate the purging of the Girondists. For the Cross was substituted the guillotine, symbol of the new religion. The more radical of the republicans sought to institute the worship of a goddess of reason, and they installed a comely young woman as a representative of the faith in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. More conservatively, Robespierre advocated the worship of a Supreme Being.

In their zeal to sweep away all of the memorials of the Old Regime, the republicans established a new calendar. The years were numbered as years of the republic, the first to begin on September 22, 1792. The week, with its seventh day for Christian rest and worship, was brushed aside in favor of the decade, of which there were to be three in each month. Despite the republican fondness for the decimal system, the legislators kept the number of months at twelve. The five extra days of the year were to be festal days, dedicated to Genius, Labor, Noble Actions, Rewards, and Opinion. On Opinion Day everyone was to be free to say what he pleased in criticism of the republican officials. The twelve months were given names, some not unattractive, which bore a close relation to the seasons. The spring months were named Germinal,

Floréal, Prairial; the summer months, Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor. The use of this calendar was made obligatory throughout France and its use was later extended throughout the area of Europe controlled by the republican armies. It was excellent revolutionary propaganda. Other laws which reveal the nature of the new republic of virtue were those which abolished slavery, established free public education, and founded schools for the training of teachers and institutes of technical and scientific education. Still other laws established a national library, national museums, and national hospitals for the sick, the deaf, and the aged.

The dictatorship of the Terror broke down, as dictatorships often do, from internal disorders. Danton was guillotined for not being sufficiently suspicious, Robespierre for being too much so. A wave of reaction set in, a revolt against the methods of repression and terror which the Jacobins had employed. Emotionally exhausted by months of suspicion and fear, the people of Paris, and more especially the bourgeoisie, turned to more normal ways of life. Extremes of republican dress were laid aside. The cafés were opened. Welcoming the return of sanity, a large majority of the Convention drove the Jacobins from office. Their famous club was closed, and leading members were hunted down and executed. The doors of prisons were thrown open and thousands of suspects awaiting trial were released. The exiled or imprisoned Girondists resumed their seats in the Convention and quickly assumed posts of leadership again. One of their first acts was to remove the Thirty-first of May from the list of national holidays.

The National Convention devoted the remaining months of its existence to the task for which it had been summoned, the drafting of a permanent constitution for republican France. This constitution, which established the Directory, was a conservative document representing the views of the bourgeoisie. The suffrage was extended to all who paid a direct tax on property. Voters did not ballot directly for the legislators, but for members of electoral assemblies, which in turn chose the legislators. Since the property qualification for membership in the electoral assemblies was fairly high, the real franchise was restricted to a comparatively small number of men of means. A conservative note also appears in the provision that the legislature should consist of two houses or councils, one of which should propose laws and the other revise and vote them. The members of the Council of Five Hundred were to be at least thirty years of age, while the members of the Council of Elders, 250 in number, must be forty years old or more. In addition to possessing the maturity of age, the elders must also have had the sobering experience of marriage. To guard against the possibility of another dictatorship, the executive was placed in the hands of a board of five directors of equal authority. The

directors, who must be forty years old or more, were chosen by the councils for five-year terms, one director retiring each year.

It had become increasingly apparent during the last days of the National Convention that the new constitution, conservative as it was, would not satisfy the reactionary elements in France. Fearing lest they be buried under a landslide of royalist and Catholic votes, the members of the National Convention, before voting their own dissolution, enacted that at least two thirds of the 750 members of the new councils should be drawn from the membership of the Convention. In uncontrollable anger at this act of political immorality, a crowd of royalist and Catholic Parisians, in emulation of the republican pressure groups of the past, marched on the Convention to overawe it by force. The advance of the mob was made more formidable by the fact that the civic guard of Paris was now fighting on its side. In considerable alarm the Convention entrusted its defense to one of its own members named Barras, who in turn called into consultation a young artillery officer of his acquaintance who had distinguished himself in the expulsion of the British from Toulon and was now in Paris waiting for something to turn up. His name was Napoleon Bonaparte. Disposing the troops at his command in expert fashion and placing his artillery with especial care, the twenty-six-year-old general waited for the proper moment and then discharged his cannon point blank into the massed ranks of the advancing Parisians. They fled in terror, leaving hundreds dead and dying upon the roadways. Here was a new way with a mob. A "whiff of grapeshot" was all that was needed to quiet revolutionary fever. The date was October 5, 1795. A few days later the National Convention ceased to exist after three years of stormy life:

### The Directory

In the Directory, France had a regime of the bourgeois type not differing greatly from the regime of Louis Philippe forty years later and deserving at least as much success. None of the directors was a man of great ability, but the group learned from experience. They made strenuous and not unsuccessful attempts to deal with the as yet unsolved financial problem. The assignats, which had now deteriorated to about one four-hundredth of their face value and had been expanded to the staggering total of forty billion francs, were wiped out and a return was made to metallic currency. To deal with the national debt, hardly less staggering, the directors took the drastic step of discontinuing interest payments on about two thirds of it. This effected a substantial and much needed reduction in the annual budget. The directors then laid the foundation of an adequate revenue by revising the tax system and establishing a body

of trained assessors and collectors to take the place of the tax farmers of the Old Regime. In a word, the directors started to put France back on her feet.

### War Policy of the Directory

In war, the policy of the Directory was not only successful; it was brilliant. To be sure, France was on the way to winning the war when the Directory was inaugurated. The armies of the Terror had overrun the Belgian provinces and invaded Holland. Indeed, the French cavalry, taking advantage of an unusually severe winter, captured the Dutch fleet as it lay frozen in the ice. The French Republic then proclaimed the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands and, with some help from Dutch revolutionaries, set up in Holland a puppet regime, modeled on that of France and supported by French troops, to which was given the name of Batavian Republic. Shortly after this, Prussia retired from the war. By the terms of the Treaty of Basle (April, 1795), France was to have a free hand on the left bank of the Rhine provided French armies did not advance into German territory beyond a certain line.

At the end of the year 1795, after the Directory had been in control a few months, the only foreign enemies of the French Republic were Austria, still unreconciled to the loss of the Netherlands, and England, to whom French expansion in the Netherlands was most unwelcome. To bring the war to a triumphant conclusion, Carnot devised a plan for 1796 which included an attack on Austria from the west by way of the Rhine and from the south by way of Italy. The principal armies of France, those of the Rhine, were entrusted to Jourdan and Moreau. The army of Italy, small and poorly equipped and regarded as a mere diversion, was entrusted to the young general who had so distinguished himself in the defense of the Convention in its last days. Napoleon Bonaparte thus had his chance, and the whole world knows how well he made use of it.

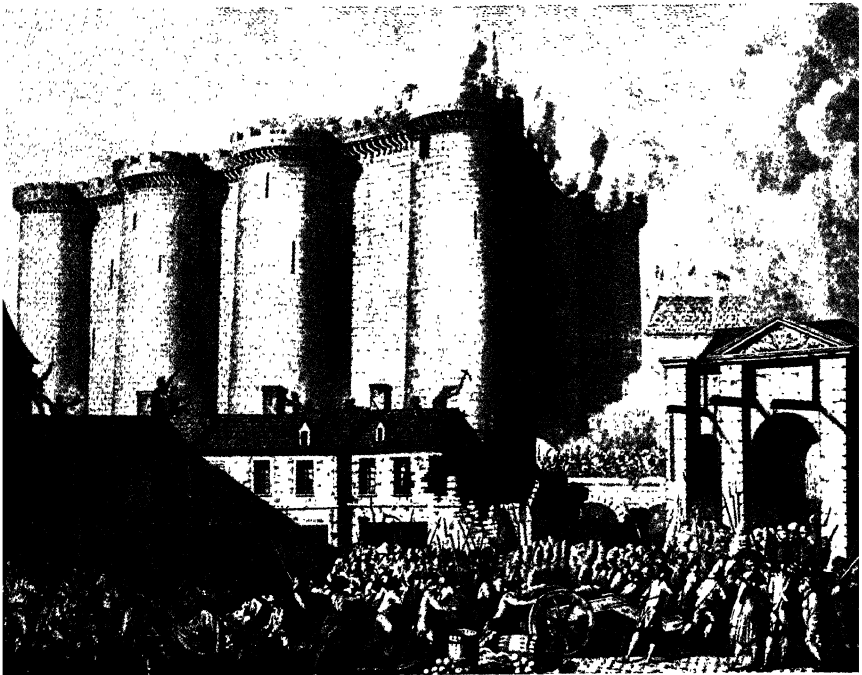
### Napoleon Bonaparte

Napoleon was born in Corsica in 1769. His father was of the lower order of nobility, and both his parents were of Italian stock. Only the year before his birth his island home had come under French rule. Taking advantage of that fact, the impecunious father sent the boy Napoleon, aged nine, to an artillery school at Brienne in the northeast of France, there to receive at the expense of the French nation the military education offered to the sons of the nobility. From this school he emerged, at the age of sixteen, with a commission as second lieutenant of artillery. At the school Napoleon had distinguished himself in mathematics and had dis-



THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI (*p. 329*)

The engraver has shown the scaffold, the severed head, the cart in which the king was brought to the scene and, in the rear, the pedestal of a statue of Louis XV.







### NAPOLEON I

Painted by P. Guérin (1774-1833) in 1797 upon the conqueror's return from his campaign in Italy (*pp.* 336-337).

played a remarkable memory. "As a boy," he wrote later, "I knew the logarithms of thirty or forty numbers." Socially he had been unhappy. His schoolmates found in his ancestry, his homeland, and his poverty fruitful subjects for caustic comment. Sensitive and proud, the boy sheltered himself in his dreams or buried himself in books. There followed a period of garrison duty which was for him again a time of loneliness. He improved the time, however, by self-directed study, chiefly in two fields of reading: first, the works of Rousseau and other French philosophes, and second, treatises on the art of war. When the Revolution broke out, Bonaparte left for Corsica, there to fulfill his patriot dream of leading a revolt against France. Strangely enough, in view of his later career, the young Napoleon failed to capture the leadership of the Corsican patriots and was forced not only to abandon his plan but to leave the island. At loose ends, he offered his sword to the young French Republic and, in 1793, distinguished himself at Toulon, winning the rank of brigadier general of artillery. Proceeding to Paris, the young general first hitched his wagon to the rising star of Robespierre, but unhitched it in a hurry on Robespierre's fall. Indeed, Napoleon was imprisoned for a time as a suspect. A year or so later, however, he completely rehabilitated himself with the powers that be by defending the Convention.

Napoleon set out for the Italian front on March 11, 1796, two days after his marriage to Josephine Beauharnais, a young widow with whom he had fallen deeply in love. He was twenty-seven years old. Though small of stature and slender, he had an extraordinary power of command. By force of personality he could impose his will not only on the common soldier but on officers of high rank as well, men of long experience and old enough to be his father. "This little runt of a general frightened me," said one such commander after a first interview; "it is impossible to understand how he made me feel that he was the master from the moment he looked at me." As Napoleon himself said later, "I have commanded wherever I have been. That is a special faculty I was born with. That is my life, my habit." In action Napoleon impressed all his associates with his extraordinary calm. He was even able to snatch a few moments of sleep while surrounded by his staff in the midst of battle. This self-confidence was due in part to his power of thinking things out ahead of time. "I do a great deal of thinking," he said. "I seem always ready to meet any difficulty, to face any emergency. It is because before undertaking any enterprise I have spent a long time thinking it out and seeing what might happen. There is no greater coward than I when I am drawing up a plan of campaign. I magnify every danger, every disadvantage that can be conceived. My nervousness is painful, not but that I show a calm face to those who are about me. When once my decision is made, however,

I forget all except what may carry it through to success." In addition, Napoleon had extraordinary endurance, especially in the earlier years of his career. "I am conscious of no limit to the work I can get through," he said. This remarkable personal endowment, rarely if ever equaled in history, was largely vitiated from the point of view of social usefulness by the fact that its possessor was a complete egotist, wholly self-centered.

There is no better illustration of the genius of Napoleon than the way in which he transformed the Italian diversion into the decisive campaign of the war. Crossing the Alps in forced marches, he thrust himself between the armies of Austria and its ally Sardinia and compelled the latter to withdraw from the war. Turning eastward, he attacked Milan, then laid siege to Mantua, principal Austrian stronghold in northern Italy. During the months of the summer of 1796, Napoleon defeated in turn four Austrian armies sent southward through the Alps to relieve Mantua and regain Lombardy. Meanwhile all the petty monarchs of northern Italy were making terms with Napoleon, and the pope himself sent a diplomatic mission to treat with him. Characteristically the young general stripped the north Italian states of their treasures in gold and works of art and dispatched them to Paris. Mantua fell finally, and Napoleon drove northward through the Alps toward Vienna, making an end of the time-honored republic of Venice en route. "Too blind to avert danger, too cowardly to withstand it, the most ancient government of Europe made not an instant's resistance."

While he was still some miles from the Austrian capital, Napoleon accepted the terms of peace which the frightened Hapsburgs proffered (April, 1797). This decisive step was inspired on Napoleon's part by news that the French armies of the Rhine, after long delay, were now making considerable progress. The young Bonaparte had no wish to share with other commanders the glory of having brought the Hapsburgs to their knees. Indeed, this masterful young man did not even consult the directors.

### Peace of Campo Formio

By the terms of the peace, formally ratified at Campo Formio a few months later, Austria acknowledged the French conquest of the Netherlands, resigned her claim to Lombardy, and recognized the French claim to the left bank of the Rhine. In compensation Napoleon conceded to Austria the Italian lands, somewhat diminished, of the republic of Venice. In northern Italy he transformed the old duchy of Milan, enlarged by certain additions from Venice and other north Italian states, into the Cisalpine Republic, a dependency of the French Republic. The student will not fail to realize that the Peace of Campo Formio is as good an

example of power politics as any of the deals engineered by Frederick the Great or Catherine II. What had become of the ideals of the French republicans? Evidently they meant little to the young Napoleon.

Back in France, after an absence of nearly two years, Napoleon found himself the most famous man in the land, far overshadowing the five directors. He was promptly entrusted by his nominal superiors with the leadership of an enterprise which, it was hoped, would liquidate the last remaining foe of the republic. An army was being prepared for the invasion of England, and Napoleon was placed at its head. He found the project not altogether to his liking. Indeed, after a preliminary tour of the coast, he gave it as his opinion that invasion was impracticable so long as England ruled the sea. This conclusion was inspired to some extent by the fact that Napoleon had already set his heart on beating England in a different way. His plan was to seize Egypt, as a preliminary move, then to expel the English from India. Incidentally, he planned to dig a canal through the isthmus of Suez as a convenience for French merchants.

That such projects should appeal to Napoleon was not strange. A Mediterranean by birth, he had read much about the Near East. The Orient fascinated him as it has fascinated many another European. During his Italian campaign Napoleon had taken occasion to establish French control over a part of the Adriatic coast and to annex the Ionian Islands. From Milan, in the summer of 1796, he wrote to the directors, "If we are to destroy England we must seize on Egypt." To his intimates he was wont to declare, "This little Europe has not enough to offer." Nor was the eastern enterprise lacking in appeal to Frenchmen generally. It was only a matter of thirty years since France had had an empire in India; Napoleon's venture might well be looked upon as an attempt to regain lost provinces. At all events, the directors gave their approval to the change of plan. Perhaps they were well content to have the popular hero at a safe distance.

### *Invasion of Egypt*

At Toulon, in May, 1798, thirty-five thousand French troops, assured that they were still the "Army of England," embarked for the East. The two hundred transports were convoyed by a score of warships. Accompanying the army was a staff of scientists charged with the study of the history and the art of Egypt. Eluding the British fleet, Napoleon disembarked his troops on Egyptian soil in July. In a campaign of only three weeks he conquered the whole land of Egypt. On the eve of the battle of the Pyramids the young general, as was his wont, exhorted his men: "Soldiers, from the summit of these pyramids forty centuries look down upon you." In the meantime, however, and in tragic contrast, an irretrievable disaster

had occurred. Nelson, British admiral charged with the blockade of Toulon, whose vigilance Napoleon had escaped, finally came upon the French fleet, having searched the length of the Mediterranean, in Egyptian waters. With a fleet slightly inferior to the French fleet, Nelson not only defeated the latter; he annihilated it, thus cutting off all hope of return to France by sea. This was on the 1st of August (battle of the Nile). Napoleon is quoted as saying, when he heard the news, "We must either die or emerge great, like the ancients."

In Europe, meanwhile, the directors were pursuing a policy much to their liking. They were building upon the frontiers of France a rampart of republics, with regimes modeled on that of France. Holland had already become the Batavian Republic. Switzerland was transformed into the Helvetic Republic. In Italy, where Napoleon had already set up the Cisalpine Republic, the whole of the peninsula had been overrun by French armies and organized into puppet republics, the Ligurian (Genoa), the Tiberine (the papal states), and the Parthenopian (the kingdom of Naples and Sicily). All of these regions were promptly plundered, and "carriages rolled into Paris laden with gold." The directors needed the gold as the basis for their new metallic currency. By the end of the summer of 1798, though a fleet had been lost and an army was locked up in the Near East, the French Republic had reached its zenith.

This aggressive policy did not go unchallenged. Old enemies were roused to renewed activity, and fresh opponents appeared. The leader of the second coalition of European powers was England. While the French were overrunning the Italian peninsula, English emissaries were making the round of European capitals. Austria had acquiesced in the loss of the Netherlands, the more readily because of the new prospect of dominating the Italian peninsula. There she was not prepared to accept French predominance. Nor was Turkey prepared to resign Egypt to the French; already she was engaged in raising forces on her own account. Tsar Paul, who had succeeded his mother, Catherine II, in 1796, gave a ready ear to the argument that French policy in the Near East menaced Russian interests. Early in 1799 an Austro-Russian army crossed the Alps into Italy. In a few brief months the whole peninsula was cleared of French troops and the satellite republics collapsed. An attempted thrust by the Austrians through Switzerland into Holland and France, however, was checked. As the year wore to its close, it became increasingly evident that the French Republic was fully able to maintain itself within its extended boundaries. It seemed likely that the coalition would make peace shortly, on the basis of the abandonment by France of her expansionist policy.

In the meantime Napoleon had spent an entire year endeavoring to salvage something of his enterprise from the disaster which had overwhelmed it. Unable either to proceed to India or return to France, Napoleon did succeed in defeating a Turkish army which the British navy had convoyed to Egypt. He then made his way eastward and northward along the coast to meet another Turkish army advancing through Asia Minor and Syria. At Acre, where a Turkish garrison blocked his path, Napoleon met with such stiff resistance that after a two months' siege he was constrained to abandon his northward progress and return to Egypt. There he came to the unheroic decision to abandon his army and escape to France. Eluding the British blockade with great good luck, he landed on French soil once more on October 9, 1799. His Egyptian dispatches had been so skillfully drafted, highlighting his victories and concealing his failures, that Paris gave him a hero's welcome.

## CHAPTER XIX

### *France and Europe under Napoleon*

WITHIN two months after his return Napoleon had overthrown the republican government of France and established himself as dictator. He loved power; having had a taste of it he wanted more. The frame of government which he promulgated (December, 1799) was called the Constitution of the Year Eight, and the regime which he thus established is generally known as the Consulate. The document called for an executive of greatly enlarged powers in the hands of three consuls. Napoleon was "First Consul"; the other two were no more than advisers. The voters were to nominate a list of candidates from which the consuls chose the legislators. All projects of law were proposed by the consuls; in the upper house these projects were discussed without a vote; in the lower, voted without discussion.

#### Napoleon Becomes Dictator of France

Only two years of his ten-year term of office as First Consul had elapsed when a "demand" arose for Napoleon's election to a second term. His reply was that he "could not consider the burdens of a second term unless the people should impose such a sacrifice." Encouraged by this response, his circle of intimates then suggested that Napoleon be chosen consul for life. This proposal was duly submitted to the nation, and Napoleon rolled up a huge majority (August, 1802) of 3,568,885 votes to 8374. Absorbed in his self-imposed task of establishing a new order in France and more impressed day by day by the importance of his work, the First Consul came to the conclusion that too much depended upon the hazard of a single life. There were, indeed, royalist plots against him. Accordingly, his councilors next proposed that "Napoleon Bonaparte be declared emperor of the French, and that this dignity be declared hereditary in his family." This arrangement the obliging voters ratified by a majority almost identical with the one just given. Among the few thousands who noted "No" was Lafayette. Having fled from France during the Terror, he had just returned on Napoleon's invitation.

In the meantime, to free his hands for the work of reconstruction

which he had in mind, Napoleon had liquidated the war. The war plan for the year 1800 was almost identical with the one Carnot had designed for 1796. Again Napoleon took command of the army of Italy, entrusting the army of the Rhine to Moreau, a general little if at all inferior to himself in skill. Each commander won a clear-cut victory, Napoleon at Marengo and Moreau at Hohenlinden, and Austria was constrained to sign the Peace of Lunéville in February, 1801. This re-established France in the Italian peninsula and on the left bank of the Rhine.

Russia then withdrew from the war, Tsar Paul being persuaded by Napoleon's emissaries to agree to the principle of the joint predominance, in Europe, of Russia and France. Some doubt was cast on the permanence of this agreement by the assassination of the tsar in March, 1801, and the accession of Alexander I. Napoleon then made an offer of peace to England. After eight years of war the British government was not unwilling to quit the field for a time, and the result was the Peace of Amiens in March, 1802. Both countries agreed to evacuate Egypt, and England consented to give up all the colonial plunder she had taken from France, Spain, and the Dutch, with the exception of the island of Ceylon.

### Peace in Europe and in France

Even before he brought peace to Europe, Napoleon had restored peace in France. At the time of his accession to power the Catholic royalist revolt in the Vendée was still very much alive. By a judicious mixture of conciliation and skillfully applied force, this conflict, after seven years of life, was completely extinguished. Proclaiming freedom of worship for the Catholics and inviting nonjuring priests to return to their work, Napoleon promised an amnesty to all who would lay down their arms. At the same time a related problem, one which concerned the whole country, was dealt with when Napoleon invited the emigrés to return home, making exception of about one thousand die-hards. The emigrés were invited to take up their estates again, provided these had not already been sold.

### Peace with the Church

Napoleon then turned his thought to the problem of religion. Each of the successive regimes since 1789 had dealt with this matter in a different way. Napoleon himself was an irreligious man. So were most of the men he met in the world of politics and war. But the vast majority of the people, the humble folk of France, were Catholic. Napoleon respected their faith even if he did not share it. "The people need religion," he said. Nor was he blind to the political advantages of a correct religious policy.



"It was by becoming a Catholic that I pacified the Vendée," he said, "and by becoming a Mussulman that I established myself in Egypt. If I ruled a people of Jews, I should restore the Temple of Solomon." In instructing his emissary to the Vatican he wrote: "Treat the pope as if he had two hundred thousand men."

Characteristically Napoleon opened negotiations with the pope after the battle of Marengo had re-established French predominance in Italy. A concordat was signed in 1801. Under its terms the Catholic faith was recognized as the official religion of the French government and of the majority of the French people, though toleration of other faiths was enjoined. The state undertook the support of the clergy and allowed the Catholics free use of the cathedrals and parish churches, which had become national property in 1789. Napoleon was to name the bishops, who were to be consecrated by the pope. The bishops were to name the parish priests. Lawful purchasers of church lands were not to be disturbed in their possession. On the other hand, the temporal sovereignty of the pope was recognized. This statesmanlike compromise survived all changes in the French political life for a century. It must be added, however, that Napoleon himself violated the terms of the concordat more than once. He obliged the French clergy to include in the Catechism the doubtful clause, "We owe to our Emperor Napoleon love, respect, obedience, military service, and tributes." And later on, as we shall see, he drove the pope from Rome and annexed his territories.

### The Code Napoléon

Later, penning his memoirs in exile at St. Helena, Napoleon wrote that when men had forgotten his forty battles they would still remember his "code." He was right; the Code Napoléon has proved to be his most enduring monument. The need of a code was twofold. In the interest of national unity, it was essential that a single law common to the whole country be substituted for the many legal systems of the Old Regime. It has been said that the traveler had to "change his laws as frequently as he did his horse." Furthermore, the great outpouring of revolutionary legislation was unsystematic and of unequal merit. Such measures of reform as were deemed to have permanent value might be incorporated in the new code. Each of the several regimes that had governed France since 1789 had seen the need. Indeed, codifying projects had been set on foot and some progress had been made. What was now required was someone with sufficient energy to drive the vast enterprise forward to conclusion.

Though it cannot be pretended that Napoleon supplied any of the

legal expertness required, it is to his lasting credit that he appreciated the need sufficiently to supply the driving force. On more than one occasion the dictator kept his experts at their work throughout the night. There are in reality five codes, but the most important of them is the Civil Code. This preserved the social reforms of the revolutionary period but rejected its political methods and its ideology. As compared to the Declaration of Rights the new code was reactionary. It rejected freedom of speech and of the press. It repudiated the people's right to a share in lawmaking. On the other hand, the code emphasized the abolition of feudalism, the equality of all men before the law, and the right of every citizen to choose his profession and to own property. The code assured a more equitable distribution of property by the provision that each of the children should share in their father's estate. Freedom of worship was guaranteed, and the right to express religious opinion was affirmed on condition that such expression be not a menace to public order. The two points, other than political, in which the modern world finds the code deficient are its treatment of women and of labor. Wives, through Napoleon's own personal influence it is said, and because his sisters were bad women, were placed in a state of marked inferiority to their husbands. A married woman might not even control the property that was hers before marriage. The code also came down hard on the side of employers by forbidding working men to form unions or to strike.

In garnering the social fruits of the Revolution while rejecting its democratic methods, Napoleon was obeying the injunctions of the philosophes. No one of them, if we except Rousseau, had believed in political democracy. They were Newtonians. They believed that the laws of a just social order are innate and may be discovered by right reasoning. To them, if they had lived, Napoleon would have revealed himself in his code as the Newton of the social sciences.

The influence of the code has been immense. It became, as it remains today, the law of France. Wherever French authority was extended—through the Belgian provinces, Holland, the Italian peninsula—the code went too, and there it remains. Recognized by friends and enemies alike as a summary of the enduring benefits of the French Revolution, it was later fought for and adopted in Spain and Portugal. Finally, in the New World the legal systems of French Canada, of Louisiana, and of all the republics of Central and South America were greatly influenced by the code.

### Enlightened Despot or Dictator?

As a legislator Napoleon has been compared to the enlightened despots. He was, indeed, a despot, far more so than any of the kings of

France who preceded him. The authority of the Bourbons had been limited on the one hand by the privileges of clergy and aristocracy, and on the other, by local customs and laws. The Revolution swept away the privileged classes and broke down provincial barriers.

Dividing France into departments, the reformers had set up elective officials and representative assemblies. The departments with their subdivisions Napoleon retained, but all officials therein, down to the mayors of the tiniest communes, became appointive. At the head of each department the dictator placed a prefect responsible for all that went on in his department. In all France, it was said, not a village bridge could be repaired nor a street lamp lighted without Napoleon's authority. This system of local government, with some modifications, is still retained in France. So generally has it been admired that its use throughout the world is even more extensive than that of the Code Napoléon.

To describe Napoleon as an enlightened despot is to link him with the past. Just as truly, however, his regime can be linked with the present. Napoleon was the first of modern dictators. His regime was totalitarian. "The era of revolution is closed," he declared; "there is now but one party." Referring to editors and journalists he said: "Make them produce wholesome articles. The time is not far distant when I shall suppress them along with all the rest and shall conserve a single organ." During his war with England, later on, he wrote to one of his officials: "It is advantageous that the tone of the newspapers be supervised, to the end that they attack England in regard to her manners, her customs, her literature, and her constitution." The technique of the dictator is also revealed in the matter of plebiscites. Dictators revel in them, making great efforts to achieve unanimity. We have noted the overwhelming majorities in two of Napoleon's plebiscites. The prefects were under pressure to get out the vote. On one occasion resort was had to the device of registering as affirmative the entire voting strength of the armed forces, some 450,000 men. A plebiscite appeals to a dictator as a means of advertising the unity of the nation. Dictators like popular sovereignty provided it is they themselves who are chosen to do the ruling.

### Napoleon's Finances

The twin problems of government finance and national economy, after ten years of the Revolution, were still unsolved, though the directors had shown that they were beginning to understand them. Napoleon attacked these problems with energy though not always with success. He had the resolution to levy the necessary taxes and the energy to get them collected. He was, however, far from having the skill of a Hamilton in

devising a sound taxative program or the genius of a Colbert in fostering the national wealth. Napoleon's budgets were gradually brought into balance, it is true, but not without heavy drafts upon conquered territories. It is an eloquent fact that the bonds of the French Empire, which paid 5 per cent, were seldom quoted above 50, whereas the bonds of the British government, which paid 3 per cent, rose as high as 80. So unfriendly were the banks of France that Napoleon early founded an institution of his own for financing governmental undertakings. This institution, the Bank of France, has long been the most powerful financial institution in the country. Tariffs Napoleon was constantly manipulating for political purposes, to the grave disadvantage of business interests.

For the Herculean labor of revising and consolidating the Revolution, Napoleon's interlude of peace was all too short. Not all of the projects we have just reviewed were carried through in the four-year interval of relative peace which he won at Lunéville, though for simplicity's sake they have been considered at this point. Napoleon displayed considerable ingenuity, however, in continuing his work of administration and legislation while directing a campaign. A completely equipped field office accompanied him. His secretaries strove frantically to carry out his swiftly voiced decisions and record his detailed instructions. A constant stream of couriers moved to the capital and back. Many a night, after dulling the sharp edge of his fatigue, Napoleon would rise at two o'clock in the morning and work with his secretaries until five, when he would retire for another brief rest.

### Renewal of the War

Having made peace in 1801, Austria did not return to the war until 1805. The peace between France and England, however, was destined to last but a single year. In the estimation of British leaders, French policy had menaced the security of the British Empire since the early years of the Revolution, nor could they see that the Peace of Amiens by any means removed that threat. France still maintained a large army in the West Indies, a region of great importance for British trade. Furthermore, the British could discern at least the outlines of Napoleon's grandiose plan for the renewal of French rule in North America, a plan which threatened British interests only less than those of the United States. News came, too, of a French fleet in the Indian Ocean and of a French military mission in Egypt. In Italy, Napoleon was expanding the authority of France by the annexation of Piedmont and by the setting up of a puppet "republic of Italy," with himself as its head. Meditating on these matters, British leaders delayed the evacuation of Malta, a matter specifically provided for in the terms of peace. To Napoleon this was proof positive,

if any were needed, that he could not count his own regime safe so long as England's power remained unbroken. Under these circumstances, war, sooner or later, was inevitable.

War began in March, 1803, and for two years France and England fought alone. Napoleon's plan was to deal a knockout blow as quickly as possible by invading the British Isles. At the French port of Boulogne, where the Channel is almost its narrowest, he gathered a large army and built a fleet of flat boats, training his troops in embarking and disembarking. It would require six days, he found, to load the boats and bring them out of the harbor into the Channel itself, ready for the ferry across. The rest would be easy. Obviously, however, he must get command of the Channel for the twenty-four hours required for the crossing.

There were various fleets at Napoleon's disposal in Atlantic or Mediterranean harbors. Contingents of the British fleet held each of these bases under continuous surveillance, of course, though a close blockade was beyond their capacity. The strategy which Napoleon worked out with his naval advisers called for some of the French and Spanish squadrons, the latter being under his control, to slip past the watchful British and sail straight for the West Indies. The threat to British interests in that quarter would be followed, it was calculated, by the withdrawal of a substantial number of British ships from their Channel stations. While the British were sailing westward, the French and Spanish squadrons would return swiftly to the Channel in overwhelming strength to give to Napoleon's invasion forces the brief security they needed. Month by month the French admirals watched their chance to slip out of harbor, and month by month Napoleon perfected his preparations at Boulogne. In England, in the meantime, frantic preparations were being made to meet the attack when it came.

The French admiral at Toulon was Villeneuve; his British vis-à-vis, the famous Nelson. At length, late in the summer of 1805, Villeneuve gave Nelson the slip, passed Gibraltar, and headed west. At a loss for a time, Nelson finally guessed what his enemy's course had been and set out in pursuit. Arrived in the West Indies without sighting his adversary, Nelson shrewdly suspected that his real destination was the Channel and dispatched a single ship, his fastest cruiser, eastward to warn the British government. This ship succeeded in passing the French, and so gave the British authorities ample time to strengthen their Channel fleet.

### Trafalgar

Meanwhile Napoleon was frantic. "Lose not a moment," his semaphore message urged Admiral Villeneuve. "Enter the Channel. England

is ours. We are ready. Everyone is embarked. Appear for twenty-four hours and all is finished." But Nelson's warning had been effective. Recognizing the futility of attack, Villeneuve turned southward toward Spain, and Napoleon, abandoning an enterprise upon which he had spent nearly two years, marched his legions eastward. In disappointment and anger the French dictator sent message after message to Villeneuve, upbraiding him for cowardice and urging him to fight. These messages bore fruit.

Instead of retiring to a French or Spanish port, Villeneuve kept at sea and strengthened the fleet under his command until it numbered thirty-three ships of war. Nelson, since his return, had kept a constant watch on the French and had made leisurely preparations for attack, although his own fleet was considerably outnumbered. Holding a final consultation with his captains within sight of the Rock of Gibraltar, he now closed with his enemy off Cape Trafalgar nearby. Of the thirty-three enemy ships, twenty-seven were either sunk or captured. Not one British ship was lost. Struck down early in the fighting, the great English admiral lived long enough to learn the extent of his victory. The date was October 21, 1805, and though England's struggle with Napoleon was destined to continue through another decade, British naval supremacy was never again challenged.

In the meantime English diplomats had been busily engaged in persuading other European powers to join in an effort to confine France once more within her traditional limits. Early in 1805, Austria, Russia, and Sweden assented, in the belief that Napoleon was unprepared. It was to engage these new enemies that Napoleon marched eastward from Boulogne. With such swiftness did he move that he completely surrounded the Austrian army in Bavaria. There was no choice but surrender. This was at Ulm on the day before the battle of Trafalgar. From Ulm, Napoleon marched straight to Vienna. Turning to the north after a brief rest, he met an Austro-Russian army in Moravia and there, at Austerlitz, won his most celebrated victory. The date, December 2, 1805, was the first anniversary of Napoleon's coronation as emperor.

Russia now withdrew from the war. The peace with Austria was dictated by Napoleon at Pressburg (December, 1805). Austria again recognized French predominance in Italy, ceding Venetia to the new kingdom of Italy which Napoleon had set up after his coronation as emperor. To facilitate Napoleon's plans for the reconstruction of Germany, the Hapsburg emperor renounced his feudal rights over the south German states of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden.

### Napoleon Deals with Germany

Napoleon's German policy did not differ from that of Louis XIV, Richelieu, or Henry IV except in being more successful. Not only had the French emperor won the whole of the left bank of the Rhine as the northerly frontier of France; he was now in a position, seemingly, to make that frontier secure for all time. To offset the power of Austria and Prussia, he proposed to organize the southern states of Germany into a confederation which would be a dependency of the French Empire. The leading states in this "Confederation of the Rhine" were Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden. Napoleon won their friendly cooperation by enlarging their boundaries at the expense of other German states. The Confederation was formally inaugurated on July 19, 1806, with Napoleon named as "Protector." At the time, it included thirteen states, but later it was enlarged until it stretched across western Germany from the Rhine to the Baltic and the North Sea. It was stipulated that the foreign policy of the Confederation was to be one with that of the French Empire, and that the Confederation was to supply France with a contingent of 63,000 troops trained by French officers.

Shortly after its establishment the new Confederation, at the instance of Napoleon, withdrew from the Holy Roman Empire. This, in turn, led to the abdication of the emperor and to the inglorious end of the Holy Roman Empire, which for a long time had been the principal power of Europe and for still longer its principal ornament. The last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire promptly proclaimed himself the first emperor of Austria, Francis I.

Incidental to the Napoleonic reconstruction of Germany, though it is also important in itself, was the notable reduction in the total number of the German states. Nearly a hundred tiny states, mostly ecclesiastical principalities and free cities, were extinguished when France annexed the left bank of the Rhine. At the same time several important princes of Germany were also obliged to give up their lands on the left bank. They promptly claimed compensation elsewhere, and after a number of years of unedifying wrangle in the German Diet, it was decided that the complaining princes should be indemnified at the expense of the ecclesiastical states and free cities north of the Rhine. In this way about 112 more German states were wiped off the map, the grand total being reduced from more than three hundred to less than one hundred, an unintended contribution to the future unification of Germany. Having thrice been beaten by the armies of Napoleon, the Hapsburgs took this epoch-making reconstruction of Germany lying down.

### Defeat of Prussia

Not so the Hohenzollerns, though Prussia had thus far played a sorry part in the European struggle, having achieved ten years of peace by letting others carry on the struggle. It was not so much concern for Germany's national interest which now spurred the Hohenzollerns to enter the lists, as the conviction that their turn was next. The Prussians were the more ready to take up arms against Napoleon because they were still living under the spell of military invincibility cast by Frederick the Great. The king of Prussia confidently affirmed that he had several generals the equal of Napoleon Bonaparte. His decision to fight was scarcely taken, however, when he found his armies surrounded by Napoleon's swiftly advancing troops. Cutting the Prussians in two, Napoleon defeated half of them at Jena, while Marshal Davout beat the other half at Auerstadt (October 14, 1806). From the field of battle Napoleon marched straight to Berlin, which he entered unopposed. During the mopping up of Prussian fortresses which followed, garrison after garrison surrendered without a fight. In a "blitzkrieg" lasting six weeks Napoleon occupied the whole of a land which under the leadership of Frederick the Great had withstood the armies of Europe for six years.

A few months later, but much too late to save Prussia, a Russian army marched westward into Prussian Poland. Napoleon met it at Eylau, and the Russians, though not decisively beaten, drew back. Returning for another try, they were beaten again, decisively this time, at Friedland, June 24, 1807. At Tilsit, in July, 1807, Napoleon informed the Prussians of their fate. All Prussian territory west of the Elbe was to be given up and would form, with other German states, a vassal kingdom of Westphalia. All of Prussia's Polish gains were taken from her to form the grand duchy of Warsaw, which, as a nucleus of Polish nationalism protected by France, might serve to keep Prussia in check on the east. Prussia had lost half her territory and population. In addition, she was burdened with a staggering war indemnity and an army of occupation to insure collection.

### Completion of Napoleon's European Order

In the following year Napoleon intervened in a dynastic dispute in Spain. He ended by brushing aside both contestants and installing his brother Joseph as king in place of the Bourbons. This called forth a spontaneous Spanish resistance, which may be described as a national reaction and which had great significance for the future. For the moment, however, Napoleon bore down Spanish opposition with an invading army which carried him as far as the Spanish capital.

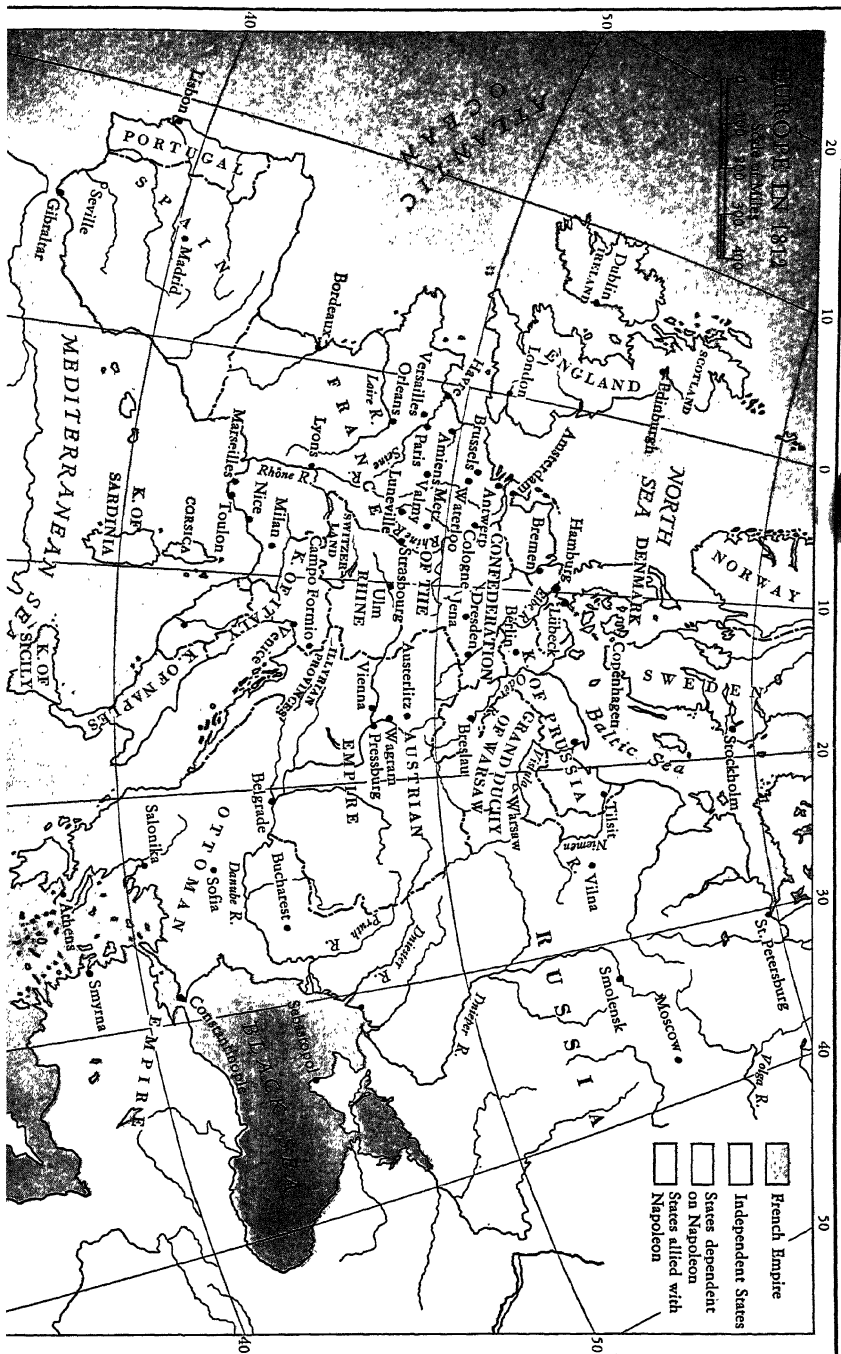


Napoleon's predominance in Europe had reached its height. Through direct annexations the number of French departments was increased from 83 to 128, and the population of France, from twenty-five to forty-three million. Included in Greater France were the Belgian provinces; Holland; the Atlantic coast line of Germany with the great ports of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen; and a substantial portion of the Italian peninsula, including the papal states, from which the pope was expelled in May, 1809. These were annexations. In addition, France controlled the following vassal kingdoms: Westphalia, under Napoleon's brother Jerome; Naples and Sicily, held by his brother-in-law Murat; and Spain, where his brother Joseph had been established. Sweden was added to the list when her king, old and childless, was persuaded by Napoleon to adopt the French marshal Bernadotte as his heir. At a somewhat further remove from the French empire stood the tributary states of Austria and Prussia. Russia now accepted the *fait accompli* and became Napoleon's ally. Napoleon's new European order stood complete.

### Napoleon's Military Skill and Methods

The uniform success of Napoleon thus far was due to his ability to break down all opposition, wherever it might arise, by military force. Did he, then, have some magic formula for succeeding in battle? One thing is clear: Napoleon could always win when he had numerical superiority. He seldom, almost never, fought if he did not have it. France was the most populous recruiting area in Europe. Moreover, the principle of conscription had been applied in France before Napoleon came to power. In addition, Napoleon was constantly increasing his reserve of troops in lands annexed to France and in those reduced to dependence. In potential man power he heavily outweighed any two of his possible enemies, and his genius consisted partly in an ability so to organize his armies and direct their movements as to confront his enemies at any given time and place with a superior force.

Napoleon had constantly under his command forces five or six times as large as most of the armies of the eighteenth century had been. True, the earlier commanders of the French Revolution had also had large masses of recruits at their disposal. These they had begun to organize into divisions of ten to twenty thousand men, grouped, two or three divisions together, into army corps, each of which was a self-contained unit with its own cavalry, artillery, and supply services. But Napoleon was one of the first commanders to see the great possibilities of the new type of organization. "His favorite strategy was to conceal the movement of several army corps behind a range of hills and forest or a screen of





skirmishers, and then to concentrate them suddenly by converging routes in the presence of a startled enemy." \* Needless to say, Napoleon knew well how to call forth all the fighting qualities of the French soldiers by the "magic" of his words or by his mere presence.

One of Napoleon's favorite devices in finishing off an enemy was a bayonet charge undertaken by several columns of infantry. This in itself was something of a revolution in the art of war. It had been routine for armies to face each other at a convenient distance, drawn up in serried ranks. They would then let fly at each other with musket shot and cannon ball until one or the other army gave ground. For troops possessed of a certain amount of audacity a bayonet charge was perfectly practicable. A musket of the period had an effective range of under two hundred yards, and could be discharged only three times in four minutes. A column of infantry with fixed bayonets, presenting a narrow front to enemy fire, would therefore have to withstand only two or three volleys before physical contact with the enemy had been established.

Enough has been said of Napoleon's methods to raise the query why other commanders of the period could not do as well. The answer is that some of them did. General Moreau used Napoleon's methods at Hohenlinden with even more decisive results and with less than half of the normal casualties. At Auerstadt, Marshal Davout outshone his commander in chief when he defeated an army twice the size of his own. Of the brilliant feats of his subordinates, however, Napoleon allowed the world to hear very little. Like many another successful man he had a genius for self-advertisement.

Incidentally, we should acquit Napoleon of the charge that he was a mass murderer who bled France white. The two million men whom he called to the colors during the fifteen years of his rule represent about 7 per cent of the total population of France. During the World War of 1914-1918 the percentage of the French population called to the colors was 21. Furthermore, the casualties among the French forces during World War I were no less than eight times as great, in proportion, as the Napoleonic figures. It is clear, however, that Napoleon could have reduced his casualties greatly had he paid any attention whatever to the medical care of his soldiers.

Politically, the most important reason for Napoleon's success lay in the fact that thus far he had had as opponents Old Regime governments that were traditionally jealous of each other. The rulers of Prussia, Austria, and Russia knew perfectly well that any one of them would desert the others if offered a sufficiently large inducement. Napoleon, also, was aware of this. Furthermore, no one of the dynasties had succeeded as yet

\* Geoffrey Brunn, *Europe and the French Imperium*, p. 70.

in calling forth from its subjects anything like national support. Indeed, the revolutionary reforms which followed in the wake of French conquests enlisted the support, for a time at least, of the middle classes and the peasantry of Europe. In a political sense, therefore, Napoleon's triumphs were brilliant but superficial. His new European order was imposing but unsubstantial. The force that overthrew him in the end was an insurgence of the peoples of Europe, who were outraged by his wanton interference with their economic life, his exploitation of their man power, and his callous disregard of their honor.

We should not fail to note a certain deterioration in the dictator himself as time went on. "Power corrupts," said Lord Acton, "and absolute power corrupts absolutely." This may be seen in the decline in quality of Napoleon's advisers and assistants. Men like Moreau and Talleyrand were ignored, replaced, or exiled. As success followed upon success, Napoleon was more than ever convinced not only of his own invincibility but even of his infallibility. He became impatient of advice, intolerant of opposition. Men with minds of their own and the courage to speak them were one by one expelled from his inner councils until in the end he was surrounded only by flatterers. Some would blame the failure of Napoleon entirely upon this "taste for mediocrities."

### The Continental System

Napoleon's methods of exploiting a conquered country were many and varied. He confiscated the hereditary estates of its ruler; he exacted heavy indemnities; he levied troops which were to be equipped and supported at the country's expense. The policy which aroused the most intense and widespread resentment, however, was regulation of trade. No ruler of the Old Regime had shown himself so tyrannical in his interference with the normal flow of trade. Napoleon's economic measures were due in part to his desire to reduce all other European countries to dependence on France. Another objective was to organize Europe into a solid economic bloc from which Great Britain, to her grievous hurt, would be excluded. To attack England through her trade had long been in Napoleon's thought.

After the treaty of Tilsit Napoleon felt that his control of the Continent was sufficiently complete to insure the success of his plan. From his temporary capital in Berlin, Napoleon issued the famous "Decrees," November 21, 1806, closing all European ports to British goods and ordering the confiscation and destruction of all British goods illegally imported. At the same time he placed thousands of British merchants under arrest. Napoleon calculated that the "shopkeepers" of England would

compel their Parliament to come to terms. Such was not the British reaction. Early in the following year the British government proclaimed a blockade of all the ports of Europe, closing them to the ships and goods of all countries which had submitted to Napoleon. Even the ships of neutral nations, declared Britain's "Orders in Council," must touch at a British port and there pay duties on their cargoes before being allowed to proceed to a continental port. Between them, the British and French effected a dislocation of the economic life of the people of Europe which proved to be unbearable.

Of course Napoleon could and did point out that the products of French industry were available to European purchasers, but it was notorious that the hand-made goods of France were from 40 to 50 per cent higher in price than the corresponding products of industrial England. It was a relatively simple matter for the British to enforce their blockade by relentlessly exercising their sea power. For Napoleon to enforce his decrees it was necessary to control the entire continent of Europe. This was never easy, and in the long run it proved to be impossible. At Tilsit both Prussia and Austria promised to exclude British goods. Under pressure from Russia and France, Sweden also joined the "system" in 1809. This completed Napoleon's control of Europe save for the Iberian peninsula. For many years Portugal had exchanged her wine for English woolens. Napoleon demanded that this be discontinued and that Portugal accept the Continental System. When this was refused, a French army marched to Lisbon, December 1, 1807. The royal house of Braganza escaped to Brazil and Portugal submitted. Early in the following year Napoleon installed his brother Joseph at Madrid, as we have seen.

### *America Suffers from Economic Warfare of France and Britain*

The student of American history will recall that the economic warfare of France and England bore especially heavily upon American trade. The principal concern of our government and people, beyond the maintenance of the strictest neutrality, was the maintenance of our trade with England and France and with their colonial possessions in the Western world. This straightforward policy proved in practice to be both difficult and dangerous. For a period of two years this country was in a state of war with France, and later on, during another two-year period, we were in open war with the British Empire. Short of war, successive American governments experimented with almost every policy the wit of man could devise.

Upon the whole, France inflicted greater losses upon American merchants than did England. On the other hand, the English methods were

harder to bear. The better to enforce their blockade of Europe, the British began to station their ships off American ports. Boarding American ships, the British not only seized cargoes allegedly contraband; they seized sailors as well. There were, to be sure, many desertions from the British navy at this period. Perhaps a thousand British sailors a year found their way into the service of American merchantmen, where pay was higher and accommodations were better. Britain did not recognize the right of any of her nationals to become citizens of another country without her consent; nor, indeed, did any European state at this time. Furthermore, there was no sure way of distinguishing between a British subject and an American. The search and seizure methods of the British were the effective cause of the War of 1812, a war that was fought more bitterly on both sides than was the War of the American Revolution.

### Spanish Revolt; British Intervention

Napoleon's intervention in Spain had been motivated by his desire to complete his Continental System, as we have seen. Of all the countries of western Europe, Spain was least likely to welcome his attentions, however. The clergy and the landlords, whose privileges Napoleon abolished, were stronger in Spain than anywhere else; the middle class was the smallest and the least literate middle class in western Europe. Furthermore, Spaniards were inspired to an uncommon extent by patriotic feeling, or if that is not the proper term, by a fierce contempt for foreigners. Napoleon had scarcely left Madrid when there arose a spontaneous revolt against the French. From Spain revolt spread to Portugal.

In England these movements were studied with care. George Canning, the foreign minister, decided to intervene. "We shall proceed upon the principle," he said, "that any nation of Europe which starts up to oppose the power which has shown itself the common enemy of all nations becomes instantly our ally." On August 1, 1808, a British army landed in Portugal to cooperate with Spanish and Portuguese nationalists. This army was under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, later duke of Wellington. There followed five years of "dull and patient" campaigning in Portugal and Spain, years which were a steady drain upon the resources of the French empire. And Wellington's unbroken succession of victories dispelled the "myth of French invincibility."

### German Nationalist Revival

Meanwhile a nationalist renaissance was taking place in Germany. This was first of all a cultural renaissance. During the decade 1795-1805

a chapter of German national literature had been written, chiefly in the city of Weimar. Lessing, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller brought the German language to a high point of perfection as an instrument of thought and feeling. Other writers made collections of early folk songs, and still others wrote in an interesting "romantic" way about Germany's great medieval past. Patriotic Germans, educated and cultured, no longer needed to seek a spiritual home in France.

The unfolding of Napoleon's German policy called forth an impassioned protest. The philosopher Fichte delivered his famous *Addresses to the German Nation* in Berlin during the winter of 1807-1808. By couching his patriotic appeal in historical language, he escaped exile, but his allusion to the Roman conquest of Germany was fairly transparent. The poet Arndt wrote war songs which openly called upon his readers to hate France and fight for Germany. He was exiled.

At the same time the leaders of Prussia proposed sweeping reforms; indeed, the Prussian regime was so shaken by defeat and humiliation that strenuous efforts were required for its rehabilitation. Frederick William III (1797-1840) took the sensible view that the French Revolution was a warning to all Old Regime countries, though he personally lacked the capacity and energy to direct the work of reform. What the Hohenzollern ruler lacked was amply supplied by his great minister Baron vom Stein. Three months after the signing of the Treaty of Tilsit, Stein issued a reform decree. Feudalism was abolished and any citizen might enter any occupation or profession. Commissions in the army were no longer reserved to the nobility. The principle of conscription was adopted and recruits were to be drawn exclusively from Prussian nationals. Napoleon had limited the Prussian army to 42,000 men, but by utilizing short-term enlistments and by continuing secretly the drilling of discharged recruits the Prussians were able in a short time to build up a well-trained force several times the size of that to which they had been limited. In the meantime a clean sweep was made of the higher officers of the armies beaten by Napoleon. Of 143 generals who had served in 1806 only two were still in service when Prussia next took the field. Seven of the cast-off generals were condemned to death. Stein himself was not a Prussian. "I have but one fatherland," he said; "it is called Germany."

### · Russia Grows Restless; Napoleon Invades

In the meantime Napoleon was having his troubles enforcing the Continental System. Louis Bonaparte, king of Holland, was disturbed by the hardships which his brother's trading system was inflicting upon the Dutch. Having permitted the entrance of British goods, Louis was



promptly dethroned; Holland was annexed to France. The annexation of the Atlantic coast line of Germany with its great ports was then announced. Russia, also, grew restless under the restraints of Napoleon's trading system and the tsar finally declared that he would no longer adhere to it. This was near the close of 1810. Russian Baltic ports were again opened to neutral ships, and tariffs were imposed upon goods from France. The British promptly took full and not too scrupulous advantage of the Russian loophole. Licensing neutral vessels, the British navy convoyed them through the Baltic in fleets of five hundred and more.

This was more than Napoleon could endure. He demanded that the tsar seize the "British" ships and destroy their cargoes. When the tsar refused, Napoleon prepared to invade Russia. In June, 1812, at the head of the largest army that he had ever commanded, he crossed the western boundary of Russia at the River Niemen, hoping to bring Russia quickly to terms after a few decisive battles. But the Russians had decided not to offer battle if they could possibly help it. Their plan was to give way before Napoleon's advance and thus lure him, through territory previously laid waste, far into the interior. There, it was felt, the wastage from famine and disease and the hardships of a Russian winter would decimate his forces more effectively than many battles. In close pursuit of the ever retreating Russians, Napoleon drove his army within two days' journey of Moscow before he could force the Russians to fight. Russian losses in the battle, at Borodino, were great, but the conflict was not decisive and Napoleon's own losses were considerable.

Entering the Russian metropolis on the 14th of September, Napoleon counted upon a much needed period of rest and recuperation for his troops. He was also in dire need of the stores of food which a great city could supply. During his stay in Moscow, furthermore, he felt sure that he could induce the tsar to accept the generous terms of peace which he was prepared to offer. The French dictator was doomed to bitter disappointment. Moscow was soon in flames, the fires having been set, in all probability, by the fleeing inhabitants. When the vast conflagration had burned itself out, nearly all the food supplies upon which Napoleon had counted had gone up in smoke. Three quarters of the city lay in ashes. For weeks Napoleon waited in the burnt-out ruins for the tsar to make peace. That, however, was something Alexander I had determined never to do. "It is," he said, "Napoleon or I. I or he. For he and I can no longer rule together." The tsar is reported to have declared that rather than submit he would go and eat potatoes with the last of his peasants.

At length Napoleon gave the order for withdrawal. The season was far advanced, and his hope of proceeding along a southern route was frustrated when the Russians occupied it in force. The French were com-

pelled to withdraw, therefore, along the route they had previously traversed. Losses from cold and hunger were frightful. Russian forces continually snapped at French heels. Heavy guns were soon abandoned, then transport wagons, finally even muskets, which the soldiers flung away to lighten their journey. It was in mid-December when the staggering French forces finally recrossed the Niemen. Of the 450,000 soldiers who had entered Russia in June, but 50,000 returned. The invasion had been a colossal military disaster.

### The War of Liberation

Shortly before his army reached the Niemen, Napoleon set out ahead for Paris. Traveling day and night in a sleeping carriage, with continual relays of horses, he reached the French capital in five days, having traversed a thousand miles. He promptly announced that he would be back on the Niemen in May (1813) with a new army; and with amazing energy he proceeded to gather and train his troops, calling to the colors conscripts of 1814 as well as of 1813. His need for materiel was even more pressing than his need for men, materiel to replace the enormous losses of the Russian campaign. French industry, we must remember, was still in the handicraft stage, and replacements took a good deal of time. The first of May, 1813, found Napoleon not indeed on the Niemen, but in Germany with an army of 300,000 youngsters who were not lacking in courage but who were decidedly short of training and equipment. This time Russia did not wait for Napoleon at the frontier.

In the previous February, Tsar Alexander had announced his determination to liberate Europe from the yoke of Napoleon and had signed an alliance with the Prussian king. It was their armies which Napoleon had entered Germany to meet. A series of battles was fought in which Napoleon usually remained master of the field but in which he could not achieve a decisive advantage. And his losses were heavy. In August his father-in-law, the emperor of Austria, entered the struggle against him. The allied forces, which were benefiting from the technical advice of two of Napoleon's greatest generals, Bernadotte and Moreau, finally closed in on Napoleon. In a three-day battle at Leipzig (October 16-19) they inflicted upon him a decisive defeat. During the battle many thousands of Napoleon's German troops went over to the other side, and with his remaining forces, Napoleon sought refuge beyond the Rhine.

The "War of Liberation" had now reached the decisive stage. State after state drove out the French garrisons. Soon German soil was completely free of French troops. The Dutch, with help from Great Britain, also expelled the French and recalled the house of Orange. In Italy an

Austrian army drove the French from Lombardy; the pope resumed his rule over Rome; in Naples and Sicily, Murat renounced Napoleon in the hope of saving his throne. Meanwhile Wellington had taken the last of the French strongholds in Spain and, having crossed the Pyrenees, he marched northward toward France.

### Napoleon Abdicates; Restoration of the Bourbons

The allies were now ready to make peace. Their healthy respect for Napoleon's fighting qualities was not an inducement to further warfare. Also, they were reluctant to humiliate the French and stir them to prolonged national resistance. Austria and England, furthermore, foresaw an increase of Russian power should the struggle be extended. The Austrian statesman Metternich, spokesman for the allies, offered to recognize Napoleon as the head of a French Empire with boundaries at the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine. To this offer, amazingly good as it seems to us, Napoleon made no reply, and in February, 1814, the allied armies invaded France.

Napoleon went down fighting. In battle after battle, against forces increasingly superior to his own, he managed to escape defeat but continually gave ground. At length, on March 30, 1814, the allies captured Paris, the tsar and the king of Prussia making a triumphant entry on the following day. A week later Napoleon was persuaded by his marshals to abdicate. It was a tearful scene as the fallen conqueror kissed the colors and embraced the members of his staff. Since the allies had now resolved to restore the Bourbons, Napoleon was exiled from France. He was assigned to the island of Elba, where he was given sovereign rights. It was just two years since, seemingly at the height of his power, he had announced his invasion of Russia.

Four days after Napoleon's abdication the royal house of Bourbon was summoned to resume its place at the head of France. Though the call was issued in the name of "the French People," it really represented the decision of the allied governments of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Determined as they had been and were to limit France to her historic boundaries, to say nothing of holding the subversive ideas of the French in check, the allies regarded the restoration of the Bourbons as a convenient symbol. The return of the Bourbons was accompanied by a popular demonstration of joy, though it was not clear how much of this was merely understandable rejoicing over the end of war. "The French people freely call to the throne of France Louis Xavier Stanislas, brother of the late king," ran the royal proclamation. Seemingly the principle of divine right was not to be stressed by the restored Bourbons. Their ac-

ceptance of revolutionary principles was embodied in a Constitutional Charter, or frame of government, which Louis XVIII, younger brother of Louis XVI, promulgated shortly after his accession. Affirming the fundamental civil and religious liberties on which Napoleon had laid emphasis, the new charter provided for a far greater participation in government by the people of France than their recent dictator had allowed.

### Back from Elba; the Hundred Days

Traditional continuity was assured by the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, and the good will of the nation might well be called forth by the new constitution, which preserved so much of what was best in the Revolution. Indeed, Louis XVIII was destined to give France the best government she had ever had. Less than a year after his accession, however, the new king was again in exile. In his island home the former emperor, far from accepting his fate, watchfully awaited an opportunity to mend his fortune.

Conferring at Vienna, the victorious allies were soon at odds. Russia demanded the whole of Poland as a reward for her efforts, and Prussia asked for the whole of Saxony. So outrageous did these demands seem to England and Austria that in January, 1815, they signed a treaty pledging themselves to resist them, by force, if need be. Meanwhile there was news from France which showed that the restored monarch did not understand the art of gaining popularity. Sixty years of age, exceedingly fat, and crippled with gout, Louis XVIII was scarcely a popular figure. Moreover, he lacked the good sense or the will to divorce himself from the representatives of the Old Regime, who now flocked back to France. Clergy of the most reactionary type surrounded the king, talking loudly of their purpose of regaining church lands. Emigré nobles again became prominent at court. When the king, in fulfillment of armistice conditions, demobilized the army of Napoleon, placing some 14,000 officers on the retired list, it was observed that exiled nobles were singled out for military advancement. Judging that his moment had arrived, Napoleon landed at Cannes in the south of France on the 1st of March. In less than three weeks he was again installed in Paris. Proclaiming that he had returned "to protect the threatened blessings of the Revolution," Napoleon retook France without firing a shot. This was, as he later said, the happiest period of his life.

### Waterloo

Napoleon's dramatic enterprise was doomed to failure; there had never been a chance of its success. The allies promptly dropped their quarrels

and closed ranks. Four armies were set in motion toward the French frontiers. Napoleon's only hope was to defeat them separately, for his own forces were outnumbered by each of the armies opposing him. His decision was soon made to set out for Belgium to forestall the British under Wellington.

A four-day campaign culminated in the battle of Waterloo south of Brussels on Sunday, June 18, 1815. All day long the British repulsed the successive assaults of French infantry and cavalry. Then, as the day wore away, the Prussian army, which Napoleon had thought at a safe distance, arrived on the scene. Heavily outnumbered, the French fled in panic. In vain Napoleon sought to rally his forces. "I ought to have died at Waterloo," he said, "but there was no bullet for me." Returning to Paris, he abdicated once more, and made his way to the coast, where he hoped to escape to America. Foiled by British blockaders, he surrendered to an English captain on board the "Bellerophon." This time the verdict of the allied representatives at Vienna was exile to St. Helena, an island in mid-Atlantic, 1200 miles west of Africa. There, after six years, Napoleon died at the age of fifty-two.

## CHAPTER XX

### *The Congress of Vienna; Revolution Retarded*

AFTER a quarter of a century of revolution and war Europe was at peace. In September, 1814, before Napoleon's return, two emperors, half a dozen kings, and scores of princes had gathered at Vienna to make a settlement. Their attitude toward the Revolution, and toward Napoleon, who posed as its representative, was unfriendly, to say the least. The purpose of these "titled brokers" of Vienna was to restore all governments that had been overturned. Provision must be made also against the possibility of future aggression on the part of France. The return of French revolutionary ideas must be guarded against. Finally, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain, the four powers upon whom the chief burden of the war had fallen, were minded to compensate themselves for their trouble. These four principles of action explain nearly all of the many decisions taken at the Congress of Vienna during its nine months of life.

#### Compensation for the Victors

Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England each came to the congress with a pretty clear idea of what its own compensation should be. Russia regarded herself, and was regarded, as the savior of Europe. Her emissaries demanded that the grand duchy of Warsaw, the Polish state erected by Napoleon, should go to the tsar. For his part, the tsar undertook to transform the grand duchy into a kingdom, with himself as its ruler, and to grant to his Polish subjects a constitution. Tsar Alexander I might be an imperialist, but he was determined that the world should regard him as a liberal. Finland, which Napoleon had taken from Sweden, and certain provinces which Russia had taken from Turkey during the recent wars were also to be permanently annexed to the dominions of the tsar. The king of Prussia, we have seen, demanded the whole of the kingdom of Saxony, his neighbor on the south. The Saxon monarchy, to be sure, was older than that of Prussia, but the legitimacy of the monarchy was held to have been compromised by its alliance with Napoleon during the years prior to the battle of Leipzig.

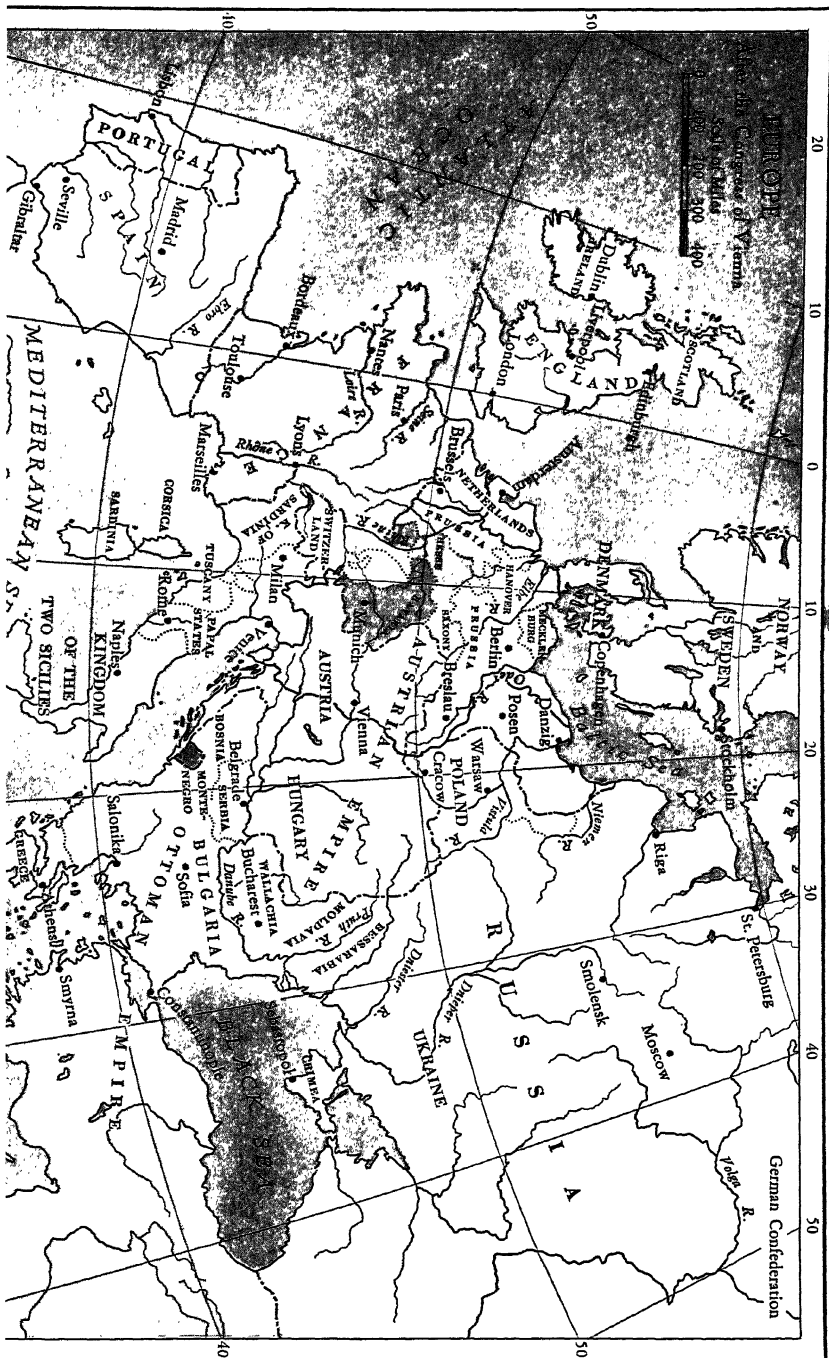
So disturbed were Austria and England by this exhibition of land-

grabbing that they threatened to go to war against their late companions in arms (see above, p. 359), and it was this untoward development that encouraged the ever watchful Napoleon to return from Elba. Confident of the ultimate outcome, the congress continued its sittings during the dramatic "Hundred Days" which ended at Waterloo. Russian and Prussian claims were scaled down somewhat, Russia retaining most of the duchy of Warsaw, and Prussia being awarded about two fifths of Saxony and important provinces on the lower Rhine. The gains of Austria and England, though less extensive, were nevertheless of considerable importance. Austria gave up her distant provinces on the lower Rhine (the Austrian Netherlands) which she had held for a century. In compensation she received the important valley of the Po, known as Lombardy-Venetia, rounded out with adjacent lands on the western shore of the Adriatic. After twenty years of almost uniformly disastrous war, Austria thus emerged as a substantial victor. Her population was larger than before, and so strongly was she entrenched in Italy that she was able to dominate the politics of that peninsula for half a century to come. England, organizer of coalition after coalition and paymaster of the allies through those last desperate years of the war, contented herself with colonies. These were taken partly from France and partly from other countries, such as Holland, which had been the allies of France. England's gains included Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean, Capetown on the southern tip of South Africa, and Ceylon, one of the richest islands in the world.

As a buffer against France on the southeast, the little kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia was strengthened by the addition of the republic of Genoa. On the east, the Swiss Confederation was enlarged by the addition of three cantons formerly belonging to France. On the northeast, the kingdom of Holland was more than doubled by the addition of the Austrian Netherlands, though this territory was partly a compensation to the Dutch for their loss of Ceylon and Capetown. Another act of the Congress of Vienna was the separation of Sweden from Denmark and its annexation to Norway.

### Quadruple Alliance and Holy Alliance

To guard against future revolutionary uprisings, the coalition which had beaten Napoleon was continued. Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England entered into an agreement to maintain the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, to meet in periodical congress to observe the condition of Europe, and if necessary to intervene jointly to suppress incipient or actual revolution. "It is only necessary," said Metternich, "to place in the four corners of Europe four energetic men who know what they







want and are agreed on the manner of carrying out their wishes. Let them raise their voices and their arms at the same moment and the whole agitation vanishes like so much smoke." The principles upon which the Quadruple Alliance proceeded may be seen still more clearly in its declaration issued at Troppau in 1820: "States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution cease to be members of the European Alliance. If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other states, the powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or, if need be, by arms, to bring back the guilty state into the bosom of the great alliance." This principle of the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of other nations was new in the international law of Europe. England shortly withdrew from the group of four powers but France took her place.

We can understand the Quadruple Alliance even if we cannot sympathize with it. The "Holy Alliance," on the other hand, is a phenomenon which we may find it easy to sympathize with, but difficult to understand. The Congress of Vienna, as such, had nothing to do with it. It was rather the spontaneous product of war weariness. Emotional exhaustion, after a great war, coupled with a sense of utter discouragement at the failure of mankind to live up to its ideals and not unmixed with a considerable horror at the suffering which war entails, frequently results in a feeling that war must be abolished. A movement then ensues which aims at the reconstruction of international society along lines such as will, it is hoped, make the recurrence of war impossible. We have seen that such movements followed the Thirty Years' War and the War of the Spanish Succession.

The leader of the "no more war" movement in 1815 was Tsar Alexander I. His sense of importance had been greatly enhanced by the title of "savior of Europe." The tsar was a man of marked emotional instability and, it is possible, of intermittent insanity. At the time of the Congress of Vienna he was in a mood of mystic pietism, to which remorse for his share in the murder of his father may have contributed. During the concluding months of the congress, the tsar had come under the influence of a German baroness named Barbara von Krüdener, who believed it to be her mission to save Europe by converting Europe's princes to Christianity. The baroness held a series of prayer meetings to which she invited distinguished people and which they attended because of her social position. At one of these meetings the tsar, after three hours of emotional stress and strain, was "converted." Inspired by religious fervor, he then set out to convert his fellow princes. "Let us," he said, "solemnly pledge ourselves to adhere, in the government of our subjects and in our relations to each other, to the principles of Christianity. Thus shall we be able to construct a European society more pleasing to the Prince of Peace."

Alexander formally called upon each European sovereign to take the pledge. Since no Christian prince was willing to confess that he did not wish to rule in accordance with the rules of Christianity, this Holy Alliance, as it was called, enlisted the support of nearly all the princes of Europe. Turkey did not sign because she was not asked. George III of England was insane at the moment and, therefore, did not sign. The pope, for his part, regarded the whole business as a piece of impertinence and replied to the invitation by saying, "The papacy has from time immemorial been in possession of the truths of Christianity and needs no fresh interpretation of them." Meeting with almost universal approval, outside these quarters, the Holy Alliance was nevertheless a dead letter from the start. Europe was to be governed not by the principles of the Holy Alliance but by those of the Quadruple Alliance.

### Metternich the Reactionary

The man who more than any other was responsible for the attempt to enforce the purposes of the Quadruple Alliance was Metternich. Of great wealth and commanding position, and not unknown for his scientific and literary ability, Metternich was the sworn foe of liberalism in all its forms. As such he gave his name to a period of history. With an egotism almost inconceivably complete and far-reaching, this Austrian nobleman considered it his mission to "prop the decaying structure of European society." "My position has this peculiarity," he said, "that all eyes, all expectations, are attracted to precisely that point where I happen to be." At the end of his long career some thirty-five years after the Congress of Vienna had closed, Metternich was able to look back over his life and assert without qualification that he had "never strayed from the path of eternal law, and that his mind had never entertained an error." The Holy Alliance sponsored by the tsar he characterized as "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense." Of Metternich's contributions to reaction in Austria and Germany we shall see something in a later chapter.

### The Spanish Revolution

Metternich's system had its first test in Spain. One of the most callous of the many deeds of Napoleon had been his seizure of that country in 1808. King Ferdinand VII, whose place was taken by Napoleon's brother Joseph, remained for some years in France, practically a prisoner. In the meantime the Spanish people, as we have seen, rose in a revolt which was the first of a series of risings against the Napoleonic regime. The leadership of the Spanish revolt was seized by liberals, few in number though

vigorous in action. Their principal constructive work was the drafting of an instrument of government, the famous Constitution of 1812. This constitution, which had a wide influence in Europe, combined the spirit of the French Revolution with the form of English monarchy. Proclaiming the sovereignty of the people and the rights of man, it abolished the privileged classes and drove out the Inquisition. Naturally when Ferdinand VII, along with other legitimate monarchs, was restored in 1814, the Constitution of 1812 was abrogated, and the Spanish king, who had spent his exile chiefly in embroidering a robe for a pilgrimage shrine, inaugurated a regime of reaction and repression that won the approval of Metternich himself.

Zealous in stamping out liberalism, Ferdinand was inefficient in dealing with financial and economic problems. A persistent deficit grew larger. The economic condition of the eleven million Spanish people was wretched. King Ferdinand faced also the problem of re-establishing Spanish authority over a vast overseas empire, which had risen in revolt. In Central and South America some twenty republics had been established shortly after Joseph Bonaparte became king of Spain. These republican governments were disinclined to give up their independence and resume their status as Spanish provinces. Some four or five years after his return to the throne, King Ferdinand began slowly to gather ships and men preparatory to the reassertion of his authority in the New World. Responding to his plea, the tsar sold Ferdinand eight warships. These proved to be unseaworthy, but still had to be paid for—out of a treasury already overburdened. When unpaid soldiers and sailors at Cadiz mutinied, the expedition was postponed. The liberals of 1812 again raised their heads, and a new revolution broke out (1820). Badly frightened, Ferdinand promised to restore the Constitution of 1812 and call an election of the Cortes.

The Cortes energetically took up a program of reform which included many anticlerical and antifeudal measures. In the meantime the revolutionary movement spread to Italy, where both in Naples and in Piedmont uprisings occurred and the Spanish Constitution of 1812 was adopted by liberal groups. Greek revolutionaries, also, in 1821 fired the first shots in their long campaign for independence from Turkey. Since the Italian revolts touched Austria most nearly, Metternich summoned his allies for a conference. Russia and Prussia agreed that intervention in Italy was justified, but England, though led by the reactionary Castlereagh, was indifferent. Austrian armies were authorized to proceed and monarchs of the Old Regime were quickly put back on their thrones in Piedmont and Naples. At the same time all liberal concessions were canceled.

Metternich then reorganized the Quadruple Alliance by replacing

the indifferent England with France, which by this time seemed to have become sufficiently conservative. At a congress at Verona in 1822 the four powers, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France, decided to send joint notes to the Spanish Cortes demanding the abolition of the Constitution of 1812 and the "liberation" of Ferdinand. When the Cortes refused to comply, the four powers broke off diplomatic relations with the Spanish government and authorized France, as nearest neighbor, to intervene in the name of the allies. Accordingly, in April, 1823, ninety-five thousand French troops crossed the Pyrenees. This force proved to be quite sufficient to deal with the liberal movement in Spain. The regime of Ferdinand was resuscitated, and in a brief reign of terror the Spanish liberals were scattered and destroyed. Hundreds were executed and thousands driven from the country. The hunt was led by an organization called the Society of the Exterminating Angel.

### The Monroe Doctrine

The restored king of Spain promptly asked that the four powers now assist him to recover his overseas empire. His request had a sympathetic hearing, and the suggestion was made that a conference be held on the matter. It is to be doubted whether any of the four would have been so unrealistic as to authorize intervention by armed force, but before a conference could be held, England and America put an end to speculation.

The reactionary Castlereagh had been succeeded as British foreign minister by the less reactionary Canning, who sympathized with liberalism to a certain extent, though he did not want it brought too near home. His view was that the leadership of the Quadruple Alliance was giving Europe over far too exclusively to reaction. In a famous phrase, he declared that he had "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." Between July and December, 1823, while French troops were re-establishing the authority of Ferdinand in Spain, Canning extended British diplomatic recognition to some twenty new republics in Central and South America.

Of course Canning was not unmindful of the opportunity for commercial intercourse which the independence of these countries held out to British merchants. England had long fought for a share of the rich trade of Spanish America. The new Spanish republics would be free not only of Spain's political authority but also of her commercial restraint. It may seem strange that diplomatic recognition by Canning should have been deemed a matter of such decisive importance. We must remember, however, that Britain possessed not only the largest navy in Europe but, in



PRINCE METTERNICH (*pp. 364 and 414*)

By Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830), a portrait painter of men and women of fashion.



DUKE OF WELLINGTON (*p. 334*)

By Goya (1746-1828), famous Spanish artist whose work is noted for its realism. This portrait was done while Wellington was commanding the British and Spanish forces in Spain.



Wellington  
(Britain) Metternich  
(Austria)  
Hardenberg  
(Prussia)

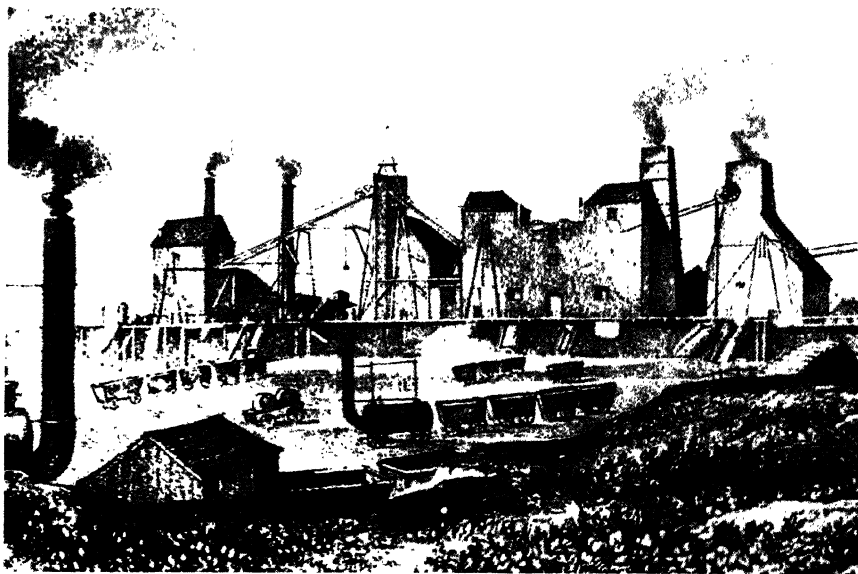
Nesselrode  
(Russia)

Castlereagh  
(Britain)

Labrador  
(Spain)

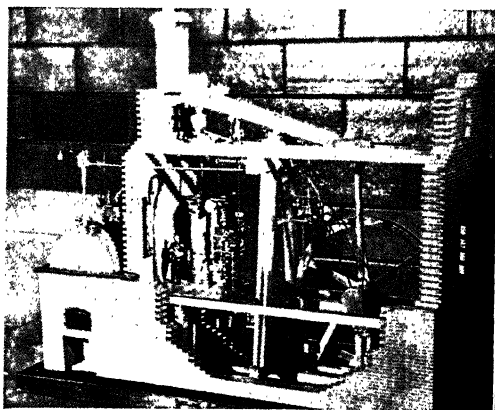
Gentz  
(Austria) Humboldt  
(Prussia)  
Talleyrand  
(France)

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (*p. 361*)



# COAL MINING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Railroads were first used in mines.



WATT'S STEAM ENGINE (p. 380)  
(*"The Scientific Monthly"*)

# ARKWRIGHT'S SPINNING FRAME

(p. 379)  
(*New York Museum of  
Science and Industry*)



fact, the only navy. No expeditionary force, large or small, could be successfully launched against the New World over England's opposition.

More than once during the months in which Canning had been thus engaged he had invited the cooperation of the United States. President Monroe and his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, steadily declined to accept the invitation. Finally, December 2, 1823, in his annual message to Congress, President Monroe announced the policy of the United States toward the republics of the New World, and toward the Old World against which they had rebelled, in a statement which has become known as the Monroe Doctrine, the most famous statement of policy in the annals of American diplomacy.

"Our policy with reference to Europe," President Monroe declared, "is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers. On the other hand, the powers of Europe must not extend their political system to either of the two American continents. To do so would endanger our peace and happiness." There can be no doubt, of course, as to what Monroe meant by "their political system." It was monarchy and divine right, as opposed to sovereignty of the people and representative government. England, scarcely less, in our view, than the other powers of Europe, was a land of monarchy and divine right. We could not, therefore, associate ourselves with her in a declaration of policy. It should be noted that when we thus assumed the leadership of the two Americas, England was as great an American power as we. Furthermore, the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine as against European powers would depend at the moment far more upon Britain's navy than upon our own strength. Such a maneuver, it has been said, is the highest manifestation of the diplomatic art.

### Liberalism Survives

The gentlemen of Vienna looked upon the Revolution as a bad dream or, as one of them put it, "a fatal interlude which we have expunged from our memory." The Revolution was not dead, but it was temporarily under a cloud. Some of the foremost thinkers of the time had been alienated by its excesses. Democracy, they believed, had revealed itself as worse than absolute monarchy. "In the forty years of my observation," said Edmund Burke, "as much injustice and tyranny has been practiced in a few months by a French democracy as by all the arbitrary monarchs of despotism." Furthermore, French revolutionaries had shown little respect for established ways or time-tested institutions. The French writer Le Maistre affirmed that the existing generation is not the owner of the edifice of civilization; it is only its tenant, in duty bound to treat it with respect and hand it on to the next generation unimpaired. Metternich denounced



democracy in unmeasured terms and graphic phrases. It was, he said, "the disease which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be burned out with a hot iron, the hydra with jaws open to swallow up the social order."

The Revolution survived the era of reaction which followed the downfall of Napoleon and went on in the nineteenth century to new and impressive triumphs. The form which it assumed in this century was liberalism. The liberals emphasized individualism. They took over the humanistic emphasis of the Renaissance and gave it a political slant. Individuals are the atoms of which society is composed. Every man should stand on his own feet, endowed with full civil rights. He should be free to worship God as he pleases, have and express such opinions as he chooses, and enter such profession, hold such office, and own such property as his ability and energy make possible. That government is best which governs least. "Liberty consists in the power to do anything that does not injure others," was the affirmation of the French Declaration of Rights. John Stuart Mill in his essay *On Liberty* declared that "the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. . . . Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign." The moral basis of liberalism was the thesis that so far as practicable all human actions must be voluntary. The rule of action in a society so constituted will be enlightened self-interest; the social goal, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

Nineteenth-century liberalism was a favorite dogma of the middle class. Bankers, traders, shopkeepers, and professional men rejected the arbitrary power of king and mob with equal vigor. They greatly prized the opportunities for initiative and enterprise which the emphasis on individualism held out. Having raised themselves by their own efforts above the level of the masses in the world of business or the professions, the bourgeoisie believed themselves to be well fitted for political authority as well. But liberalism appealed also to certain individuals in all ranks of society. The landed nobility of England supplied many a liberal leader, as did the aristocracy of Italy, Hungary, and France. Many of the lesser princes of Germany were to be found in the ranks of the liberals, as were the later monarchs of the Italian house of Savoy. As for the lower classes, the benefits of liberalism could hardly be denied to them on philosophical grounds; as the century advanced, it became increasingly impossible to delay the transition from liberalism to democracy.

Liberals generally believed in limited monarchies rather than republics. They favored legislatures of ample powers operating under the cabinet system of government. In such matters the English government

was a model. In short, political liberalism may be said to have been a compound of French theory and British practice.

### New Emphasis on Nationalism

Closely associated with liberalism, though not invariably so, was nationalism. A nation has been defined as "a cultural homogeneous social group which is at once conscious and tenacious of the unity of psychic life and expression." It is clear from this definition that nowhere in Europe was there true nationalism before the French Revolution. Everywhere, however, and in some lands much more than in others, the foundations of nationalism had long since been laid. The demarcation of a homeland, the perfection of the predominant language, the slow accretion of a literature expressive of the national character, the establishment of economic unity, and the centralizing of authority—these are some of the bases of modern nationalism which can be found as far back as the middle ages. In many of these processes a native dynasty had assumed the post of leadership, and to it patriotic sentiment not infrequently became attached. As French royalists loved to say, "France was made by her forty kings."

True nationalism, in the modern sense, was first achieved in France and during the Revolution. Successive revolutionary regimes gave to the French people unity, organic life, and conscious power unknown to any former age. A government by the people, the concept of a common citizenship, a scheme of national education, and a national army raised by conscription were some of the things which brought French nationalism to full stature. The new emphasis on nationalism soon met with wide acceptance throughout Europe. This was not because the peoples of Europe loved France; frequently it was because they hated her. Napoleon's callous disregard of national feelings struck deep; and the "war of liberation" of 1813-1814, often led, it is true, by Old Regime monarchs, was an outburst of nationalist resentment against French tyranny.

In some parts of the Continent, nationalist movements were inspired by the success with which the revolutionaries had organized and made effective the national life of France. Among the Finns nationalist sentiment was so strong that though the Congress of Vienna confirmed Russia's conquest of Finland, the tsar held it as a separate political entity with a parliament of its own. Poland was given much the same treatment; her parliament was more generally representative of the people than even the parliament of England. Norway, awarded to Sweden in compensation for her loss of Finland, was, at the demand of Norwegian patriots, held by the Swedish crown as "a free, independent, indivisible kingdom" with a liberal constitution of its own. The Belgian people,

handed over by the house of Hapsburg to the house of Orange in 1815, threw off the sovereignty of the latter in 1830. Italians were jolted out of their accustomed channels of thought and feeling by the impact of French revolutionary ideas and armies. Upon the Italian people the French regime had weighed heavily, and their hatred of the French found expression in a vigorous outburst of Italian literature.

All liberals were nationalists, and to nationalism they brought much of the idealism which inspired them as liberals. National liberation, they were confident, would come largely by peaceful means through the power of ideas. All that was required was the creation among a people, through education, of "a universal mental state." Above all peoples is a common humanity. The interests of this humanity it is the duty of nations to uphold. It is a curious fact that nationalism drew supporters also, however, from political reactionaries. But the reactionaries did not believe that liberty and union were one and inseparable. The spirit of the illiberal nationalists was realistic; they put their trust in force. A series of defeats suffered by the liberal nationalists in 1848 was to strengthen the hands of the realists.

### New Age of Culture: Romanticism

Contemporary with the French Revolution, and continuing for the half-century that followed, was a new age of culture, the age of Romanticism. Rousseau was reputedly its father. Romanticists were in revolt against the critical, destructive, rationalistic emphasis of the Enlightenment. Man not only thinks; he feels, they said; and they pointed out that this is especially true of the lower orders of mankind. For dealing with the injustices and miseries of society, scientific analysis and the formulation of social and economic laws must give place to swift action; right reason must yield to righteous indignation. In the arts, correctness of form matters little in comparison with sincerity of feeling. The Revolution itself, inspired partly by the Enlightenment, had turned out to be an emotional, not an intellectual drama. To the intellectually aristocratic temper of the Enlightenment the democratic side of the Revolution was utterly foreign.

Another important contrast between the Enlightenment and the Romantic Movement is that the former had dealt with the abstract laws of society, while the latter was deeply concerned with its concrete facts. Romantic novelists, poets, and historians were acutely conscious of the state of contemporary society, and depicted it in detail with telling effect. When Shelley wrote (1819) that "the majority of the people of England are destitute and miserable, ill clothed, ill fed, ill educated," he knew whereof he spoke. Romanticists in general did not share the En-

lightenment's enthusiasm for the generalizations of science; they preferred history for its record of concrete facts.

The Romanticists were by no means agreed, however, on what was the best remedy for the ills of society. Sir Walter Scott was a monarchist, Shelley a republican. Victor Hugo was a royalist, in his teens, and a socialist in his eighties. The creed of the Romantic poets has been stated as follows: trust your genius; follow your noble heart; change your doctrine whenever your heart changes; and change your heart often.

### Romantic Poets

Especially well known to the English-speaking world is the political poetry of Byron and Shelley. Byron, whose career was as stormy as his poetry, has been called the enemy of the Holy Alliance. Pouring his fire upon the English reactionaries, he wrote scathingly of

A king who can't, a Prince of Wales who don't,  
People who shan't, and ministers who won't.

His political faith may be summed up in the following line: "I wish all men to be free, as much from mobs as kings, from you as me." In the end Byron was to give his life in the cause of Greek independence.

Shelley was perhaps even more violently radical in his political opinions. His greatest poem, "Prometheus Unbound," is an allegory wherein Prometheus, the friend of man, chained to a rock by Jove, the symbol of the forces of reaction, is at last freed. Castlereagh, chief of the English Tories, Shelley had called, in unkind reference to his gout, a "swell-foot tyrant."

I met murder on the way.  
He had a mask like Castlereagh.

In his poem "England in 1819," Shelley referred to the reigning monarch as "an old, mad, blind, despised and dying king, the dregs of his dull race, mud from a muddy stream."

### Romantic Prose Writers

Historians as well as poets showed the influence of the Romantic Movement. The Frenchman Thiers (1797-1877) wrote a history of France during the Revolution and under Napoleon which extended to some thirty volumes. The work reveals the author's feeling that the new France, united, organically integrated, and individualist, is much to be preferred to the France of the Old Regime. An English contemporary was Henry Hallam, whose *Constitutional History of England* is still valuable. Writing in

a period of Tory reaction, Hallam affirmed that English progress was bound up with the success of liberalism. At the same time a Swiss historian of Italian ancestry, Sismondi, showed in his *Historical Studies of the Italian City-States in the Middle Ages* that no state can become or remain great without liberty.

Other Romanticists combined fact and fiction in long historical novels. The greatest of these works were the Waverley novels of Sir Walter Scott. Scott's novels found a host of readers and not a few imitators in the leading countries of Europe. In France, De Vigny wrote an elegant and picturesque portrayal of the country under Richelieu entitled *Cinq-Mars* (1826). Victor Hugo (1802-1885) in his *Notre-Dame de Paris* described Paris in the middle ages as he thought it should have been, if not exactly as it was. In *Les Misérables*, a work that has the proportions of a prose epic, he scathingly condemned man's inhumanity to man. Hugo's poetry, which is even more highly esteemed than his prose, reveals him as the enemy of tyranny, the friend of democracy. The most widely read of all the historical novelists of the period, however, was Dumas, whose cloak-and-sword romances, *The Three Musketeers* (1844) and *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844), still fascinate a multitude of readers. In Italy, Manzoni painted a picture of Spanish oppression and tyranny in the seventeenth century which was actually a faithful portrait of Austrian rule in the nineteenth. This work, *The Betrothed* (1827), is one of the greatest historical novels ever written.

An important aspect of Romanticism was a revival of religion. This owed its rise, in some measure, to a reaction against the ill treatment of religion and the church by the revolutionaries. In England, Methodism continued to spread; the Church of England itself developed an important evangelical wing under Methodist influence; a Catholic revival was soon to follow. In Germany, Protestantism was strengthened when Frederick William III united the Calvinists and Lutherans of Prussia (1817). In Rome, the pope reconstituted the order of the Jesuits in 1814, the same year in which he returned to Rome. In France, interest in Catholicism was revived under the stimulus of Chateaubriand's *Genius of Christianity* (1802). Symbolic of the quickened interest in religion was the project of the Holy Alliance which the tsar of Russia brought forward at the Congress of Vienna.

### Philosophy in the Age of Romanticism

Philosophy was a matter of special concern to Romantic poets and thinkers. They held that life is a whole, not a bundle of parts. Descartes, in the seventeenth century, taking the human mind as the instrument of

truth, had affirmed that there are built-in patterns of thought common to all minds. Locke, later in the same century, held that at birth the mind is a blank, that all knowledge comes through the senses and through reflection on sense impressions, not from built-in patterns. David Hume, British philosopher and historian of the eighteenth century, carried the argument of Locke (see above, p. 284) to its logical conclusion and threw doubt on the possibility of attaining scientific truth at all. If the mind learns only from impressions transmitted by the senses, how can mind be sure of itself? This was "reason attacking itself," and was a body blow to rationalism.

From this philosophical dilemma the world was rescued by Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). For eighty years Kant dwelt in his native city of Königsberg in East Prussia, never journeying more than fifty miles beyond the city limits. So regular was he in his comings and goings that the townsfolk could set their watches by them. Kant vindicated the method of science, which tests the reality of phenomena by measurement of their cause and effect and of their position in time and space. But he also asserted that mind has an independent existence, so to speak, since it is mind which supplies the categories which science makes use of in its tests of reality. Thus Kant satisfied the longing for wholeness which inspired the Romanticists. It should be said, however, that later philosophers have tended to emphasize one or another of the aspects of Kant's synthesis rather than to accept it as a whole.

## CHAPTER XXI

### *The Agricultural and Industrial Revolution*

THERE began in the eighteenth century a series of changes in agriculture and industry which have effected a profounder change in the life of man in two centuries than had come to pass, cumulatively, during the twenty centuries preceding. In Europe man's life had been, as we have seen, predominantly agricultural. Moreover, save in the Netherlands and the north of Italy, European farming was on a subsistence basis.

#### Farming Methods Still Medieval

The lands of an agricultural village normally lay in three great unfenced fields, each cultivator having a third of his acres well dispersed in each field. The farming methods which the open-field system necessitated were wasteful, and there was little chance of change. Year after year one great field was sown broadcast with a bread crop, that is, wheat or rye, another with a drink crop, that is, barley, and the third field lay fallow, being twice plowed to keep down the weeds. The necessity of "bare fallow" for arable land every third year was well known, though the scientific reason for it was not discovered until the middle of the nineteenth century. Medieval farmers knew that unless land was allowed to "rest," as they called it, every third year, it soon lost its fertility. With proper rest the same soil could be cultivated year after year for centuries without any diminution of return. It is now known, of course, that what happens during a year of bare fallowing is that nitrates, so essential to plant growth, are fixed in the soil. After a year of rest, nitrate fixation attains a level not much inferior to that of virgin land never brought under the plow.

Serfdom had vanished from western Europe. The last vestiges of this medieval status were swept from France by the Revolution. In Germany the reforms instituted as a result of military defeat by the armies of Napoleon included emancipation of the serfs. Personally free, the rural population, by far the largest element in the population of western Europe, was made up principally of sharecroppers and casual laborers. The number of peasant proprietors was small. During the eighteenth cen-

tury it was further reduced by the building up, in a good many countries, of large estates.

Livestock in the eighteenth century continued to be medieval. Sheep were grown for their wool; the average sheep was a runty, long-haired animal weighing about thirty pounds. Cattle were equally scrawny, since pasture lands were persistently overstocked and little provision was made for fodder in winter. After existing in a half-starved state for months, cattle were sometimes so weakened by springtime that they had to be carried out to pasture, where they gradually ate themselves back to full strength. Moreover, there was no improvement through selective breeding, since the sheep and cattle of the villagers were herded together. Progressive deterioration was the rule. The village pasture was, as a contemporary observed, a place where "a few lean sheep and rabbits struggled for each blade of grass."

Though subsistence farming predominated, capitalist farming made itself felt during the century. There was an increased demand for the products of agriculture, and prices were high. For this the growth of population, especially urban population, was partly responsible. With such inducements to increased production, much agricultural experimentation took place. Experiment was obviously next to impossible in villages where the open-field method of farming prevailed; it was a process reserved for a landlord with a good-sized estate entirely under his control. The number of such estates was already considerable. Many landlords had separated their farm lands from the lands of their tenants, gathering them together in an "enclosure" of a few hundred acres. In England, it is estimated, 40 per cent of the land had been enclosed by 1700. Capital also was necessary for experiment, and this was frequently found in the hands of men who had grown rich in trade and had then bought land, partly as an investment and partly as a means of acquiring social prestige. It was among the wealthier landlords with compact farms and with the capital to finance experiments that scientific farming began.

### The Revolution in Agriculture

England was the country in which the agricultural revolution was first achieved, though her experimenters borrowed much from the Dutch. A new crop rotation system was worked out by which no land available for agriculture was allowed to lie fallow at any time. In a given field, for example, wheat was sown; in the following year, barley. The third year, instead of lying fallow, the field was sown to turnips planted in rows. Cultivation between the rows kept down the weeds, and the turnips when harvested were stored as fodder for cattle. The fourth year the same



field was sown to clover or alfalfa. The experimenters had observed that a field upon which a heavy crop of clover was grown would produce in the following year a yield of wheat that almost doubled any previous crop. Here again the scientific reason was discovered years later. The roots of clover and alfalfa have the quality of nitrate fixation to a high degree. An examination of the rootlets of these plants will show this. The new four-crop rotation system was made use of with conspicuous success by a prominent landholder of Norfolk County named Lord Townshend, or "Turnip Townshend," as he was sometimes called. Driven from the cabinet by his brother-in-law Sir Robert Walpole, Townshend had turned his attention to the improvement of his estates through agricultural experiment. He doubled their value in a decade.

As will readily be appreciated, the redemption of the arable land of England from the process of bare fallowing increased the available supply of land in a given year by 50 per cent. The maximum benefit of the new crop rotation system, however, was not attained until the middle of the nineteenth century. The beneficial results of a crop of clover are not fully apparent unless the crop is a heavy one, and this required an extensive use of fertilizers which were not available until a later time.

Other agricultural improvements followed. Jethro Tull suggested the abandonment of the broadcast method of sowing in favor of the seed drill. Cultivation between the rows was comparatively easy, and it destroyed the weeds, always active competitors for moisture and plant food, and also pulverized the soil with beneficial results. The mechanical cultivator which Tull invented was named the horse hoe. Tull's book on *Horse Hoeing Husbandry* was published in 1733. Before the end of the century the iron plow displaced the wooden plow, as did the threshing machine the hand flail. The mechanical reaper, however, one of the most important of all agricultural inventions, was not available until 1834. Arthur Young, whose travels through France on the eve of the French Revolution are well known, was also deeply interested in agricultural experiments. His writings were largely responsible for the establishment by Parliament, in 1793, of a Board of Agriculture.

While some farmers were experimenting with the new system of crop rotation, others turned their attention to the problem of improving live-stock. First of all, they separated their own sheep and cattle from the common herd and then, by a process of selective breeding, strove to increase both weight and quality. By the middle of the century Robert Bakewell had produced the small-boned but heavy Leicester sheep, the average weight of which was not thirty pounds but eighty. The weight of bees was also increased, from an average of four hundred pounds in 1710 to an average, in 1795, of eight hundred pounds. Among the new species of

cattle developed in this century were the famous short-horned Durham and Hereford. An important chapter in the history of sheep raising in England was begun with the importation from Spain of the Merino (1788). The famous wool-producing sheep of Australia are descended from a crossing of the Merino with an improved strain of English sheep.

### The Industrial Revolution Defined

The essence of the industrial revolution was the substitution of machines for human hands in the processes of manufacture. This change involved also the employment of the capitalistic form of industrial organization in place of the simpler craft shop, for machines were expensive and so was the power required to run them. "Revolution" is not too strong a term to apply to the changes which took place; it does, however, suggest a quicker transformation than was actually the case. Simple machines were widely known to Europe in the middle ages, and the capitalistic form of industrial organization first appeared in the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the craft shop still prevailed in large areas of Europe as late as the second half of the nineteenth century, and in the Orient it is widely prevalent today. "Transition to industrialism," better than "revolution," suggests the gradual nature of the transformation that has taken place over a long period and is still going on.

### Industrialism in England First

Industrialism came first to England because of the greatly increased demand for English articles of manufacture during the eighteenth century. England emerged from the contest for empire with the largest aggregation of colonies in the world, and the demand for English manufactures was bound to increase in proportion to the growth of her empire. How profitable manufacturing was may be judged from the fact that in 1725 an English product sold in America for two and a half times its original cost. The increase of England's trade during the century can be measured by her outward-bound tonnage, which rose from 317,000 tons in 1700 to 959,000 tons in 1783, an increase of 200 per cent.

The vast wealth of India, upon which England was freely drawing in the latter part of the century, noticeably stimulated British industry. India was a source of stored-up wealth, which, as it began to flow to England, naturally sought outlets for investment. These were found in the many industrial enterprises now being built up.

A factor of immense importance in enabling England to industrialize herself so early and so completely was the development of her coal and

iron resources for use in the making of machinery. Iron had long been smelted in England, as in other countries of western Europe, by the charcoal method. This was a slow and expensive process, a single charcoal furnace having an output of about five tons of metal per week. Some of the molten iron was ladled out into molds for the preparation of cast-iron products. The rest was allowed to run out of the furnace into a bed of sand, in which a main trench and several lateral trenches had been dug. Here it was allowed to cool, being later refined for use in the metal-working trades. The main trench was called the "sow," and the lateral trenches, pigs; hence the term "pig iron." It is estimated that the British output of pig iron under the laborious charcoal process was about 25,000 tons in 1720. A succession of English iron masters succeeded, during the eighteenth century, in utilizing coal in place of charcoal in iron production. By the end of the century the national output of pig iron had been multiplied by ten and stood at 250,000 tons a year.

Of prime importance in this development of smelting was the fortunate location of England's coal and iron deposits. As long as charcoal smelting prevailed, iron production was a by-product of agriculture; large supplies of wood were needed for charcoal, and great landed estates were the natural seat of the industry. English coal and iron, however, lie close together. Indeed, in some portions of the iron and coal area of England and Scotland, the ore bed consists of alternate layers of coal and iron, making it possible to smelt iron with fuel mined along with the ore itself. Every detail of the iron producing process developed during the eighteenth century was especially well suited to the concentration of iron and coal deposits found in England. In all other countries of Europe special difficulties existed.

### Changes in the Textile Industry

A vastly increased use of machines soon transformed the industrial process. Let us examine a single industry. The one industry of England which was really ripe for industrialization was textiles. England had been rather slow to establish a textile industry of her own, as we have seen, having long depended upon the cloth of Flanders and northern Italy. Flemish weavers had settled in Norfolk in the fourteenth century, however, and by the eighteenth century the textile industry had attained a considerable maturity of development. In England, as elsewhere in Europe, the whole process of cloth making had fallen under the control of the merchants. They bought wool, gave it out to the women and children on the farms to be carded and spun, collected the yarn, and handed it on to weavers. This "putting-out process," as it was called, had developed so far that factories had been set up in which large numbers of weavers

worked their hand looms together. The factory system was more advanced in France and in Flanders than it was in England, but even in England factories of several hundred workers were not unknown.

The pressure of increased demand, colonial and domestic, for English textiles led to a series of epoch-making inventions which, within less than a century, completely mechanized the industry. As everyone knows, there are the two fundamental processes of spinning and weaving. Before spinning can proceed, however, the wool or other fiber must be suitably prepared. After the cloth is woven, it must be bleached, dyed, and otherwise finished. The first revolutionary step was the invention of the flying shuttle in 1733. This greatly speeded up the weaving process. Thirty years later a similar speeding-up of the spinning process was made possible by the invention of the spinning jenny, which was merely a number of spinning wheels linked together and operated by machinery (1764). Not long thereafter an offspring of the spinning jenny called the mule made it possible to produce a thread far finer than could be spun by hand, thread suitable for the manufacture of muslins, cambrics, and other fine fabrics. A manufacturer named Richard Arkwright hitched both the new shuttle and the mule to water power and adapted them to the weaving and spinning of cotton as well as of wool. Arkwright (1732-1792), who had begun life as a barber, was the first man to make a fortune in industry, being known in his own time as a "cotton lord." Other manufacturers followed Arkwright's example, and a traveler reported in 1791 that "there is scarcely a stream that will turn a wheel in the north of England that has not a cotton mill upon it."

The increase in the rate of spinning and weaving through the use of machinery necessitated corresponding improvements in the finishing of cloth. The older method of bleaching—wetting the cloth and drying it in the sun—took months and called for an inordinate amount of labor. A revolution in the bleaching process was made easy by the discovery of chlorine in 1774 by Scheele, a Swedish chemist. The printing of cloth was also improved. Hand printing of calico by means of blocks or plates was superseded by machine printing on a cylindrical press patented by Thomas Bell in 1784. The new method of printing calico was later adapted to the printing of newspapers.

It would not have been possible to supply the textile factories of England with cotton in sufficient quantity had not Eli Whitney, an American, invented the cotton gin, a combing machine, in 1794. At the time of its invention American cotton exports were only 200,000 pounds annually; sixty years later they averaged more than one billion pounds per annum.

The first form of power applied to textile machinery, as we have noted, was water power. The principle of the steam engine had long been known,

and several laboratory models had been devised in earlier centuries. In 1705 Thomas Newcomen invented a steam engine which was used to pump water out of mines. Its cost of operation, however, was excessive. In 1776 James Watt of Edinburgh introduced an engine which operated at half the cost of its predecessor. By the end of the century steam power was coming into use in factories as well as mines, although half a century elapsed before its use in industry was general.

Meanwhile other English industries were attracting the attention of the mechanically minded inventor. Indeed, the eighteenth century was a great age of invention. Between 1760 and 1790 nearly one thousand patents were issued by the British Patent Office for original mechanical devices or processes. In the one hundred years prior to 1760 scarcely half that number of patents had been issued, and those had not been exclusively for original devices. Especially notable were the improvements in pottery making. Here a well-known pioneer was Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795). Wedgwood made a great fortune. Without recapitulating his inventions, we may simply repeat a remark of Wedgwood himself, that the rapidity of change in pottery making "makes my head giddy." A pottery maker contemporary with Wedgwood also well known today was Josiah Spode.

### Improvements in Transportation

The mechanization of industry wrought a revolution not only in the production of goods but also in their distribution. Transportation of freight had been largely by pack horse. The cost of carrying a ton of freight by such means from London to Birmingham, about one hundred miles, was \$25.00. Whenever practicable, therefore, goods had been carried by coastwise vessels. The first phase of transportation improvement in England was the digging of canals. Here again England was relatively late as compared to western Europe. We have already had occasion to notice a splendid canal completed in the reign of Louis XIV, connecting the Bay of Biscay on the Atlantic with the Bay of Lyons on the Mediterranean. This canal, completed in 1661, was 150 miles long and at one point attained an elevation of 620 feet above sea level. The second half of the eighteenth century saw a network of canals constructed in England. Since each canal had to be authorized by an act of Parliament and required a considerable outlay of capital, it was fortunate that both political influence and financial support were supplied by the duke of Bridgewater. His engineer was James Brindley, and their first enterprise was the Manchester-Worsley canal, completed in 1761. Some eighty other canals were dug by this famous team before the end of the century. Of course the actual diggers of the canals were gangs of unskilled laborers, called

"navigators," who used the pick and shovel. The word "navvy" is still a common term for the unskilled worker in the British Isles. Canals cut the cost of freight transportation by 75 per cent, it is estimated. Wedgwood said that one tow horse could draw as much weight of pottery as forty horses on land and with far less breakage.

Along with the digging of canals went the improvement of roads. For the first time since the fall of Rome skilled engineers applied their minds to the building of hard-surface roads. Two Scotch engineers, Thomas Telford and John Loudon McAdam, were especially prominent in this work. Telford's roads were paved too heavily to last long. McAdam built his roads lightly, using only uniform broken stone with no binding material. His formula for road building has scarcely been improved upon, and his name is a part of the English language.

### Population Growth and Change in England

The speed with which England was industrialized may be measured by population growth. In 1700 the population of Great Britain, that is, of England, Wales, and Scotland, was approximately eight and a half million. In 1750 it was ten million; in 1800, fifteen million; in 1850, twenty-seven million; in 1910, forty-five million. France, on the other hand, with three times the population of Great Britain in 1700, had in 1910 a population of six million less than her neighbor across the Channel.

Another way of measuring industrial advance is to contrast urban population with rural. In 1700 the urban population of Great Britain was 24 per cent of the whole, the rural population, 76 per cent. In 1910 the proportions were almost exactly reversed, the urban population being 77 per cent in that year and the rural, 23 per cent. Population growth and population change were especially marked in England's northern counties. Much of the coal of England is found in the north, and it was easier, especially in the earlier decades of industrialism, for industry to go to the coal than the other way about. Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Durham are the most populous counties of England today, aside from the metropolitan area of Middlesex. Of Britain's forty largest cities, no fewer than twenty-seven are built in the midst of, or even on top of, coal fields.

### The Workers

The textile and other factories of England called for ever larger numbers of workers. These came principally from the rural areas of the British Isles, not excepting Ireland. They had been landless peasants and casual laborers, and they flocked to the factory towns seeking and finding

work, most of which required little skill. Much of the work, particularly in the textile factories, also required little strength, and jobs were thus available for women and children. No one remarked upon their employment as factory hands; on the farms women and children had always worked to the limit of their capacity. With such a labor supply, factory managers had things their own way. Hours were long, discipline was severe, safety precautions were nonexistent. Wages were low, partly because the profit motive flourished unashamed and partly because the prevailing mercantilist philosophy, which looked upon labor as a principal source of natural wealth, held that "the poorer the laborer the larger was his contribution to the wealth of the country." Arthur Young estimated that the work of a boy of fifteen was worth half that of his father; the wife's work was figured at one fourth, as was that of a ten-year-old child. The combined wages of father, mother, and the children should just suffice, in his view, to meet the family's need of rent, food, and clothing on a subsistence level.

By 1840 England's industries were on a factory basis. Her early and rapid industrialization assured her economic predominance in Europe through most of the nineteenth century. Belgium was the first of the European countries to follow the British example. Germany waited until after 1860, France until 1890. In Italy industrialization made considerable progress after 1870. Russia's program of industrialization is only now under way.

## CHAPTER XXII

### *England to 1848: Parliamentary Reform and Middle-Class Supremacy*

TO THE OUTWARD EYE the institutions of England in 1815 were such as might excite the envy of liberals everywhere. There was a settled law which all obeyed. There was a Parliament which determined the nation's policies and limited the prerogatives of the crown. There was freedom of speech and of the press, and there was religious liberty. In practice, however, England's institutions were encrusted with anomalies of age-old tradition; her famous freedoms were obstructed by the barriers of social caste. Principal anomaly and chief obstruction was the landed aristocracy.

#### The Privileged Classes of England

No one could sit in Parliament who did not own a considerable amount of land, and, in the counties at least, only landowners could vote. Local government also was still in the hands of the landed class. Either by law or by custom all the higher offices in the army, the navy, and the civil service were reserved for the same class. Landowners, however, had become, through the agricultural revolution of the previous century, a smaller group than ever before. One half of England and Wales was owned by some 2250 persons, and nine tenths of Scotland was held by about 1700 individuals. Most of these landowners were members of the Tory party, whose principles were more reactionary than ever. The duke of Clarence, brother of the king, stated the Tory views succinctly when he said that "any change on any lines at any time is undesirable."

In the England of 1815 there was also a privileged church. To be sure, toleration was extended to Protestant dissenters, but not to Catholics. Dissenters, however, as well as Catholics were still debarred from office holding. They were also excluded from the universities. Through close association with the state, the Anglican clergy of this period had become political and professional in its outlook. The bishops especially were politically-minded, and generally Tories. In the years following 1815



they voted against the reform of the criminal code, the abolition of slavery, and the Reform Bill of 1832. An interesting specimen was the bishop of Llandaff. Living comfortably on his estate on Lake Windermere, he visited his Welsh diocese but once in thirty-four years.

### Economic Depression after 1815

Prospects for reform had been good in the days of Wilkes and Burke, but English liberalism had been first thrust aside by the skill of the younger Pitt, and then driven underground for a quarter of a century by war. Long overdue, reform was made more urgent after 1815 by acute agricultural and industrial distress. Agriculture was still an important economic interest in England, a little over one half of the national revenue being derived from that source. Harvests had been good during the later years of the war, and wartime demands, not only in England but from abroad, had forced the price of wheat up to the dizzy height of \$5.00 a bushel in 1812. A few months after peace was signed, the price had fallen to \$1.50, and farmers were unable to pay their rent or meet other obligations.

The war had brought a tremendous stimulus to industry also. The British government had itself spend many millions a year on wartime supplies; and inasmuch as England was the one country in Europe whose economy was not disrupted by war, and also the one country whose industries were well developed, the demand for wartime supplies from the outside had been very great. Even Napoleon, on the eve of his Russian campaign, had been obliged to equip his soldiers with uniforms and overcoats purchased in England. With the peace, wartime spending was abruptly terminated. The dislocation of English industry was severe, and unemployment followed. The glut of the labor market was greatly increased by the demobilizing of half a million men during the year following the end of the war. Commodity prices dropped to 25 per cent of their former level. By 1816 a quarter of the population was living on alms; in some of the northern industrial areas two thirds of the people were paupers. Wage cuts followed, and the standard of living of the masses, rural and urban, fell unbelievably low.

### Reformers, Radical and Moderate

Under these conditions it is not surprising that the Radicals came forward with projects of reform. Mass meetings were held and petitions drawn, a revival of the methods of the earlier Radicals. Some leaders took their cue from the French revolutionaries and organized committees of public safety and set up liberty poles. Here and there, in the cities, gun

shops were looted and street fighting took place. In rural areas riotous laborers set fire to farm buildings. These scattered outbreaks of violence provoked the Tory ministers to drastic action. With the excesses of the French revolutionaries in mind they rushed through Parliament a series of laws, the "Six Acts" of 1819, which, it has been said, virtually "suspended the free constitution of England." By forbidding the holding of a public meeting where reforms of church or state were to be discussed, the Tories sought, with considerable success, to break up radical propaganda and drive it underground.

How long such a policy could have been maintained is doubtful. At all events, circumstances attending the death of one king and the accession of another soon brought it to an end. George III, after a reign of sixty years, second longest in English history, died in 1820. His successor was the oldest and worst of his sons, George IV, whom an English historian has described as "a bad son, a bad husband, a bad father, a bad subject, a bad monarch, a bad friend." The king's wife Caroline had long lived apart from her husband. Returning to England, she now sought to assume her rightful place as queen and be crowned at her husband's side. Determined to prevent this, the king directed his minister to secure him a divorce. That Caroline was a bad woman the evidence made all too plain. For two weeks "England wallowed in obscenity." It was the view of most fair-minded men, however, that bad as Caroline was, she was good enough for George IV. An adverse wave of opinion swept George's Tory supporters out of office, and in 1822 another group of Tories, less repressive and more intelligent, took their places. These men aimed to "present Parliament as a helper, rather than as a contriver of fresh methods of repression."

George Canning, Robert Peel, and William Huskisson, leaders of the Liberal Tories, were from the upper middle class. Convinced that the institutions of England were fundamentally sound, they nonetheless recognized that there were grave abuses which should be removed. Their reforms were numerous and of real importance. For example, they reformed the Criminal Code with its list of two hundred crimes for which death was the penalty, the longest and most ferocious list in all Europe. This they cut in half. In order to free trade from some of its hampering restraints, duties were reduced and many of the Navigation Acts repealed. It was the hope of the ministers that the resultant increase in trade would benefit all classes of the population. The special privileges of the Anglicans were largely removed by the repeal of statutes which excluded dissenters from office holding. A still more important ecclesiastical reform was the statute, called the Emancipation Act (1829), which made it possible for Catholics to vote and to sit in Parliament. Thus a grievous wrong of the

Irish Catholics was remedied. It will be recalled, also, that England was withdrawn by these Tories from the Quadruple Alliance, and that Canning struck a blow for liberty by extending aid to the liberals of Portugal and Greece and by recognizing the republics of Latin America.

### The Unreformed Parliament

Salutary as all this was, it did not strike at the root of the matter. As in the later eighteenth century, so now, it was the view of English liberals that the British Parliament should be made a more truly representative body. Famous as Parliament was for its many victories in the cause of constitutional government, its representative basis had not been changed since medieval times. Each of the counties of England, Wales, and Scotland, no matter what its size or population, sent two members to the House of Commons. In 1801 Ireland's separate Parliament was abolished by the Act of Union, and Irish counties now sent two members each to the British Parliament. The great majority of members of the House of Commons, however, were drawn from parliamentary boroughs named by the crown. Once a borough always a borough was the rule; and though the creation of boroughs had gone on actively through late medieval and early modern times, no new ones had been created since the seventeenth century. The lapse of years had brought population change in the boroughs, and this was especially true during the industrial revolution. Some boroughs, indeed, had lost the whole of their population. On the other hand, great industrial cities had sprung up, like Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, which were wholly without representation in Parliament. One defect of the unreformed Parliament, therefore, was the unequal distribution of seats.

A second defect, equally grave, was the limited right to vote. In the counties, as we have seen, only those owning land could qualify for the franchise, and land ownership had now become the prerogative of a very few. In the boroughs the most varied qualifications for voting existed, since each borough made its own rules. In some few the franchise was on a fairly democratic basis. In others only those could vote who could qualify under regulations which had been enacted in medieval times. In still others a single landlord had come into possession, directly or indirectly, of the voting strength of the borough and could thus nominate whom he pleased. In the whole of the British Isles there were about 160,000 voters, one to a hundred of the population.

A third evil of the unreformed Parliament stemmed in large part from the two already mentioned. This was the almost universal corruption which attended parliamentary elections and pervaded the proceedings of the House of Commons. Seats were publicly advertised for sale in the newspapers. Bribery was so common as hardly to occasion comment,

And yet the old unreformed parliament was not without its defenders. It was the product of historical experience, urged Burke, having in mind the reckless way in which the French revolutionaries had flung away the lessons of experience. Though unrepresentative in the literal sense, Parliament secured virtual representation, it was argued, for every class, every creed, and every valid interest. Other defenders pointed to the fact that through the old system men were able to enter Parliament early, by the purchase of a seat or by nomination of a patron, and remain there continuously through a long life. The Pitts, Sheridan, Canning, even Gladstone, thus began their parliamentary careers. Macaulay answered this argument by saying that if it were the law that the tallest men in the British Isles be returned to the House of Commons there would be among them, by "happy accident," a few men at least of unusual ability.

### The Movement for Parliamentary Reform

Inspired by the French philosophes of the eighteenth century, a group of English writers began a systematic criticism of England's institutions in the early nineteenth century. They are known as Philosophic Radicals, and their leader was Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). Bentham's test of an institution was the query, "What is the use of it?" His conclusion, in general, was that many of England's laws and usages were "trash." Taking the individual as the unit of society, in true liberal fashion, Bentham based his decisions on a quantitative calculation of pain and pleasure. The usefulness of any institution would depend on whether it promoted the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Applying this principle rigorously and in detail, Bentham induced, through his writings, more reforms, it is said, than any other individual in English history. Parliamentary reform, he thought, was the essential prerequisite to all other reform. Inasmuch as the individual himself is the best judge of what promotes his own happiness, he must, in a well-ordered society, be allowed to share in the determination of policy.

To the support of Radicals and philosophers in their clamor for reform, there now came the solid middle class of industrialists. For a decade and a half following the Congress of Vienna the Tories had devoted themselves chiefly to the interests of the landed class; the Tory-controlled Parliament had passed act after act for the relief of agriculture. Industry and commerce had been left, upon the whole, to take care of themselves. Merchants and the manufacturers therefore turned for leadership to the Whigs. The Whig leader at the end of the 1820's was Earl Grey, a landed magnate whose social position and habit of life would in themselves have made him a Tory. Following the traditions of his family, however, Grey

was a liberal. He had first urged parliamentary reform in 1786 at the age of twenty-two. Through the years of war he had been excluded from office and was unable to influence public policy. Yet his devotion to parliamentary reform had never wavered through more than forty years in the political wilderness.

### The Reform Bill of 1832

To provide an issue, on the eve of the election of 1830, Grey secured the introduction of a bill to give seats in the House of Commons to Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, industrial cities of nearly 200,000 population each. Although the bill was defeated, the Whigs succeeded in calling attention to some of the worst anomalies of the parliamentary system. The election which followed gave the Whigs a small majority, and shortly thereafter the Tory prime minister, the duke of Wellington, was replaced by Grey.

The new Whig cabinet, pledged to reform, was a strong one; no less than four of its members later filled the office of prime minister. In due course a carefully drafted bill, sweeping in its extent though moderate in its terms, was introduced in the House of Commons. Fifty-six of England's smallest boroughs were to lose their seats; thirty others were to lose one member each. The seats thus vacated were given to cities theretofore unrepresented or were distributed among the more populous counties, the total number of members in the House of Commons remaining the same as before. Thus was the evil of unequal distribution of seats dealt with.

With respect to the right to vote, a property qualification was fixed in both counties and boroughs which gave the vote to renters and occupiers as well as to owners of property. Furthermore, not merely land but property of any kind was recognized as having voting rights. The property qualification was still a high one, however; only one in twenty-four of the population could vote under the new bill. The masses, whose threat of violence broke the back of the Lords' resistance in the later stages of the Reform Bill, were left out. It was the middle class to which political power now passed.

### The Poor Law of 1834

The first decade after the Reform Bill was as busy a period of legislation as may be found in the whole history of England. Institution after institution was brought into harmony with middle-class demands. A good illustration of the attitude of mind of England's new master is to be found in the Poor Law of 1834. The old Poor Law dated from the reign

of Queen Elizabeth. The principle upon which it was based was that the people of England had a right to work, and that when work was scarce or altogether lacking it was the business of the local authorities to supply work or otherwise come to the aid of the working class. So long as England remained rural and thinly populated, the Elizabethan law met the needs of the times fairly well. With the increase of population and the more complex labor problems of the Industrial Revolution, the Elizabethan law became a dangerous anachronism.

In industrial areas where unemployment was rampant the local authorities, still charged with full responsibility, found the problem of relief beyond their capacity. Various plans were in use. In some districts magistrates undertook to pay the rent of paupers. Landlords would then evict workers who were still struggling to make ends meet and take in paupers; in some counties, by 1832, most of the workers' cottages were tenanted by paupers. Another way of extending relief was the "make-up scale." If the combined wages of the employable members of a family did not afford a minimum standard of living, the magistrates made up the balance in cash. The father, mother, and each child of fourteen or over were entitled to consideration under the plan. As might be expected, employers shamelessly took advantage of this opportunity and lowered wages. Where there was no work at all to be had, many local government authorities made work for the unemployed, chiefly on the roads. As soon as this opportunity became known, workers quit their jobs to work on the roads, where the pay was better and the work notoriously less. It is never easy to distinguish between the deserving poor and the undeserving poor, but it was exceptionally hard to draw the line under the provisions of the Elizabethan law. Small wonder that England's relief bill, about one million pounds in 1760, rose to seven times that amount by 1832. In some districts taxes were so high that property owners actually gave up their land.

The new Poor Law of 1834 was based upon new principles. The right to work was emphatically denied. No one was to be allowed to starve, but pauperism was stigmatized as a disgrace. "Make the lazy beggars work," said the businesslike framers of this law. All "outdoor relief" was given up. Thereafter relief was to be granted only to those who had given up their homes and been removed to a "workhouse." No doubt some of the effects of this law were salutary, since there is always a certain minority of able-bodied persons who will not work except under the compulsion of dire necessity. On the other hand, it was an intolerable injustice that workers who had grown old in honorable toil, at wages insufficient to enable them to provide for their own security, should have no recourse at the end of a long life except removal to the poorhouse.

### Middle-Class Rule

Under middle-class rule the royal family itself became middle class. George IV and his successor William IV were eighteenth-century aristocrats, both in their vices and in their outlook on life. Victoria, who came to the throne in 1837 as a girl of eighteen, was to prove herself a nineteenth-century queen in every respect. Profanity and immorality vanished from the English court at once. In politics the young queen's tutor was Lord Melbourne, Whig prime minister. Spending from five to six hours daily in her company, he may be said to have trained her in the role of constitutional sovereign. Of greater influence upon the young queen in the formative period of her life, however, was her cousin Albert, whom she married in 1840. Prince Albert was a man of a thousand accomplishments, major and minor, and of a high sense of duty, private and public. Devotion to duty has been a dominant characteristic of the English royal family ever since. A new role for monarchy was created by Victoria and Albert, that of public servant in nonpolitical affairs. Furthermore, both the queen and her princely consort were patterns of domestic virtue and most particular in their observance of the proprieties, qualities which endeared them to the middle class.

The aristocracy also accepted middle-class standards. As Bagehot wrote, "The aristocracy live in fear of the middle classes, of the grocer and the merchant. They dare not form a society of enjoyment as the French aristocracy once formed it." No doubt the example of the royal family was of great influence in shaping the conduct of the aristocracy. As a reward for such conformity the dominant middle class retained the aristocrats in the public service. Of the ten prime ministers of Victoria's reign (1837-1901), six were peers. A seventh was a duke's son. Two others, Peel and Gladstone, were of the wealthy middle class and were educated in those citadels of aristocracy, Eton and Oxford. For fully forty years after the Reform Bill a majority of cabinet ministers also were peers. As an English historian put it, "We dethroned them as tyrants but preserved them as pets."

Middle-class influence is clearly discerned in Victorian literature, closely confined as it is by middle-class inhibitions. The test which writers like Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, and Trollope were proud to meet was, Can this be read aloud to our boys and girls? Dickens never wrote a line which "a mother need withhold from her grown daughter." He well expressed the middle-class attitude in his remark that a "truly refined mind will seem to be ignorant of anything not perfectly proper, placid, and pleasant." Reading aloud to the family circle was as characteristic of the Victorian age as family prayers. This was partly because there was, in most homes, only one good reading lamp in the house.

### The Hungry Forties

In the meantime the industrializing of England was proceeding at a rapid pace. Between 1830 and 1840 the population of the leading industrial cities increased by 40 per cent. The results were not entirely happy. The prevailing economic philosophy was *laissez faire*. Adam Smith's theory of natural economy had won well-nigh complete acceptance in the world of business and politics. Employers were free to hire labor in the cheapest market, there being few restrictions as yet as to age, sex, hours, wages, or factory conditions. Neither employer nor the government assumed responsibility for illness, accident, unemployment, or old age. Like any other worn-out tool, a worker no longer of service was simply discarded. Entering employment almost as soon as they could walk, laboring long hours under inhuman conditions, housed and fed no better than cattle, if as well, England's working people underwent a considerable deterioration in physical health and moral fibre. This deplorable decay had as a backdrop the ever increasing ugliness of the industrial landscape. The discharge from the factories polluted England's streams; mountains of black slate rose around the mines; slag from the potteries disfigured the once green fields. The merry England of an earlier time became the black England of the "Hungry Forties." Dickens has made the conditions of the working classes familiar to us in *The Chimes*, *The Cricket on the Hearth*, and *The Christmas Carol*, all written in the middle of the decade.

A good source of information on the life of the working classes in this period is found in the reports of parliamentary committees of investigation, beginning about 1832. Here we have sworn testimony of the workers themselves in regard to hours, wages, housing, food, and other circumstances of their lives. From these reports Friederich Engels drew the data for his famous *Condition of the English Working Class in 1844*. Here also Karl Marx found the supporting evidence of the socialistic thesis which he embodied in *Das Kapital*, a book which was destined to "revolutionize Russia and upset the world."

### Robert Owen and British Socialism

England produced no social theorist of the caliber of Marx. Socialism, however, had an able exponent in Robert Owen, a man who combined with his theoretical interests practical ability of a high order. Owen was born in South Wales, the son of a small shopkeeper. As a mere boy he migrated to Manchester, where he found employment in a textile mill. Through unusual application and ability this lad, whose formal schooling ended at the age of nine, became, while still in his early twenties, manager



and part owner of the textile mill where he was employed. Indeed, he was probably the most expert textile manufacturer in England.

Marrying a Scotch girl whose father owned a half interest in a large mill in New Lanark on the Clyde a few miles above Glasgow, Owen later became manager and part owner of this mill with its two thousand employees. The working conditions here reflected only too faithfully the *laissez faire* philosophy of the age. The new manager soon directed his immense practical ability to the task of improving the conditions of his workers. He reduced hours, increased wages, improved housing, supplied quality goods at cost through company stores, and provided schools for the children of the workers. At the same time he never failed to pay a substantial dividend to the stockholders. New Lanark became a mecca both for textile manufacturers and for humanitarians. They came from all over Europe, and Owen soon counted among his friends men and women of the highest social rank as well as many thousands of the lowest.

Having amassed a fortune, Owen began to formulate the social and economic theories which have made him famous. To his way of thinking, character is wholly the product of environment. The cure for the ills of the time, therefore, lay in a completely changed environment. This Owen proposed to accomplish through the founding of model communities not unlike the one he had built up at New Lanark. Believing that experiment would have its best opportunity for success in a frontier region, unhampered by government interference and unaffected by traditions coming down from the past, Owen established a socialist community at New Harmony, Indiana. At the end of two years it was an acknowledged failure. Owen had made the mistake of supposing that all men, properly environed, would be as high-minded as himself. In our present stage of social evolution this is simply not the case. With his fortune sadly depleted, Owen returned to England. Here he spent the rest of his life writing and speaking in behalf of socialist ideas. Perhaps his greatest monument is the British cooperative movement, of which he was a founder.

### The Chartists

Another movement which drew strength from the soil of economic discontent was political radicalism. Thousands of workers were convinced that the solution of economic and social problems was to be found in an extension of the franchise. Political thinkers of the period, both in England and in Europe, looked to manhood suffrage as the way out. Of course the demand for manhood suffrage was not a new thing in England. John Wilkes had spoken in its favor three quarters of a century earlier, and many of those working for parliamentary reform in the years following 1815 had believed in it. During the Hungry Forties, however, the

demand was much more widespread than before. To this movement of the forties has been given the name of Chartism. The reference is to the so-called "Peoples' Charter," a six-point program proclaimed in 1838 by Feargus O'Connor, member of Parliament for Nottingham. The Charter called for manhood suffrage, annual elections, a secret ballot, equal electoral districts, the abolition of the property qualification for membership in Parliament, and the payment of members.

For a full decade agitation for the Charter was actively carried on. Mass meetings were held in various parts of the country and monster petitions were circulated and signed. Early in 1848 the Chartists decided to stage their greatest demonstration. Having secured no less than two million signatures to a petition, or so it was claimed, the Chartists' plan was to assemble workers in London to the number of two hundred thousand, and to march on Parliament and present their petition in person. In the meantime, however, revolutionary uprisings had taken place in all the leading capitals of Europe. The authorities in England were in a high state of alarm. The march of the petitioners, whose intentions were doubtless peaceable, was therefore stopped, and the Chartist movement fell under a cloud. Politically radical in their day, the Chartist demands, with one exception, have long since become a part of the law of England.

### England Adopts Free Trade

Throughout the decade of political agitation another movement had been proceeding, better financed and far better organized than socialism or Chartism. The reforms contemplated by the leaders of this movement were economic. The remedy for the conditions of the working classes, in their view, was to carry *laissez faire* to its logical conclusion and to free business enterprise from the last of the fetters which held it in restraint. England still levied tariffs for the protection of her agriculture and her industry. These duties should be removed and then England's trade would be completely free. Let nature take its course, argued the tariff reformers. Nations should no longer attempt, by artificial restraints upon trade, to maintain economic self-sufficiency. Let each country courageously embrace its economic destiny, whether that be industry or agriculture or both. England, they argued, was supremely fitted for industry. She had the coal, the iron, the climate, the shipping, the rapidly increasing population. Even under the handicap of tariff restrictions her industries had developed more rapidly than those of any other country in the world. Some 1200 articles of manufacture still carried an import tax. As a matter of fact, however, England's industries had no competition to fear and such duties were useless.

Of the taxes on agricultural products the most important was the tariff on wheat. It was evident that English wheat growers would be at a disadvantage if they were given no protection in the world market. On the other hand, the high price of bread was the greatest single factor in the sub-standard life of England's masses. Already high, the price of bread had increased 70 per cent in the five years just preceding the Hungry Forties. To maintain the duty on wheat was to place the economic interests of the relatively small class of landlords and farmers ahead of the welfare of the masses. Let England buy food in the cheapest market, said the reformers, exchanging for it her abundance of manufactured goods.

To combat the tax on wheat, there was set up by businessmen of the city of Manchester, in 1838, the Anti-Corn-Law League. In its organization and methods the league was a model for propaganda societies. The supporters of the league spent a million pounds a year, employed eight hundred workers, successfully staged a mass meeting in each of the larger cities once a month, and distributed pamphlets by the million. The leading figures in this enterprise were Richard Cobden and John Bright, the latter the son of a manufacturer, the former a successful industrialist. The two usually spoke together, and they made a team of unusual effectiveness. Cobden spoke first, his argument clear and closely reasoned, expressed in simple language. Then came Bright in an impassioned appeal addressed to the heart. He was one of the most movingly eloquent speakers of the age.

The Anti-Corn-Law League sought to arouse public opinion in the belief that Parliament would ultimately respond to its pressure. And so it proved. A famine in Ireland made no little contribution to the final victory. During the summer of 1846 there was an almost complete failure of the Irish potato crop; tens of thousands of the peasantry died of starvation. At a time when an abundance of food at the lowest possible price was so desperately needed it was difficult to resist those who argued that all taxes on food should be abolished. As Bright put it, "Famine against which we warred joined us." Parliament yielded, and thus England became the first free trade country in the world.

One of the most powerful arguments of the free traders had been that once England led the way all other countries would follow suit and the whole world would thus share in the benefits of freer trade. As a matter of fact, no other country did follow England's example. Even so, however, whether free trade was responsible or not, England now entered upon the most prosperous period of her history. Industrial output doubled and redoubled. Unemployment vanished, wages increased, food prices were lowered. Ten years after the adoption of free trade the Hungry Forties were only a memory.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### *French Liberalism to 1848*

SUPERFICIALLY, France was completely delivered over to reaction by the Congress of Vienna. Reactionary Europe looked upon France as the home of subversive ideas and incendiary movements. The army of 150,000 men which was to occupy the soil of France for a period of five years was regarded as a pledge of good behavior rather than as a guaranty for the war indemnity of 700,000,000 francs. In placing Louis XVIII on the throne, the congress was acting upon its cherished principle of legitimacy, and in the first months of his reign, as we have seen, Louis obligingly gave a fair imitation of an Old Regime sovereign. Seemingly he was just another Bourbon of whom it could be said that he had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing."

All this, however, was very much on the surface. France had been profoundly affected by the Revolution. Her three great institutions of monarchy, nobility, and the church had been radically altered. If France was not yet a democracy, she was at least inclined toward democracy, both in her political system and in her economic and social order. The country had undergone an "unfinished revolution." Indeed, the chapters in the history of France from 1815 down to the present may be considered as stages in the completion of the Revolution of 1789. But not only was the Revolution unfinished in 1815; there was the greatest difference of opinion among Frenchmen regarding what had already been done and what should be done next.

#### An Unfinished Revolution

Let us consider in some detail the exact stage which the Revolution had reached in 1815 in the political, social, and economic life of France. Politically, France was to be governed under a written constitution, the so-called "Charter." This provided for a king as executive, limited and guided by a legislature of two houses. The Chamber of Peers was appointed by the crown and met in secret sessions. The Chamber of Deputies, on the other hand, was elective, members serving for terms of five years, one fifth of the membership being retired annually. There was a property qualifica-

tion for voting, but it was fairly low for those days and it was based on all kinds of property and not mainly on land, as in England. In all, about a hundred thousand persons were qualified to vote. No tax might be levied without the consent of the legislature. All laws, in fact, were subject to the legislature's acceptance or rejection. French government under the "Charter," it will be readily agreed, was considerably different from that of the Old Regime.

In estimating the economic condition of France we shall do well to look at the land, for France was an overwhelmingly agricultural country with 93 per cent of the population still rural. The Revolution had made a great change in the landholding system of France. What had happened was not so much that land was transferred to the peasants as that the peasants who held land were freed from the burden of rents and feudal dues. It is estimated that the money value of the rights lost by the landed magnates amounted to about two thirds of their income. Landholding peasants held their lands thenceforth in absolute proprietorship. There remained in the France of 1815, however, a considerable number of large landed proprietors. The lands of the church, for example, were distributed among the peasants only in part. Approximately half of the clerical lands were sold by the state in large parcels to the moneyed classes. Furthermore, a considerable number of the émigrés, upon their return, had received back their lands. To sum it all up, 35 per cent of the agricultural land of France was now held by small proprietors, 65 per cent by landed magnates great and small.

Socially, the France of 1815 was ruled by the Code Napoléon, a conservative summary of revolutionary principles, as we have seen. Under the Code, freedom from arbitrary arrest was assured, religious toleration was guaranteed, and freedom of speech and of the press was safeguarded. Furthermore, all Frenchmen regardless of social position were equal before the law and eligible for any office.

### French Parties of the Period

As has been suggested, French opinion was sharply divided over what had been done and what was to be done in the future. One party felt that all that had happened was wrong and that the hands of the clock should be turned back to 1789. These "ultra-royalists," composed largely of émigrés and clericals, we may call the Right. Such men had looked with hope to Louis XVIII, but that king proved to be both too liberal and too indolent to be a suitable leader of the Rightist cause. "For me," said Louis, "the throne is the softest of chairs," and he soon came to rely upon favorites to relieve him of vexatious details. From Louis the ultra-royalists

turned to his younger brother, the count of Artois, a leader of more zeal but less discretion. Another group, in 1815, was a Center party, made up in the main of Frenchmen of the middle class under whose leadership the Revolution had begun. This class regarded the Charter as a first installment and looked to parliamentary action for further advance. Men of the Center party, called liberal monarchists, were content to accept the Bourbons so long as they conformed to the constitution. When the hope of such conformity proved illusory, the Center turned, as we shall see, to the house of Orleans. A third party, very vocal, if not at the moment very influential, but well represented among the people of Paris, was that of the republicans. To them the Charter was not a stepping stone but a stumbling block. These men of the Left wanted no compromise, whether with monarch, nobility, or clergy.

### The Center Party in Power

For five years France was governed by the Center party, and she had what was probably the best government she had ever known. The indemnity was paid off and the army of occupation dismissed. France then reorganized her own army, opening commissions to men from the ranks and placing promotions on a merit basis. About 1820, however, the Center party lost ground. Moderate men were alarmed by the election to the Chamber of the republican Lafayette and the radical Gregoire. The assassination of the duke of Berry, the king's nephew, by a radical named Louvel persuaded not a few Frenchmen that a return to the Reign of Terror was possible. For a time it seemed that this assassination would eventually leave the house of Bourbon without an heir, but the birth of a posthumous son of the duke, the future count of Chambord, kept the dynasty going.

An opportune election now gave the ultra-royalists a legislative majority, and the party of the Right quickly consolidated its position. A bill was passed increasing the number of deputies in the Chamber by 60 per cent, the additional members to be chosen by the heaviest taxpayers only. This measure, coupled with corrupt practices, brought in an overwhelming majority of royalists in the election of 1823. Indeed, the representation of the Center in the Chamber dropped from 110 to 19. Censorship of the press was immediately established and freedom of speech curtailed. Intervention in Spain as the agent of the Holy Alliance was welcomed by the reactionary leaders of France as a means of strengthening their position still further. The climax of their good fortune came when in the following year Louis XVIII died and the count of Artois ascended the throne as Charles X. Louis XVIII, with some insight, had often re-

marked that the future of France, in his view, was bound up with the hope of his surviving this younger brother.

### Rule of the Ultra-Royalists

Louis's "younger brother" was sixty-seven at the time of his accession, and a reactionary of the deepest dye. For his coronation the new king went back to the ritual of the middle ages and to the scene of medieval coronations, the cathedral of Rheims. Doves fluttered in a cloud of incense, and bells jangled in a merry tintinnabulation as the royal procession moved slowly forward to the strains of a triumphal march played on the great organ. On the day following the coronation, in a scene which astonished nineteenth-century Europe, the king mounted a white horse and rode across the city to the hospital of St. Mark, where a group of about one hundred patients awaited the royal physician. After a brief prayer the king attempted to demonstrate the genuineness of his divine calling to the kingship by the curative application of the royal touch.

The few brief years of Charles's reign are remarkable for the audacity of his policy and the completeness of its failure. With a Chamber of Deputies overwhelmingly favorable and a House of Peers whose disposition could be altered if need be, it seemed as though Charles's legislative program could meet with little opposition. What that program was the king's principal minister, Polignac, stated in words which can scarcely be improved upon: "to reorganize society, to restore to the clergy its former preponderance in the state, to create a powerful aristocracy and to surround it with privileges." It proved easier to draft these phrases, however, than to implement them.

Take the aristocracy, for example. What it wanted was its land and its feudal rights. Not only was it impossible to return the land; it proved impracticable even to give equivalent value for it. The sum of one billion francs was finally fixed upon as a reasonable valuation of the lost land, but since the government could not raise anything like this amount, it was decided to pay the interest only. Even this small percentage of the total sum could be raised only by the doubtful device of refunding, on a 3 per cent basis, the national debt, which was then paying 5 per cent. This measure naturally cost the new government the support of the financial houses and the bondholders generally, a matter of considerable political importance.

An attempt "to restore to the clergy its former preponderance in the state" fell even shorter of success. It is true that conditions were not unfavorable to clerical restoration at this time. A considerable revival of Catholicism had taken place in France. Writers who have become well-

known figures in French literature, Comte Charles de Montalembert (1810–1870), François René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848), and Comte Joseph Marie de Maistre (1753–1821), were in the forefront of a clerical renaissance. Religious orders, among them the Jesuits, had set up their houses in France once more and had established schools. When royalist leaders broached the question of restoring clerical lands, however, they found the legislative chambers in overwhelming opposition. Indeed, it proved to be impossible to make the church any monetary compensation at all. As a gesture, a Law of Sacrilege was enacted making the penalty for a crime committed against the church or on church property punishable in special ways. Even this slight legislative enactment met with vehement opposition.

The failure of the legislative program of the ultra-royalists shows how small their following in France really was. The Revolution had come to stay. But Charles X failed to take the hint. Believing that Louis XVI had lost his life because he had made concessions, King Charles determined to make no concessions at all. In the hope of getting a more friendly Chamber, he dissolved Parliament; when this stratagem failed, it was repeated. The successive elections only piled up an overwhelming legislative majority against the king. Sticking to his guns, Charles then attempted to accomplish by decree what he had failed to secure from Parliament. On the 26th of July, 1830, the king issued ordinances suspending the freedom of the press, reducing the number of voters from 100,000 to 25,000, and ordering yet another election of the Chamber of Deputies. The ordinances affected only a small number of people, some thousands of voters and a few editors; they did not directly attack the rights of the people, and Charles X and his ministers hoped and believed that they would be quietly received. On the evening of the 26th, all being quiet, Charles departed for a few days of hunting at his lodge in Rambouillet.

### The Revolution of 1830

Before long the implications of what the king had done became clear. If Charles could dispense with the constitution in some matters, there would seem to be nothing to prevent his brushing it aside altogether in his own good time and thus restoring the Old Regime in its entirety. Editors soon began to publish their papers in defiance of the ordinances. Although the Chamber was not in session during the summer, liberal members in and around Paris assembled to draft a protest against the king's procedure. The populace of Paris, aroused to some dim consciousness of the meaning of events and led by Napoleonic veterans and republican workmen, built barricades in the streets. It was a matter of a few moments for the



partisans to block the roads with paving stones, overturned wagons, furniture, and other material at hand; and behind these improvised breastworks they crouched with muskets quite as good as those of the soldiers who opposed them.

Perhaps 10,000 Parisians were engaged in the street fighting of this "July Revolution," and they were opposed by double that number of soldiers. It was soon apparent that the royal army was making no progress in subduing the city. Liberal leaders then sought to give direction to the revolt. Editors, deputies, and businessmen consulted together feverishly, meeting in the chambers of Lafitte the banker. Led by Thiers, a journalist and historian of the Revolution, the liberals decided that Charles X must go, but that a limited monarchy under the Charter was still the best government for France — a monarchy with, of course, adequate safeguards against the recurrence of such a regime as that of Charles. Meanwhile, however, there was grave danger that the radicals of Paris would set up a republic and inaugurate it with another Reign of Terror. Nor was it absent from the minds of Thiers and his group that in that event foreign intervention would follow.

Ready at hand was a scion of royalty who had long hoped to become monarch of France. Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, was the head of a younger branch of the Bourbon family, being himself the fifth generation in male descent from a younger brother of Louis XIV. The house of Orleans had always posed as the friend of the people and had usually taken a stand independent of and in opposition to that of the reigning monarch. Louis Philippe's father had, in fact, turned republican during the course of the French Revolution, and Louis himself had fought as a soldier in the ranks of the republican army. Exiled by Napoleon, Louis returned to France in 1814 and recovered his estates. Immensely wealthy, he set himself up again in the family palace in the heart of Paris. There he held informal court for members of the liberal group, wearing the frock coat and the top hat of the prosperous businessman, engaging in multitudinous hand-shakings, and sending his children to the public schools. Fifty-seven years old in 1830, Louis Philippe, sedulously coached by Thiers, took no part in the earlier activities of the July Revolution. Awaiting the opportune moment, he issued his manifesto, the work of Thiers, on July 30. On the following day such members of the Chamber of Deputies as could reach the place of assembly assumed the prerogative of electing him king.

There remained the difficult and delicate task of placating the insurgents of the barricades, who had established their headquarters in the Hôtel de Ville. The aged Lafayette, long the hero of the republicans, was sought out and won over to the side of Louis. Upon the balcony over-

looking the great square in front of the Hôtel de Ville, Lafayette appeared in company with Louis and embraced him, while the crowd shouted its approval. The new king proclaimed himself king "by the grace of God and the will of the nation," but it may almost be said that he was king by the will of the crowd. Meanwhile Charles X had fled, abdicating in favor of his little grandson, the count of Chambord, later to be known to his followers as Henry V. Retiring to England, the ex-king and his family were given asylum in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh. Transferring later to Austria, Charles died in 1836.

The establishment, by way of revolution, of a liberal regime in France was a challenge to the reactionary governments of Europe, and it did not go unnoticed. Before Austria, Prussia, or Russia could act, however, each was faced with troubles of its own. The revolutionary movement begun in France spread swiftly beyond her borders. Barricades were thrown up in Brussels. Riots broke out in half a dozen German states. The Poles rose in an insurrection which occupied the attention of Russia for more than a year and gave Prussia and Austria plenty to think about as well. In Italy the rulers of Modena and Parma were driven from their thrones, and the authority of the pope was roughly challenged in practically every city of his domain.

### The Belgian Revolution

Of all these revolutionary movements the only one to meet with success was that of the Belgians. The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, first gathered in a political union by the French dukes of Burgundy, later transferred to the house of Hapsburg, still later handed over to the Spanish branch of that family, had been divided when the seven northern provinces threw off the yoke of Spain and established themselves as the Dutch Republic under the leadership of the house of Orange. Small but wealthy and exceedingly active, Holland had played an important part in the history of modern Europe and had acquired a valuable empire overseas. The ten remaining provinces were so exposed, their frontiers so easily crossed, and their neighbors so powerful, that they became a pawn in the hands of the great powers. In 1713, by the Peace of Utrecht, they passed from Spain to Austria, and in 1815 they were handed over to the Dutch house of Orange. Undoubtedly the members of the Quadruple Alliance were confident that this last move would contribute to the stability of Europe, but the gentlemen of Vienna failed to appreciate some of the realities in the situation.

The two groups of provinces had long since become distinct in national character. The Dutch people were Calvinist in religion, Teutonic in

language, agricultural and commercial in economic life. Self-conscious and pridefully aware of their heroic traditions, they were little likely to assimilate with another people except on their own terms. The Belgian provinces, though they had never formed a political entity in their own right, also possessed most of the essentials of nationality. In contrast to the Dutch, however, they were overwhelmingly Catholic in faith, Flemish in speech for the most part, and industrial rather than agricultural or commercial. The Belgian people, three and a half million of them, were by no means happy in the prospect of playing second fiddle to their northern neighbors, who numbered but two million.

The policy of King William I of Holland accentuated the inherent difficulties of the situation. When the Dutch constitution was brought before the Belgian representatives for their approval, they voted solidly against it. The king certified the approval of the constitution, however, by counting 280 absent members as voting affirmatively and ruling out 126 negative votes as irregular. Dutch was proclaimed the one official language. Candidates for the Roman Catholic priesthood were ordered to spend two years at a "philosophical college" which the king set up at Louvain. The new seat of government was established at the Hague on Dutch soil. Of the seven members of the new cabinet six were Dutchmen: of the 117 departmental prefectures the Dutch held no less than 106; of the 43 staff officers 35 were Dutch.

By 1830 the people of the southern provinces were seething with discontent. News of street fighting and barricades in Paris was sufficient to induce similar activities in Brussels, and the crown roared "Down with the Dutch." It is possible that the Dutch army might have suppressed the revolt; and certainly if the members of the Holy Alliance had been free to support the Dutch as they wished to do, the Belgian revolt would have been suppressed. Prussia, Russia, and Austria were busy with the Polish revolt, however; and France, in setting up a liberal regime, had in effect withdrawn from the Quadruple Alliance. Indeed, the liberal France welcomed the revolt of the Belgians and a French army soon intervened to hold the Dutch in check.

Accepting the *fait accompli*, the British government summoned a conference of the powers at London, where it was agreed that the independence of the ten southern provinces should be recognized. As a model for their constitution the Belgians took the British system of government, the advantages of which were being so memorably illustrated by the struggle for the Reform Bill of 1832. The Belgians were influenced also by the ideas of French liberals, who had just adopted a series of amendments to their Charter. As a result, no frame of government in contemporary Europe so fully realized the constitutional ideal of liberalism as the new Bel-

gian constitution. Leopold of Coburg was invited by the Belgians to be their sovereign. For some years the Dutch stubbornly declined to accept the verdict of London in favor of the Belgians. In 1839, however, King William bowed to the inevitable and agreed to recognize the independence of the new country. At the same time the powers of Europe, largely to guard against the annexation of Belgium by France, made a joint guarantee of Belgian neutrality, the famous "scrap of paper" of 1914.

### Revolution in Poland

The results of revolution in Poland were not so happy in spite of more or less auspicious beginnings. It will be remembered that Alexander I of Russia had secured his own recognition as king of Poland at Vienna (see p. 361). The boundaries of this new kingdom of Poland were by no means so extensive as those of the kingdom whose assassination at the hands of Prussia, Austria, and Russia had been the major crime of the eighteenth century; large sections of former Poland were still held by Prussia and Austria, and not all of the Polish lands which had come into Russian hands were included in the kingdom of Poland as set up at the Congress of Vienna. The constitution which the tsar had granted to his Polish subjects was, on the surface, quite liberal. It gave the Poles the freest government they had ever known. Freedom of the press was guaranteed and religious toleration ensured; the two-chamber legislature was endowed with considerable powers of lawmaking and policy control. Indeed, the Polish constitution aroused much criticism in Russia, where no such freedom was allowed. But the Poles did not long remain in quiet enjoyment of this freedom; a caprice had bestowed it and a like caprice might take it away. Alexander I himself became less liberal as time went on, and he was succeeded in 1825 by Nicholas I, who was a thoroughgoing absolutist.

Responding to the challenge of the Belgian revolt, the new tsar summoned the Poles to assist him in putting it down. Quick to recognize in this summons the death knell of their own liberty, the Poles raised the standard of revolt. Lest the fever of rebellion should spread to the Poles of their own dominions, Austria and Prussia then prepared to come to Russia's assistance. Prussia granted supplies and passage for Russian troops through her territories. Even without this assistance, however, Russia was far too powerful an opponent for the Poles. In a campaign savagely prosecuted (January to September, 1831) Poland was overrun and Warsaw occupied. The Polish constitution was canceled and Poland became a Russian province. Thousands of Poles were exiled or themselves went into voluntary exile. A systematic effort was made to Russianize

those who remained. This renewed subjection of Poland was destined to endure for nearly a hundred years.

In Germany and in Italy also, as we shall see, revolutionary movements in 1830 were suppressed with considerable ease, and the reign of reaction was re-established more securely, seemingly, than before. Rallying from the heavy blows it had received, the Holy Alliance thus confined the revolution to Belgium and France. In a formal treaty signed in 1833 at München-gratz, Russia, Austria, and Prussia bound themselves still more closely together: if revolt threatened any one of the three, the other two would come to its aid. As Metternich put it, "So long as the union of the three monarchs lasts, there will be a chance of safety in the world."

### Difficulties Facing Louis Philippe

Metternich's comment upon the July Revolution in France was acute. "Louis Philippe finds himself at his accession to the throne in an untenable position," he wrote. "His regime lacks the popular force of the republic, the military glory of the empire, the Bourbon support of a principle. Its durability will rest solely upon accident." It is indeed difficult to discover a constitutional basis for the regime of Louis Philippe. His commission to rule, if such it may be called, was granted by the Chamber of Deputies, which, however, had been illegally summoned and which in any event had no authority to select a king. Moreover, only about half of the deputies were present. Republican leaders proposed that Louis's claim be submitted to popular vote, but this move was promptly checked by the new king's advisers.

A certain measure of reform was evident in a revision of the Charter which was now undertaken. Sessions of the Chamber of Peers were to be open to the public. Members of the Chamber of Deputies need be only thirty years old, as opposed to forty. The right to vote was considerably extended by a reduction of the property qualification. The Catholic faith was no longer recognized as the official religion of France. The tricolor of revolutionary France was substituted for the white flag of the Bourbons. As thus modified, French institutions took on more of the semblance of a parliamentary government. The supporters of the new regime were mostly from the upper middle class—merchants, bankers, professional men, and the "middle class" of landowners. France had not, as yet, an important group of industrialists.

As was to be expected, the new regime had many and bitter enemies, both on the right and on the left. Aristocrats, clericals, and other adherents of the exiled Bourbons formed a party known as "legitimists." They were bitterly irreconcilable and awaited only a favorable moment

for revolt. The duchess of Berry, mother of the duke of Bordeaux, legitimist claimant to the throne, refused to wait at all. A lady of courage and resourcefulness as well as of considerable charm, she led an armed rising shortly after Louis Philippe's accession in the hope that the Holy Alliance would come to her assistance. That was impossible at the moment, and after a sharp struggle the duchess was taken prisoner and her followers were scattered. When the birth of a daughter constrained her to avow a secret marriage, the authorities released the duchess, deeming her influence cancelled. At the other extreme, irreconcilable republicans staged a series of revolts, each apparently the work of a different secret society. Lack of union among the societies was a fatal weakness, and the government had little difficulty in squelching the risings one by one.

One of the difficulties facing the new king was the fact that his own supporters were not united. A cleavage which was apparent early in the reign became more marked with the lapse of time. Some believed that the changes effected by the July Revolution had established a constitutional balance of power which should not be disturbed. One of the parties to that balance of power, in their view, was the king. He was to be no mere figurehead, but a determining factor in the government. "We did not choose a king," said Guizot, the leader of this group; "we treated with a prince whom we found beside the throne and who was able in mounting the throne to guarantee our public law and the Revolution. An appeal to popular suffrage would have given to the reform monarchy precisely the character that we desired to avoid." It need hardly be added that this view was held not only by Guizot but also by Louis Philippe. The members of this group became known as the "party of resistance."

Opposed to the party of resistance were those who believed that sovereignty resided wholly in the nation and that the king was merely the symbol of sovereignty, reigning but not governing. National policy was determined by the prime minister and his associates, who were responsible not to the king, but to the representatives of the nation. Furthermore, the people should take a more active part in the control of national policy through the extension of the franchise. Those who held these views looked to Thiers as their leader, and the group was known, appropriately, as the "party of movement."

During the first ten years of the reign, what with insurrections on the right and on the left, to say nothing of the uncertainty about the reception of the new regime abroad, the differences between the two groups of liberals were minimized and the king chose as his ministers, generally speaking, representatives of both parties. By 1840, however, Louis felt strong enough to indulge his preference and thereafter, until the end of his reign eight years later, the party of resistance was in office continu-

ously, with Guizot as prime minister. Guizot was one of the foremost historians of France. It has been said that "a great historian is almost a statesman even if he has no training whatsoever in the governmental service."

### The Policy of Guizot

Of considerable help to Guizot in maintaining the regime of Louis Philippe was the prevailing prosperity of France. The wheat harvest increased steadily right down to 1848; the barley and corn crops did likewise. French capitalists were actively following the lead of the industrial revolution across the Channel. From 1842, railways were built systematically. Guizot and his associates sedulously fostered the interests of both farmers and industrialists and did all they could to create a utopia of prosperity for the upper middle class.

In foreign affairs Guizot's policy was to let sleeping dogs lie and keep France out of trouble. A crisis in Near Eastern affairs he allowed others to settle. A civil war in Switzerland presented another invitation to intervention which Guizot declined. Civil war in Spain also failed to attract his attention, though one of the five candidates for the throne was a French Bourbon. "If France is prosperous," Guizot said, "if she remains free, rich, peaceful, and wise, we need not complain if we exercise only a small influence in the world abroad." This policy of peace at any price was not entirely welcome to Frenchmen of the day; France had been too long the dominant power in Europe. Lamartine, noted republican author and poet, declared, "France is bored."

Even prosperity at home and peace abroad did not suffice to keep Louis quietly on his throne. More and more Guizot found it necessary to maintain the regime by sharp political practices not unmixed with corruption. The temper of the Chamber of Peers he could control by infusions of new blood. The Deputies he systematically bought up, not through the crude use of bribery but by the skillful allocation of government sinecures. It is estimated that some two hundred of the 430 deputies held lucrative positions. When a vote in which the government was interested was taken in the Chamber, balloting took place at the tribune. That is, each deputy mounted the steps on one side of the platform, at the front of the chamber, placed a ball in either the black or the white urn, and then descended the opposite flight of steps, his every move being carefully watched and checked by one of the ministers. Deputies who could not be bought in one way or another might be unseated. In the latter years of the reign systematic corruption of the voters reached the proportions of a public scandal. Individual voters were influenced by the grant of favors or concessions, or a whole community was bribed by the

allotment of public works. In the view of Guizot and his associates the 430 deputies plus the 200,000 voters constituted the *pays legal*. This and not the nation as a whole was their proper concern.

### Republican and Socialist Opposition

The resort to political corruption was in itself a confession that the regime of Louis Philippe was losing its grip. The parties of the left became increasingly vocal. Republican groups no longer met in secret. They urgently demanded manhood suffrage and the abolition of the House of Peers. Meanwhile, also, there was developing among the republicans a socialist left wing. France was experiencing the first effects of the unrestrained exploitation of workers which was characteristic of the advent of industrialism everywhere in Europe. Low pay, long hours, unsanitary and unsafe factory conditions, and the unrestricted employment of women and children were some of the features of an industrial age in which workers were forbidden to form unions. Strikes became frequent in France, and they were savagely repressed. Spinners and weavers in the silk mills of Lyons, whose normal working day was eighteen hours, marched through the streets waving a black flag and shouting, "Work or Death." The poet Heine, then serving as correspondent of a German newspaper, described the situation in Paris in an often quoted paragraph: "Everything is as quiet as a winter's night after a new fall of snow, but in the silence you hear continually dripping, dripping, the profits of the capitalists as they steadily increase. You can actually hear them piling up, the riches of the rich. Sometimes there is the smothered sob of poverty, and often, too, a scraping sound like a knife being sharpened." Heine visited some of the factories in the suburbs of Paris and examined some of the books which the workmen read. "They smelt of blood," he said. The songs of the workmen seemed "to have been composed in hell, and they have a chorus of the wildest excitement."

One of the first fruits of this exploitation of man by man was an outpouring of books on social theory, works which may be said to have founded French socialism. Their writers were for the most part not themselves workingmen but intellectuals to whom the cause of the workingmen appealed. Claude H. Saint-Simon, a member of the peerage, is called the founder of French socialism. Charles Fourier is noted for his plan of organizing society in self-sufficing communities. Holding that there should be an organic fusion of the complementary functions of capital and labor, production and consumption, Fourier attempted to merge these interests in small communities in which each individual would be both a laborer and capitalist, a producer and a consumer. His communities all failed.



Fourier did not take into account the actual nature of man in the stage of social development which he had reached at the time.

Another French socialist of the period was Louis Blanc. Blanc was not so much a theorist as an organizer, and the birth of French socialism as a political party may be dated from 1843 when he founded the socialist newspaper *Réforme*. "Formerly workingmen were slaves. Now they are wage earners. They must be raised to the rank of partners," asserted Louis Blanc. And again: "Too much manual labor ruins the health of workingmen and destroys the dignity of man by preventing him from developing his intellectual possibilities." The most effective propaganda of Louis Blanc, however, was his *History of Ten Years*, in which he demonstrated in detail, to his own satisfaction, that the regime of Louis Philippe had betrayed the national honor abroad and had sold out to the capitalists at home.

### The Fall of Louis Philippe

Faced by an ever increasing opposition from the parties of the left, Guizot perforce became more and more repressive in his policy. The press was shackled; republican papers were suppressed and their editors were imprisoned or exiled. The right of free assembly was denied. To question the validity of private property, to criticize the king, or to advocate a form of government other than monarchy was made a penal offense. There were no less than six attempts to assassinate the king.

In the last year of Louis Philippe's reign all elements of opposition, liberal, republican, and socialist, joined in a demand for an extension of the franchise and an end of parliamentary corruption. The liberals, led by Thiers, sought to keep the agitation within constitutional bounds, and since assemblies for the discussion of reform were illegal, they arranged banquets instead. These banquets were decorous affairs at which the speeches were always preceded by a toast to the king. Republicans and socialists then took up the idea, but their "banquets" were anything but decorous; they were, indeed, a menace to public order. Attempting to break up one such gathering in Paris, the government provoked a riot. Growing ever larger by accretion, a mob marched on the Tuileries, shouting "Reform!," "Down with Louis Philippe!," and "Long live the republic!" The agitated monarch hastily wrote out an act of abdication. "I abdicate that crown which the national voice called me to wear in favor of my grandson the count of Paris. May he succeed in the great task which has fallen to him today."

Thus at a touch, almost by accident, the regime of Louis Philippe crumbled and vanished. Metternich was essentially right, but partly by luck and partly by good management Louis had outlasted the Bourbons whom he had displaced.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### *Nationalism and Liberalism in Central Europe to 1848*

WHEN, in October, 1936, Hitler and Mussolini first became allies, historically minded persons saw in this union of "Axis" powers the re-embodiment of the medieval Empire with Germany once more the dominant factor. To be sure, the Holy Roman Empire had included not only Germany and Italy, but Switzerland, Austria, and Bohemia as well. Austria and Bohemia, however, were annexed by Hitler in due course; Switzerland, in spite of its persevering neutrality, did not prevent the two modern dictators from maintaining contact sufficiently close for their purpose. Comparing the Axis with the Holy Roman Empire served to remind the world of the relationship between Germany and Italy that had persisted for long centuries. Even when the Empire had at long last been dissolved, the two lands had not been completely dissevered. The house of Hapsburg, which Metternich restored to its former place as leading dynasty in Germany, maintained a predominant position in Italy as well, and in both lands the illiberal and anti-national policies of Metternich held sway from the Congress of Vienna to the Revolution of 1848.

Napoleon, as we have seen, made two contributions to German national union. Under his encouragement and at his instigation the larger German states swallowed up the smaller ones, thus reducing the total from more than three hundred to less than forty. In the second place, his callous and ruthless exploitation of Germany's weakness had the not unnatural result of rousing in the peoples of Germany a feeling of national resentment. It will be recalled that in the campaigns which finally brought about the downfall of the military colossus the people and governments of Germany played no small part. For a time it seemed that a common hostility to Napoleon and his regime might be the unifying bond for which Germany had waited so long.

#### Germany Still Weak and Divided

German patriots had looked forward to the Congress of Vienna with considerable hope. Some thought the best plan would be to unite the

various states under a powerful hereditary monarch. Others, believing this to be impracticable, favored the establishment of a stronger federal state, a "more perfect union." Neither project got very far. The German princes were quite unable to agree among themselves as to who might be their sovereign. As regards the federal plan, after some months of bitter discussion Metternich interposed his veto. Austria had many non-German interests, and it did not suit the plans of the Hapsburg dynasty to resign any of its authority to a federal government.

Metternich then proposed that all lands formerly part of the Holy Roman Empire, now defunct, be included in a loose confederation of like character. Each member of this confederation, called the *Bund*, was to have entire freedom of action not only in domestic affairs but also in foreign policy, saving only a pledge not to pursue a line of policy inimical to the interests of any of its fellow members or of the confederation as a whole. In the new *Bund*, thus established, there were six kingdoms, seven grand duchies, nine duchies, four free cities, and a dozen principalities. All states were represented at a Diet sitting at Frankfort. In this body each state was represented by a group of delegates, large or small according to the size of the state. The delegates were merely the nominees of the heads of the various governments, really diplomatic representatives. No decision could be made by the Diet in a matter of importance except by unanimous consent, which meant practically that no decision at all could be arrived at. Helpless in major matters, the Diet was hopelessly dilatory even in minor ones. Salaries due in 1816 were still unpaid in 1831. Fortresses ordered to be built at the expense of France in 1815 were still unbuilt in 1825. For months on end the Diet would mark time while waiting for some of the delegates to receive instructions from home. No wonder the Diet became the laughingstock of Germany and of Europe. As the German students sang, "*Bund du Hund bist nicht gesund.*"

### Early German Liberalism

The continual intervention of France from the outbreak of the French Revolution to the fall of Napoleon had sown French revolutionary ideas broadcast throughout Germany. During the War of Liberation, which immediately preceded the Congress of Vienna, and continuing through the first few years thereafter, one after another of the German monarchs abandoned Old Regime ways and promulgated a constitution. Some of these constitutions were quite limited in scope, the legislative assembly being endowed with little more than the right of petition. Others, however, were little if at all inferior to the Constitutional Charter of France. The government of the duchy of Saxe-Weimar was the best type of Ger-

man liberalism in this period. Among other German states which adopted constitutions were Bavaria, Württemberg, Brunswick, and Hesse.

Prussia was not so much a state as a complex of states, in many of which legislative assemblies already existed. What German liberals hoped was that the king of Prussia would see fit to set up a constitution for Prussia as a whole. Great was the rejoicing when, in 1815, King Frederick William III half promised to do this. His promise was not fulfilled, however, and in the meantime the tide of German liberalism receded.

In the German lands of the house of Hapsburg, Metternich had established a rigid censorship and he watched for a favorable opportunity to extend his program of repression throughout Germany. He did not have long to wait. Among the most active of German liberals were students at the various universities for which Germany was famous. A student association, the *Burschenschaft*, had been founded at Jena in Saxe-Weimar, the home of Goethe, Schiller, and Herder. Chapters of the association, whose members were pledged to work for the upbuilding and unity of Germany, were established at several other university centers. In 1817, delegates from these centers met to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig, signal victory of the German War of Liberation. The year 1817 also marked the 300th anniversary of Luther's famed revolt, and the principal exercises of the celebration were staged in the castle of Wartburg, whither Luther had fled after his condemnation at Worms. The celebration was therefore partly religious and partly patriotic. Having partaken of the Lord's Supper, the gathering sang Luther's hymn, "A mighty fortress is our God." Among the speakers were youthful veterans of the War of Liberation. In the evening, and as an aftermath, the students formed a torchlight procession. The celebration ended with a bonfire. Casually and without premeditation, as it would seem, some of the merry-makers in playful imitation of Luther's famous act threw into the flames some books of a reactionary character, together with certain symbols of authority such as an officer's corset, a corporal's cane, and a soldier's pigtail. Innocent as all this seems, the action of the students assumed a sinister significance in the mind of Metternich. That famous reactionary felt his suspicion more than justified when he learned that the author of one of the burned books had been murdered. This man, the German dramatist Kotzebue, had been acting as an agent of the tsar in Germany and was regarded by the students as no better than a spy. His murderer was a member of the Jena *Burschenschaft*, Karl Sand, a divinity student who was universally esteemed but who was unquestionably of unsound mind.

Taking advantage of the tremors of fear which shook the monarchs of Germany, Metternich brought before the Diet the "Carlsbad Decrees."

These were aimed particularly at the universities and at the press as the principal channels of political agitation. All student associations were suppressed. Agents were appointed to attend university lectures, inspect reading lists of professors and students, and otherwise sniff the academic air. As for the press, a rigid censorship of all publications was established, each monarch being held responsible for its enforcement within his own domains. This was in 1819. For a decade all remained quiet.

Even in 1830 French revolutionary agitation found only a faint echo across the German border. There were popular demonstrations, and a few new constitutions were granted. But this movement soon subsided, and Metternich then brought before the Diets of 1832 and 1834 provisions which supplemented the Carlsbad Decrees. Legislative assemblies wherever they existed in Germany were to be not indeed destroyed—that was a task beyond the powers of the Diet however subservient to Metternich—but rigorously controlled. No legislative assembly, it was provided, might refuse to vote the taxes necessary for carrying on government; nor might it use the taxing power as a means of forcing political concessions. Each sovereign, furthermore, was personally obligated to refuse any petition of the legislative body calculated to impair his sovereignty. These decrees, with those of 1819, were rigorously enforced. It has been said that they “postponed constitutional liberty in Germany for a generation.” “When I was at the top of St. Gotthard Pass I heard Germany snoring,” wrote Heine. “She slept peacefully under the protection of her thirty-six monarchs. In those days crowns sat firmly on the princes’ heads, and at night they just drew their night caps over them, while the people slept peacefully at their feet.”

### Liberalism in German Culture

Thrust out of politics, many Germans turned to cultural studies, for which Germany became noted in the nineteenth century. Political leadership being denied her, Germany achieved pre-eminence in another realm. As the saying went, England ruled the water, France ruled the land, but Germany ruled the clouds. It is significant that the cultural studies of greatest importance in the Germany of this period were philology and history.

The greatest of the German philologists were the brothers Grimm, Jacob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm (1786-1859). Sharing the same bed and table as boys, they shared the same quarters as men; even after Wilhelm married, Jacob saw no reason why they should live apart. Jacob Grimm was the greater philologist of the two; indeed, he was one of the greatest philologists who ever lived. As a field of study philology is for the expert few. Not many have heard of “Grimm’s Law,” and fewer still know what

it is. We may all appreciate, however, the underlying spirit in which the two brothers pursued their researches. Jacob stated it as follows: "Ours is a noble and earnest task definitely and inseparably connected with our own fatherland and calculated to foster the love of it." The two brothers collected and edited the earliest of the national poetry, the most primitive of German laws. Venturing still further into the past, they delved into the folklore and mythology of the early German tribes. Jacob's greatest work of general interest was his *History of the German Language*, really a history of the German people as revealed in etymology.

Other German scholars approached the problem of liberty and union even more directly through their study of history, trusting that through the portrayal of the greatness of bygone days they might create among Germans of their own day a "universal mental state." Foremost among the German historians was Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886). It was Ranke's purpose to print, and thus make available for all scholars, the sources of German history. He founded in 1826 the *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*, a work which in our day extends to 120 volumes, a landmark in historical scholarship. Ranke's research methods have scarcely been improved upon. Incidentally, it may be said that his fifty-four volumes of historical composition are not easy reading, however sound his scholarship may be.

Other German historians were as zealous in their researches as Ranke but by no means so dispassionate in their exposition. A profound philosophical thinker as well as a great patriotic historian was G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831). Hegel's fame rests upon his philosophy of history. Each historical age, in his view, has been dominated by a world people with a world mission. The mission of a world people is to spread the civilization which it had perfected. This might necessitate the use of force; hence each world people, in its turn, has had to organize itself for power, both politically and in a military sense. Once it has fulfilled its mission, it passes into a stage of decadence. Thus did Hegel explain and justify the rise and fall of the empires of the Orient, of Greece, and of Rome. Turning to his own age, Hegel could see the meaning of history clearly enough. Obviously a new world people was rising, the German, perfecting a new world civilization, or *Kultur*. Hegel's conclusion was that in order to fulfill their mission the Germans must build a powerful and compact military state. Democracy he rejected as too weak a form of government. He favored monarchy, without constitutional limitations, and in a climax of inspiration he envisaged the Hohenzollerns as the predestined leaders of Germany. These views, however logical they may be as links in Hegel's chain of reasoning, were vigorously rejected by the German liberals of his time.

### Reaction and Repression in Hapsburg Lands

While the German Confederation slept on, important developments were going on within the several separate states. Since it is not possible to deal with them all, we may center our attention upon the two largest, Austria and Prussia. Important as were Austria's German holdings, more than two thirds of the lands of the Hapsburgs lay outside the boundaries of the Confederation. So varied were the peoples of these lands in race, language, religion, and culture that they constituted an international entity to which the name of "empire" had already been given. There were first of all the half-dozen provinces belonging to the archduchy of Austria. The population of these provinces was mainly German, with many Slavs, however, in the southern areas. Then there were the possessions of the crown of Bohemia; that is, Bohemia, Moravia, and Upper Silesia. Here the preponderant majority of the people was Slavic, but there was a large German element which had filtered in through the centuries as an exploiting minority. Thirdly, there were the lands belonging to the crown of St. Stephen; that is, the kingdom of Hungary and the provinces of Galicia, Transylvania, Croatia, and Slavonia. Approximately one third of the population of these lands was Magyar, the rest mainly Slav; in almost every province, however, there was a German element deriving its importance not so much from numbers as from the part it played in economic and political life. Finally, the Hapsburg family held as its latest accession the Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Taken as a whole, the Hapsburg lands were a fairly compact group. Lying in central and eastern Europe, they constituted, so to speak, a buckle joining these two sections of the Continent. Bismarck, using a different figure of speech, described the possessions of the Hapsburgs as "a house of bad bricks held together with some excellent cement."

Since nationalism and liberalism could progress only at the expense of Hapsburg power, repression was the only possible policy for Austria. Metternich was by no means the first Austrian minister to adopt a policy of immobility and reaction, although he was undoubtedly one of the most skillful. His system consisted of a rigid censorship of ideas, which included the elimination of the study of history and philosophy from the universities, a prohibition against the employment of teachers from abroad, and a veto of foreign study for Austrian subjects. Along with censorship went an all-pervasive espionage, in which both police and clergy joined. Since maintenance of an intellectual vacuum is hardly possible, Metternich sought ceaselessly to extend his policy to the states which bordered upon the Hapsburg dominions. In this effort he had a measure of success, as we have seen. But his success even within the

boundaries of the Hapsburg empire was not absolute. Bohemian nationalism sprang up in an intellectual and literary renaissance of which the historian Polacky was the leader. A demand arose among the Bohemians for the establishment of an autonomous state in which the Czech population would occupy a dominant position, lording it not only over the German minority but also over the other Slav elements owing allegiance to the Bohemian crown. This national movement was to a certain extent liberal, in reaction against the medieval conditions of life which still obtained in Bohemia, as it did in all the lands of the Hapsburgs. The Bohemian movement simmered away beneath the surface during the third and fourth decades of the century, the Czech leaders awaiting only a favorable opportunity.

In Hungary also a national movement started up. Its leaders were Count Szechenyi and Lajos Kossuth. Alike in advocating a dominant position for the Magyar element among the peoples owing allegiance to the crown of St. Stephen, Kossuth and Szechenyi were poles apart in other matters. Like Bohemia, Hungary was medieval in its economic life and social organization—in fact, early medieval. Its nobility consisted of a few hundred territorial magnates and a few thousand landlords of the lesser sort. Whether great or small, the Hungarian nobles enjoyed the privileges characteristic of an Old Regime land; between them and their villeins a vast gulf was fixed. Early medieval also was Hungary's economy, for the whole land remained agricultural and pastoral. Count Szechenyi, though a great landlord, was progressive in many aspects of his thought. He believed that Hungary should be modernized in her economic life by the draining of swamps, the building of roads, the clearing of rivers, the improvement of agricultural methods, and the establishment of industries. Kossuth, on the other hand, was a man of the people, a brilliant orator and journalist, filled with a lyric enthusiasm for democracy. He, too, wanted to modernize Hungary, but he believed that modernization must be the work of the people themselves. The essential prerequisite for this work, in his view, was the establishment of a thoroughgoing political democracy, including universal suffrage and a responsible ministry. The aristocrat and the commoner thus contended for the leadership of the Magyar race. Slowly Kossuth forged ahead. On the eve of revolution, in 1848, he was the acknowledged head of the movement of national revival in Hungary.

### Consolidation of the Lands of the Hohenzollerns

Important developments were taking place in Prussia also. Of her ten million inhabitants at the close of the Congress of Vienna fully half were



new to the house of Hohenzollern. The rearrangements of the Congress had notably increased the German holdings of the Hohenzollerns. The Prussian monarchy now included the north German states of Pomerania and Brandenburg, the south German state of Saxony, and the west German lands of Westphalia, Cleves-Jülich, and the Rhineland. Thus the Germanic character of the Hohenzollern dynasty was made more emphatic. As the ruler of the Rhine provinces the Prussian state held the post of guardian of the Rhine against the French, a fact which enhanced Prussia's claims to national leadership. Austria, meanwhile, had withdrawn from the Rhine when she gave up the Netherlands. In addition to the provinces already named, all of which lay within the limits of the German Confederation, Prussia held three regions outside: namely, Posen, West Prussia, and East Prussia. These provinces were largely German in population, but there was in each of them a substantial Polish minority. The many provinces of the Prussian state were most diverse in their political institutions, there being no single bond of union among them save their allegiance to the house of Hohenzollern. They were even cut off from each other by high tariff walls, the number of miles of customs frontier within Prussia exceeding four thousand.

### *The Zollverein*

The advisers of King William III set their minds to work on Prussia's economic problem after 1815. By 1818 they had succeeded in uniting the various Prussian lands in a tariff union. They then decided to extend an invitation to the kingdom's many German neighbors to join this *Zollverein*. Some half-dozen German states were entirely surrounded by Prussian territory. These received a very fair offer. If they would accept the Prussian tariff system, Prussia would undertake the collection of all customs duties at the external boundaries of Prussia and share the proceeds in proportion to population. They accepted. Another group of states which found it to their advantage to join the *Zollverein* were Hesse, Baden, Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony, all in south Germany. The external trade of these states lay chiefly to the north, down the valley of the Rhine or Elbe. Their trade, therefore, flowed through Prussian lands. Holding out favorable terms, Prussia succeeded in quieting jealous fears and so obtained adherence from them one by one.

By 1833 seventeen German states with a total population of twenty-six million were in the *Zollverein*. Delegates from these states met in annual assembly and acted by unanimous consent. Throughout the union, manufactured products were subject to low duties; raw materials went untaxed. Austria, though invited to join, had refused. Thus did Prussia wrest from

Austria the economic leadership of Germany. The economic boundaries of the *Zollverein* were practically identical with the political boundaries of the German Empire founded by Bismarck a generation later.

### A Limited Liberalism in Prussia

During this period a liberal movement of significance and importance appeared in Prussia. There was, as we have noted, no legislative assembly for Prussia as a whole, though various provinces had local assemblies with limited powers. At the time of the War of Liberation, King William III had yielded to the plea of the Prussian liberals for a "United *Landtag*." Or so it appeared. Under the influence of Metternich a little later, however, the Prussian king neglected his pledge. The years of reaction saw Prussian liberals give up their hope of converting William III and settle down to await his death. William died in 1840. His successor was his son, who took the title of Frederick William IV (1840-1861). The new king was well educated and had surrounded himself, as prince, with scholars, artists, and men of letters. He was forty-five years of age at his accession, and Prussian liberals had long had high hopes of him. The popular history professor at Berlin, von Treitschke, wrote that their hopes "overflowed irresistibly, gushing and foaming like molten metal when the spigot is knocked out."

Cultured and intelligent, Frederick William was first of all a Hohenzollern, however. Year after year passed by and no united *Landtag* was summoned, though administrative convenience alone might point to such an assembly as indispensable. At long last, however, the king did yield to the pressure of logic and sentiment and set a date for the new legislative body to meet (spring, 1847). At the same time he closely circumscribed the powers it should have. Even in finance its functions were to be merely consultative and advisory. The right of petition could be exercised only by a two-thirds majority of both houses. The fact that there was to be a chamber of peers named by himself was a further pledge against action in opposition to the king's wishes. Finally, the *Landtag* was to meet only when summoned and could be dismissed at any time.

Frederick William made his political views clear in his first speech to the *Landtag*: "I should never have called you together," he said, "if I had the least idea that you could dream of playing the part of so-called representatives of the people." And he continued, "I will never allow a sheet of paper to come between our Lord God in Heaven and this land, to govern us by its paragraphs." Among his early requests of the *Landtag* was one for support of a loan as part of the financial provision for the year. This the liberal majority refused to give unless the king on his part would

agree to give them a real voice in the determination of national policy. The ensuing deadlock had lasted three months when the king, seeing no sign of acquiescence in the *Landtag*, dismissed it. During the deadlock, which was a constitutional crisis of the first importance, popular feeling rose to considerable heights.

### Liberalism in Hanover

Prussia was not the only state where liberalism was active. One of the more important German states was the kingdom of Hanover, whose hereditary monarchs were also kings of England. Under William IV of England (and Hanover) the English political revolution which is concealed under the name of the Reform Bill of 1832 took place. Taking their cue from their sovereign's English subjects, Hanoverian liberals demanded a liberal constitution for the German state. The sailor king, influenced no doubt by what had happened in England, gave his assent. A historian named Dahlmann of Hanover's University of Göttingen drafted the constitution, which was promulgated in 1833.

When William IV died in 1837, he was succeeded in England by Victoria. Hanover, following the "Salic law," which forbade the succession of a woman, now parted company with England, its throne passing to William's youngest brother, Ernest Augustus, duke of Cumberland. A Tory reactionary of the deepest dye, dissolute and debt-ridden, Hanover's new king took an early opportunity to quarrel with his subjects. One provision of the new constitution was the allotment to the crown of a fixed income in lieu of the indefinite and possibly more extensive revenues from crown lands. Ernest Augustus was of the opinion that a reversal of this arrangement would be to his advantage. He therefore denounced the Hanoverian constitution on the ground that he had not consented to it, and shortly after his accession he canceled it. This act was quietly received by the Hanoverians, though they were far from satisfied. After an interval of reflection seven professors of the University of Göttingen joined in a measured protest. Among them were Dahlmann, author of the constitution, and the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. The professors declared that they had taken oaths to protect and defend the constitution and that these oaths were binding. "We cannot," they wrote, "appear before our students as men who have played with our oaths." King Ernest Augustus promptly dismissed the seven from their university chairs and expelled them from his realm.

This act of petty but ominous tyranny caused a sensation throughout Germany, for the professors were universally known and respected for their intellectual achievements. Articles which they now wrote in their

own defense were well circulated and widely read, and these manifestoes did much to keep liberalism alive and even give it new prestige.

### Liberty and Union in Switzerland

Among the Germanic peoples who now stand outside the political system of Germany are the Swiss. Their institutions are of peculiar interest to all democratic peoples. At the close of the Middle Ages the number of Swiss cantons was thirteen. Six other communities or towns were classed as associates and allies. The sovereign independence of this league of cantons and its associates was formally acknowledged by the Empire at the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648. German is spoken by well over two thirds of the Swiss people, and French is the second most widely used language. Italian is the language of a majority of the inhabitants of one canton; another Romance tongue called Romansch is the speech of a few thousands. At the Reformation, Calvinism made considerable inroads among the Swiss people, and it continues to be the preferred religion of more than half of them.

From earliest times the cantons, with their associates and allies, sent delegates, really ambassadors, to a central diet, whose sole business was the conduct of the foreign affairs of the confederation. Each canton maintained such institutions as it saw fit, and government ranged from primitive democracy in a few cantons to an aristocracy of landlords or merchants in the majority. During the French Revolution, Switzerland, having been overrun by French forces, blossomed forth as the Helvetic Republic (1798). Sweeping changes were now made in Swiss institutions. The government of the new republic was closely centralized and thoroughly democratized. At the Congress of Vienna, however, things reverted to their former state. Metternich was particularly fearful of a strong, democratic state on the borders of Austria, and he insisted on the re-establishment of the loose confederation of former times together with the revival of aristocratic institutions. This was a severe blow to the hopes of Swiss nationalists and liberals, the number of whom had greatly increased during the period of the Revolution. It was at the time of the Congress of Vienna that the six allies and associates became full-fledged cantons. To this total of nineteen three more cantons were also added, the number of cantons thus reaching its present figure.

After 1815 Swiss liberals set as their goal the transforming of the governments of individual cantons. The period of Swiss history extending from about this time to 1847 is known as the "Era of Regeneration." Through peaceful change, no less than eleven cantons became modern democracies with universal suffrage, equality before the law, and free-

dom of speech, press, and religion. Other cantons were more backward, and these became increasingly concerned over the inroads of liberalism. This was particularly true of the Catholic cantons. Catholicism had enjoyed a measure of revival in Switzerland, as elsewhere in Europe, after 1815; and under the leadership of the Jesuits, Swiss Catholics reached out for control of education. Matters came to a crisis in the canton of Aargau. There the liberal majority took the drastic step of suppressing all religious houses. Other Catholic cantons came to the support of their co-religionists of Aargau and brought the issue to the Diet of the confederation.

In a close vote the Diet upheld the action of the Aargau government. Seven Roman Catholic cantons thereupon withdrew from the confederation and established a separate league, the *Sonderbund* (1845). The seven seceders were small, their total population being about one fifth of the whole Swiss people. Attempts were made, entirely futile, to conciliate the members of the *Sonderbund*. Finally, in September, 1847, the federal Diet voted to dissolve the *Sonderbund* by force, to expel the Jesuits from Switzerland, and to make drastic amendments to the federal constitution. The original issue, religion, had thus given way to the larger question of the preservation of the union.

Austria, Prussia, and Russia favored immediate intervention when civil war in Switzerland seemed imminent, and an Austrian army was mobilized on the Swiss frontier. Louis Philippe was disposed to take the same point of view, and he suggested the immediate summoning of a European conference. The English leaders, however, were in sympathy with the Swiss majority and favored a hands-off policy. Palmerston, British foreign minister, strove to delay the European conference while privately urging the Swiss federalists to deal swiftly with the *Sonderbund*. Luckily for itself, the Swiss Diet had on its side not only a heavy preponderance of population and resources but also a commander in chief of great ability, Dufour. Summoning his forces, Dufour attacked the seceding cantons separately in overwhelming strength, and in twenty-five days the war was over with a loss of only seventy-eight lives. The last of the seven cantons surrendered on the 29th of November. On the 30th, just one day too late, came a joint note of the great powers, England alone dissenting, demanding that the whole issue be submitted to a conference. Even yet, of course, there was grave danger that the victory of the federalists might be upset by the powers, but early in 1848 a wave of revolutions swept over the whole of Europe and the Swiss question faded into the background when regimes which had sought to intervene became absorbed in a struggle for survival.

## The Swiss Constitution

Swiss federalists turned quickly to the task of reshaping their constitution. The provisions of the American constitution were freely drawn upon. A federal legislature of two houses was established. In the lower house representatives were chosen by manhood suffrage from constituencies of equal size. In the upper house each canton had two representatives. This legislature was endowed with powers much like those of our own Congress, and in Switzerland as in the United States the cantons retained all powers not specifically granted to the federal government. The executive of the Swiss federation is very different from our own, however. The two houses of the federal legislature, meeting in joint session, choose a council of seven members, the term of service being three years. Each member of the council is the head of a department of government which he administers with direct responsibility to the federal legislature. Every year the council chooses one of its members as chairman and another as vice-chairman. The chairman for the year is the president of the Swiss Republic. He is always succeeded by the vice-chairman. The Swiss president, therefore, has no more authority than any other member of the council. It has been said that if you ask ten Swiss citizens the name of their president, nine will say frankly that they do not know, and the tenth will be mistaken.

Each canton, under the constitution of 1848, must maintain a political democracy. Some of the cantons have a single-house legislature; others have both upper and lower houses. In five of the smallest cantons there is no elective assembly at all, the male voters gathering once a year to perform the legislative function in person. These primitive democracies constitute the oldest continuous political bodies in Europe and trace their history without a break far back into the early Middle Ages. The citizens meet out of doors, usually on a Sunday morning in May. Religious exercises open the sessions of what is called the *landesgemeinde*, and the men remain standing throughout.

In the larger cantons, where a primary assembly is impracticable, the Swiss apply with great thoroughness the democratic devices of initiative and referendum. In about half the cantons every bill passed by the legislature must be referred to popular vote; in others the referendum is optional, depending on joint action of a proportion of legislators and voters. In every canton a number of voters may present a bill to the legislature for its consideration. Since 1874 both initiative and referendum have been used by the federal government as well. Each spring and autumn numerous laws are referred to the voters of Switzerland for approval or rejection. Some 600,000 ballots are distributed; the laws are

printed in three languages with brief explanatory comments. The Swiss take these referenda seriously and go to the polls quietly. Sometimes a single legislative project is divided into several parts, the painstaking and intelligent Swiss being relied upon to exercise a discriminating choice, section by section.

The Swiss have now had a long experience with self-government. Most of the critical issues of their political life have been dealt with. There is no religious intolerance among them. Protestants contribute to the erection of Catholic churches and vice versa. In the elections to the federal council, one councilor will always, by custom, be chosen from a Roman Catholic canton, one from a canton of French speech, and one from the Italian-speaking canton. Furthermore, Switzerland has little economic discontent. Abject poverty is unknown; millionaires, if there are any, are inconspicuous.

The Swiss take politics seriously. Political activity is not, with them, a sport or a game. Political speeches are delivered in a conversational tone and they are not greeted with applause. Officials are chosen for their administrative ability rather than for their colorful qualities and are re-elected as long as they will serve. Appointive officials are not required to qualify by competitive examination, yet there is little evidence of inefficiency and none of corruption. A dishonest official would be driven immediately and permanently from public life. Switzerland is doubtless the most economically governed country in the world.

The Swiss have had a long experience also in keeping out of war. Since their bloody defeat at the hands of Francis I of France in the battle of Marignano (1515), they have abandoned all thoughts of aggression. Indeed, they have renounced war as an instrument of national policy, pursuing instead, intelligently and persistently, a policy of neutrality. At the Congress of Vienna the Swiss sought and won international approval for their stand, the powers of Europe agreeing to give "formal and authentic recognition to the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland." Swiss neutrality thus became a part of the law of Europe. In the constitution of 1848 defense of neutrality is expressly listed among the duties of the federal government. Devotion to this age-old policy has induced among the Swiss a habit of restraint in speech and even in thought. Neutrality may be deemed a negative virtue, but the Swiss have sought to make it constructive. They emphasize European solidarity and maintain an attitude of helpfulness. It is not without significance that the headquarters of the International Red Cross is in Switzerland, the Red Cross flag being that of the Swiss Republic with colors reversed. Something surely can be learned from the long experience of the Swiss in the art of honorably avoiding war.

### Barriers to Unification of Italy

For the states of the Italian peninsula any idea of political unification meant the making of something new, not the restoration of something old. Italy had never constituted a complete, independent state. Under the Romans the name of "Italy" had been used only for the central and southern portions of the peninsula; it was only upon crossing the Rubicon that Caesar entered Italy.

The contrasts between north and south in Italy are not only more numerous than corresponding contrasts in, say, France; they are sharper. In the south it rains only in winter; small streams then become torrents. The summers are desperately dry; crop failures are frequent. The north, however, has some rain in all seasons, and the Lombard plain, drained and irrigated by the Po, is one of the most fertile areas of Europe. The south has Greek and Moslem civilization in its background, the north Celtic and Germanic. For more than a thousand years the Papal States in central Italy made contact between these northern and southern regions a matter of serious difficulty. Even as late as 1871 the fusion of north and south was far from complete; indeed, it is incomplete today. Another barrier to unification was the fact that Italians, from early Roman times, centered their political loyalties in the city of their birth or adoption; the land of Italy as a whole had little meaning for them. If they looked beyond the confines of their city-state at all, they became not nationalists but universalists, as in the glorious centuries when the Roman Empire, or later on the Papacy, dominated the whole European world from the capital city of Rome. It was only slowly and with difficulty that Italian nationalists of the nineteenth century persuaded the peoples of the peninsula to establish in their hearts an "Italy of the affection and imagination."

### Influence of the French Revolution

We have seen how the states of Italy, when the modern history of Europe began, were often the victims of foreign aggression. For three centuries, in fact, the Italian peninsula was the battleground of Europe. Again and again the Italian peoples changed hands, until they became indifferent alike to the departure of one master and the arrival of another. Italy was "intellectually first but politically last." Political repression and stagnation became less, however, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the sovereigns of Italian states responded to some extent to the influences of the Enlightenment. Joseph II of Austria abolished feudal privileges throughout his Italian province of Lombardy. The duke of Tuscany, a scion of the Hapsburgs, became a model ruler,



tolerant and progressive. Count Vittorio Alfieri of Piedmont (1749-1803) wrote plays denouncing tyrants. He sang the praises of liberty, and he brought again to the Italian language a prestige it had not enjoyed since the time of Petrarch.

During the whole length of the French Revolution no region of Europe outside France itself had so long and so stimulating a contact with revolutionary ideas as Italy. By 1815 there existed in nearly all the states of Italy a small minority of converts to liberalism and nationalism.

### The House of Hapsburg in Italy

The restoration, in 1815, of the political *status quo* of former times was altogether to be expected. This was accompanied by a considerable strengthening of the position of the Austrian Empire. Venetia as well as Lombardy was now under its immediate rule. Metternich was determined never to give up either province. The acquisition of Venetia assured Austrian supremacy in the Adriatic. Lombardy was a buffer between Austria and France; "on the Po we are defending the Rhine," said Metternich. Austrian rule of the two provinces was firm and effective. She had an adequate force of troops, strong police, and effective secret agents. The inhabitants prospered economically, but they were stifled politically. On the other states of Italy the hold of the house of Hapsburg was also strong, though it was less direct. The duchy of Tuscany was ruled by the Austrian emperor's brother, the duchy of Parma by his daughter (Napoleon's wife), the duchy of Modena by a cousin. The emperor's aunt was queen of Naples and Sicily; a cousin was queen of Piedmont. As for the Papal States, the Hapsburgs made every effort to remain on friendly terms with their sovereign the pope and now and then to influence papal policy.

### The Papal States

The two states of Italy of most significance for the future, in 1815, were the Papal States and the Kingdom of Sardinia (or Piedmont). The Papal States occupied the central segment of Italy, their northern frontier touching Venetia and their southern frontier the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. The Papal States were third largest among the states of the peninsula. At the head of the administration, under the pope as sovereign, was a cardinal, who was assisted by half a dozen heads of departments, all ecclesiastics. The whole region was subdivided into a score of administrative districts, each with a cardinal or bishop at its head, advised by a local council of laymen. There was considerable unrest among the two and a half million subjects of the pope, not a few of them regarding the

rule of ecclesiastics as unprogressive and out of keeping with the times. This was especially true of the four northern cities of Bologna, Ravenna, Ferrara, and Forlì. Having had a taste of something different while they were annexed to the Napoleonic kingdom of Italy, these cities returned to the rule of the pope with reluctance; they were trouble zones throughout the period preceding unification.

### Sardinia-Piedmont

The kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont had as its nucleus the county of Savoy, which had been awarded to Humbert "of the White Hands," founder of the local dynasty, by a German emperor of the eleventh century. Savoy is Alpine territory, so situated as to command the roads and passes through which French armies must pass to Italy. Exploiting their strategic position with expert skill, the counts of Savoy survived the struggles for power which raged among the states of Europe roundabout, and gradually expanded their territory to include the Italian foothill area of Piedmont, the city of Nice on the Mediterranean coast of France, and the island kingdom of Sardinia. Genoa, a thriving city-state, was awarded to them by the Congress of Vienna. Partly of French and partly of Italian speech, the subjects of the house of Savoy exhibited a gratifying loyalty to their successive sovereigns who, in contrast to the Hapsburgs, might almost be considered as of the same race as the people themselves. Upon the house of Savoy a leading school of Italian nationalists focused their hope of finding a ruling family for united Italy.

### Patriotic Societies

Although they were driven underground by the wave of reaction which swept through the peninsula after 1815, liberal and nationalist minorities here and there survived. Italy had long been the home of secret societies. Scores of them had flourished in the past, their objectives ranging from the philanthropic to the sinister. There now appeared a patriotic society known as the Carbonari, or Society of the Charcoal Burners. At its height this society had some half a million members, among whom were representatives of the nobility and the clergy as well as peasants.

Internal discipline was maintained among the Carbonari by terrifying oaths and secret executions. The immediate aims of the order were destructive rather than constructive, it would seem, since it spent itself in efforts to smash existing regimes. In 1820 and 1830 it was responsible for insurrections in a number of Italian cities. A grave defect of the society from the point of its contribution to Italian unity was the fact that its

membership was not strictly Italian. There were chapters in France and Spain; indeed, the headquarters of the society was for a time in Paris.

### Joseph Mazzini

More serviceable was "Young Italy," a society founded by Guiseppe Mazzini (1805-1872). This great Italian patriot was born in Genoa and first became interested in nationalism as a member of the Carbonari. Falling foul of the police, he spent some months in prison before escaping to France at the age of twenty-five. Nearly all the remaining years of Mazzini's life were spent in exile. During his months of imprisonment Mazzini began to reflect upon the problem of Italian union. The ideals and methods of the Carbonari he rejected. His own society, detailed provisions for which are found in his writings, was to be limited to Italians. Its great objective was the expulsion from Italian soil of every foreign person, every alien idea. On the soil thus redeemed was to be established by and for the people of Italy a republic, with Rome as its capital. For the realization of this dream Mazzini relied heavily upon the enthusiasm of youth. "Place Youth at the head of the insurgent multitude," Mazzini said; "you know not the secret power hidden in these youthful hearts." No one over forty was allowed to join Young Italy.

Mazzini's chief activity during his years of exile was educational propaganda. At his headquarters in Marseilles he and his associates wrote and printed, and then broadcast throughout the Italian peninsula, many thousands of pamphlets explaining and emphasizing the various phases of the Mazzini message. His concept of nationalism was a particularly noble one. After a prolonged study of the French Revolution he came to the conclusion that its principles were inadequate. The Revolution had preached the rights of man. But every movement based wholly upon the rights of man will end, Mazzini thought, in one Man. Certainly the French Revolution had so ended. Furthermore, the rights of man can be won only by force, and this Mazzini deplored. What was needed, he felt, was emphasis upon the duty of man. This duty was to work strenuously and cooperatively for the advancement of the human race. Nations, Mazzini said, are but "the workshops of humanity; above the nations is humanity." Italy must be united, but only to the end that the newly formed Italian state might subserve the larger interests. Free individuals associate to form free nations, affirmed this great liberal, and free nations, sister republics, associate for the benefit of mankind.

The contemporary movement of Romanticism supplied a favorable climate for the dissemination of Mazzini's message. The minds of literate Italians were turned to the pages of medieval history, and they envisaged

themselves again fighting for their liberties against a German tyrant as the northern communes had fought so gloriously in the days of Frederick Barbarossa. Dante, greatest of medieval Italians, had sought to arouse his countrymen to a sense of their power and destiny. Like Mazzini, he had opposed the temporal power of the pope. There were more new editions of Dante between 1815 and 1848 than during the two hundred years preceding.

### The *Risorgimento*

Contemporary with Mazzini's work of propaganda was a literary renaissance. In the decade from 1835 to 1845 a group of writers created what is known as the *Risorgimento* (resurrection). Through their works they inspired their readers with patriotic fervor as effectively as if they had been engaged in direct propaganda. We have already mentioned Manzoni's *The Betrothed*, a remarkably fine historical romance, the scene of which was seventeenth-century Lombardy under Spanish rule. (See p. 372.) Niccolini wrote a historical drama of the medieval period entitled *Arnold of Brescia*. Beneditti called to mind another great medieval patriot in his drama *Cola di Rienzo*. Other writers preached Italian unity still more directly. Vincent Gioberti, chaplain at the court of the king of Piedmont but exiled for his liberal views, wrote, in 1843, *The Moral and Civil Supremacy of the Italians*. In this book, the most important contribution to the *Risorgimento*, Gioberti sought to recall to the Italians memories of past greatness and to persuade them that Italy's geographical position and her cultural attainments entitled her to a pre-eminent place in the future. It was Gioberti's dream that there should be a confederation of Italian states under the leadership of a "patriot pope," for whose benefit he drafted a moderately liberal constitution. Massimo d'Azeglio published, in 1846, a treatise called *Recent Events in the Romagna*, a plain, lucid, factual presentation of actual conditions in the Papal States and a model for similar studies by others. D'Azeglio favored the unification of Italians under the house of Savoy. For three years, 1849-1852, he was prime minister of Piedmont. His pupil and successor was Cavour.

### Reforms in Piedmont

As 1848 drew near, fateful year of revolution, there were signs that the patient work of patriots and liberals was having an effect. The king of Piedmont, Charles Albert of Savoy (1831-1849), began to liberalize the administrative and legal institutions of his kingdom, though he announced himself as opposed to the granting of a constitution. Ten years before his accession to the throne he had, as a young man, made no secret

of his anti-Austrian feeling, and as a result he had been severely disciplined at the instigation of Metternich. As king, therefore, Charles Albert long displayed a healthy respect for the power of Austria, as perhaps befitted the ruler of a mere five million subjects when his every public act was closely scrutinized by the able minister who directed the destinies of the thirty million subjects of the Hapsburgs. In the later years of his reign, however, Charles Albert, nicknamed *Re Tentenna*, "vacillating king," turned again to the anti-Austrian policies of his youth. Italian patriots were quick to note this change of front and many now fixed their hopes upon him.

### Reforms in the Papal States

Other patriots, however, centered their thoughts on the new sovereign of the Papal States. Elected in 1846, Pope Pius IX had the reputation of being liberal and a "good Italian." As almost his first act the new pope proclaimed an amnesty for all political prisoners. This was welcomed with enthusiasm by Italian liberals everywhere as tantamount to placing the seal of papal approval on liberalism. There followed many reforms in the administration of the Papal States: the freeing of the press, the liberalizing of the criminal law, an increase in the participation of the laity in the shaping of local policies, and the authorization of a Civic Guard, armed and drilled. As a final step the papal sovereign established for his lands as a whole a Consultative Assembly. This, however, was, as its name implies, advisory rather than legislative in nature. The pope, indeed, explained that it was not his intention to diminish "even by one iota the pontifical sovereignty which he had received full and entire from God." There seems little doubt that on the eve of the revolution of 1848 Pius IX had a greater following among Italian patriots than had Charles Albert. We should remember, of course, that Mazzini accepted the leadership of neither but placed his hopes on a republic of the sovereign people.

## CHAPTER XXV

### *The Revolution of 1848*

#### Republican Provisional Government in France

ALL EUROPE was ripe for revolution as the year 1847 neared its close. We have seen how, as more than once before, France now led the way. The crowds that marched on the Tuileries shouting "Reform!" soon invaded the Chamber of Deputies (February 24, 1848). As the regime of Louis Philippe crumbled, republican leaders set up a provisional government. At its head, as temporary president, was Dupont de l'Eure, an old gentleman in his eighties whose principal distinction was that he had been one of the founders of the First Republic in 1792. The moving spirit among the republicans was Lamartine the poet. Pressing hard on the heels of the republicans were the socialists led by Louis Blanc. As a mob of radicals had invaded the Chamber, so now a mob of socialists invaded the sittings of the republican leaders. Concession after concession was wrested from them. The socialists even demanded that the tricolor be displaced by the red flag, but after a memorable plea by Lamartine it was agreed that to the standard of the tricolor there should be affixed a red rosette. The republicans were also constrained to admit socialist representatives to membership in the provisional government and to accept the socialist principle of the right to work.

In the meantime the provisional government, having established universal suffrage, was making preparations for a national election. It was decided to summon a constituent assembly of nine hundred members. The republicans were all for holding the election at once, but socialist members of the provisional government strove for delay. They feared that an immediate election would go against them. The workers and peasants, they believed, would be led to the ballot by their masters, the priests, the landlords, the employers. "The people do not know; they must be taught." Time was needed if the masses were to be properly indoctrinated with socialist principles.

#### The National Workshops

The provisional government under socialist pressure was also getting on with its right-to-work program. For the past two years French industry had been suffering from depression. Industrialization had proceeded at

too rapid a pace. This was especially true of railway construction. A period of recession was inevitable while demand was catching up with supply. What the socialists demanded at the moment was employment for the thousands of idle workers. Among the schemes they put forward was a project for the purchase by the state of all privately owned factories. In these factories work was to be offered to all who needed it. The workers were to be paid in accordance with their needs, not their industry or ability. Furthermore, they were to work together as comrades, like soldiers under fire. Profits were to be allocated to sick benefits and old-age pensions. This plan had little contact with the realities of that age and it was rejected in favor of another plan in which the element of practicality was still not large. Under the name of "National Workshops" there was set up in the suburbs of Paris a project for the employment of all inhabitants of the city who were out of work. The pay was small and the regime semi-military, but the ranks were filled at a rate which proved most embarrassing to those who had set the scheme on foot. In March, 1848, there were 6000 in the Workshops; by May the number had swollen to more than 100,000 as the news reached the unemployed of nearby departments. Soon the authorities were at a loss how to provide this army of workers with productive employment. Trees were planted along the boulevards; excavations were begun, purpose unknown, in the Champs de Mars, the great military drill ground of Paris. Critics affirmed that what was dug out one day was filled in the next. Meanwhile costs mounted higher and higher and the propertied classes began to view with alarm the inevitable increase of taxation.

In the meantime arrangements were completed for the election of the national constituent assembly. On Sunday, April 23, 1848, after Mass, with flags flying, the male adults of every commune in France, led by priest and mayor, marched to the polls. Eighty-five per cent of the qualified voters cast their ballots in this election. As the socialists feared, the election went overwhelmingly against them. Of the nine hundred seats no less than seven hundred were filled by members of the bourgeois class. In the city of Paris, stronghold of the socialists, only three of their twenty-four candidates were elected.

The first problem of the new Assembly was the approaching crisis in the affairs of the National Workshops. The decision of the Assembly was prompt and decisive. The Workshops were closed. All workers under twenty-five were invited to enlist in the army. Those above that age were promised, though not guaranteed, employment in private industry. Thousands of workers, following socialist leadership, resolved to resist. Arming themselves as best they could, they established a center of resistance by barricading the streets of Paris. The National Assembly en-

trusted the task of suppressing the insurrection to General Cavaignac, a staunch republican officer. Deploying his artillery with marked effectiveness, Cavaignac stamped out the rebellion in short order, though it cost the lives of some fifteen hundred soldiers. About ten thousand of the insurgents lay dead. Among the dead, too, was the archbishop of Paris, who had courageously attempted to compose the strife. The memory of those "June Days" remained to embitter the relations of socialists and republicans for many a year.

Moderate Frenchmen of all parties were profoundly disturbed by all this. Memories of the terrorist methods of the First Republic were revived. Not only the conservatives but many liberals came to the conclusion that the republican regime would be unable to afford that minimum security for life and property which every well-ordered society should have. Thus early was the future of the Second Republic placed in doubt.

### The Second Republic

The National Assembly, nonetheless, proceeded to fulfill its mandate and supply France with a constitution. By October, 1848, the document was drafted and accepted. "France is constituted a republic," it read. "The French Republic is democratic. Its principles are liberty, equality, fraternity; its foundations, the family, the rights of private property, and public order." There was to be a single legislative body of 750 members chosen for a four-year term by universal suffrage. This body's authority in legislation was large. The executive was a president, also elected for a four-year term by universal suffrage. His stated powers were extensive. Thus did the new republic provide itself with two powerful organs, independent of each other but drawing their authority from the same source. Conflict between them, sooner or later, was inevitable. In such case, since he commanded the army, the president would win. Thus the new constitution itself opened a door to dictatorship.

That it was to be a wide open door appears from the fact that all Frenchmen were made equally eligible for election as president. In vain did Thiers plead with the convention to debar from candidacy for that high office all members of any dynasty, Legitimist, Orleanist, or Bonapartist, which had formerly ruled over France. "Trust the people," was the answer to his warning; "in a democracy all Frenchmen are equal." Moreover, it was argued, it is futile to attempt to safeguard against every conceivable danger. "We must leave something to Providence." It is to be doubted whether the framers of the American Constitution were content to leave anything to Providence until they had exhausted the resources of human statecraft.



## Louis Napoleon President

It was soon apparent that the fears of the timorous were justified. In December, 1848, the presidential election was held. For some time previously it had seemed that General Cavaignac, hero of the June Days, would win easily, though both radicals and socialists had candidates in the field. Then came the announcement that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was in the race. Son of another Louis Bonaparte, formerly king of Holland, and nephew of the great Napoleon, Louis Napoleon considered himself the head of the family. In 1848 he was not unknown to the French. Believing that he was destined by Providence to rule over France, he had on two occasions felt that his time had come. In 1836 and again in 1840 he had sought to stir up rebellion against the existing regime. Taken prisoner on his second try, he languished in jail for six years, eventually escaping to England. Louis Philippe's ministers were inclined to smile at the antics of the Bonapartist pretender. Indeed, Louis Philippe contributed to the Napoleonic legend by reinterring the ashes of the dead Bonaparte, with impressive ceremony, in the French capital. During his years of prison and exile, Louis Napoleon discovered that he had a certain facility as a writer. Like almost everyone else who wrote on political subjects in those days, he had a special plan for solving the economic and social problems of man. This was set forth in a pamphlet entitled *The Extinction of Poverty*. Through this work he had become favorably known to French republicans, especially to those of socialist leanings.

When the presidential ballots were counted, it was found that Louis Napoleon, with 5,400,000 votes to his credit, had a long lead over all the rest. Cavaignac, with 1,400,000, was not even close. Why had Frenchmen voted for Louis Napoleon? Most of them, we may suspect, because they thought he had the strength to make the new republic that bulwark of law and order, which, in their opinion, was France's greatest need. Not a few voted for him, furthermore, under the impression that he was a socialist. It was also alleged, though this seems hard to credit, that large numbers of Orleanists like Thiers and his followers voted for Napoleon because they deemed him the weakest of the republican candidates, the one likeliest to lead the republic to its inevitable collapse. Even so there remains in this first presidential vote of the Second Republic a good deal that is inexplicable. Thousands, probably, voted without reflection, responding to "the endless witchery of a name."

The election of a Chamber of Deputies a few months later revealed that the tide of reaction was still rising. Of the 750 members at least two thirds were monarchists of one sort or another. Indeed, it is clear that had the legitimists and the Orleanists been able to agree upon a candidate

for the throne, France would soon have become a monarchy. What the monarchist Assembly could do was to vent its spleen against the "odious masses," to quote Thiers' phrase. Nearly one third of the voters were deprived of their right to vote by the simple expedient of raising the residence requirement from six months to three years. The thousands of unskilled workers, rural and urban, who made no long stay anywhere in their constant search for jobs were thus disfranchised. "We want to wage legal war against socialism in order to avoid civil war," said Montalembert in justifying this sabotage of the republic.

The new president was quick to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him. Proclaiming himself the champion of the people against this dastardly attack upon their rights, he called upon the Assembly to repeal its three-year rule. At the same time, but in undercover fashion, he contrived so to provoke the monarchist majority as to insure that repeal would not take place. He then proceeded to reconstitute his cabinet. As minister of war he chose General Saint-Arnaud, whose campaigning in French North Africa had developed a latent quality of ruthlessness and whose insatiate ambition and ruinous debts made him a ready tool. As minister of the interior, charged with the control of local government and the police, he chose Morny. A half-brother of Louis Napoleon, Morny seems to have had more than half of the Napoleonic qualities of hard realism and cold courage.

### Emperor Napoleon III

Proclamations were now drawn announcing the dissolution of the Assembly, restoration of universal suffrage, and such constitutional changes as would strengthen the hand of the president. It was also announced that a plebiscite would be held as soon as the *coup d'état* had become an accomplished fact. Louis Napoleon was determined, he announced, "to maintain the republic by invoking the judgment of the only sovereign I recognize in France, the people."

The day selected for the *coup d'état* of 1851 was December 2, glorious day of Austerlitz and anniversary as well of the crowning of the first Napoleon as emperor of the French. By the morning of that day seventy-eight of the leaders of the Assembly were under arrest. Morny explained that "to arrest a man in such circumstances as prevail is to do him the greatest service," a euphemism which has a familiar counterpart in the "protective custody" of recent dictators. French republicans were not too easily dealt with, however, and armed risings occurred throughout France. Finding in the insurrections a convenient pretext, the president-dictator proclaimed martial law and placed thousands more under arrest. Later

on, some twenty thousand republicans were sentenced, nearly half of them to exile to Algeria or Cayenne. Victor Hugo, a leader of the Paris insurrectionists, wrote his own story of the *coup d'état* under the title of *The History of a Crime*, which he penned in exile. He followed this indictment of Napoleon's methods with an indictment of the man himself in a book called *Napoleon the Little*.

The new constitution which the French people were called upon to approve, along with the *coup d'état*, was typical of dictatorships, being "complicated and intended to deceive." Appearing to give the masses the semblance of power, it appropriated all the realities of power to the dictator. Though the presidential term was limited to ten years, it was understood that this would be no more than a first installment. In the plebiscite which followed there were 600,000 negative votes and 7,500,000 affirmative ones. We must remember, of course, that all the agencies of propaganda were in the hands of the president, whose story of what had occurred was the only story the public was permitted to hear. In announcing the vote, Napoleon commented: "France has understood that I broke the law only to do what was right. The suffrages of over seven million have just granted me absolution." Evidently this Caesar had a conscience.

But one step remained and that was for the dictator of France to abandon all pretense of republicanism and stand forth in the sight of all as emperor. Again a plebiscite was deemed useful and a great effort was made to secure not so much affirmative votes, since they could be taken for granted, but as small a number of abstentions as possible. Minister Morny warned his prefects that they must get out the vote, "or else." The church was persuaded to use its influence in episcopal and parish pulpits throughout the land. One bishop lauded Napoleon as "the man from the right hand of God with the weapon of divine Providence." The result of the second plebiscite was 7,800,000 ayes to 250,000 noes. It was a splendid affirmative total, in the contemplation of which the fact that there had been over 2,000,000 abstentions was soon lost sight of. On December 2, famous day in Napoleonic annals, in 1852, Louis Napoleon was proclaimed emperor of the French with the title of Napoleon III.

### Revolution in Germany

Encouraged by the events of February, 1848, in France, when Louis Philippe was overthrown, the liberals of Germany had in March of the same year broken out in insurrection throughout the length and breadth of the land. Quick success crowned the efforts of these constitutionalists, especially in the south, where German liberals had long been in contact with those of Switzerland and France. Before the end of the month con-

stitutions were granted by the sovereigns of Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel. In the state of Baden a particularly careful and well-considered summary of fundamental rights had been drafted by a liberal group in the previous year, and this document was widely copied in the other states of south Germany.

In Berlin rioting broke out on March 18. The king called out the troops and two hundred insurrectionists were shot down. Prussia, as we have seen, was in the midst of a constitutional crisis over the powers of the *Landtag* (see p. 417). The king seems to have been frightened by what he had done. At the funeral of the revolutionaries a few days later, Frederick William IV ostentatiously saluted the dead and announced his conversion to the principle of constitutional government. In the following month he summoned the united *Landtag*, which he had dismissed less than a year before. The *Landtag* as its first act called for a constitutional convention, to be chosen by universal suffrage throughout Prussia. On May 22, 1848, this constitutional convention began its work, which promised to be full of difficulties. Among the 402 members of the convention were not only workingmen and peasants but landed magnates, like Prince Otto von Bismarck, for example, who attended the convention for the express purpose of sabotaging it. Months of discussion ensued, during which the king gradually recovered his normal habit of mind, much heartened, moreover, by events in other parts of Germany and Europe.

Removing the assembly from Berlin, where it drew support from a sympathetic population, to a small town nearby, Frederick William dissolved and dispersed it on December 5, 1848. The following day he published a constitution of his own, which he had long had in preparation. This was by no means an illiberal document; indeed, the Prussian people lived under its provisions in comparative content until the downfall of the Hohenzollern monarchy, November, 1918. Its most celebrated feature, perhaps, was the three-class system of voting, whereby a few wealthy taxpayers were endowed with a voting strength equal to that of many thousands of workingmen. Needless to say, it was provided that any action by the representative body, even thus constituted, could be checked by an upper chamber of hereditary peers or by the crown. Though it had not altogether failed, Prussian constitutionalism fell far short of the success for which the liberals had hoped.

### Revolution in Hapsburg Lands

Meanwhile the revolution of 1848 had spread to Austria and brought disunion to the widespread empire of the Hapsburgs. In Hungary, the Magyars raised the standard of revolt under Louis Kossuth in March,

1848. Insurrections in Vienna and in Prague quickly followed. In Lombardy and Venetia practically the entire population was in revolt. Metternich, so long in power, now yielded to the demand of an excited throng for his abdication and fled from Vienna concealed in a laundry cart. The emperor also found it convenient to leave Vienna, taking refuge with his armed forces. It was the unwavering loyalty of the army, coupled with the jealousies of rival nationalities, that eventually enabled the Hapsburg dynasty to survive what seemed at first to be the last chapter in its history.

In Hungary and in Bohemia the Magyars and Czechs, elated by initial success, made such demands as to provoke angry and bitter remonstrance from the considerable minorities. This gave the emperor and his staff the opportunity for which they sought. Prague, the capital of Bohemia, surrendered after being bombarded for a single day (June 18, 1848). In Hungary the revolutionary movement was longer lived. In their enthusiastic devotion to Kossuth, the Magyars set up a republic early in 1849 with Kossuth as president. Yet skill, hard fighting, and good fortune restored Hapsburg authority everywhere in the end. The emperor Ferdinand I, who had given pledges of constitutional government right and left in the early months of revolution, abdicated in favor of the youthful Francis Joseph I, who had made no pledges. An army of Prussians soon came to the aid of the new emperor. In the meantime Vienna had been regained and the Italians beaten. Bringing all their forces to bear on Hungary, the Hapsburgs triumphed there as well, and Kossuth abdicated (August, 1849). Going into voluntary exile the great Magyar liberal received an impressive welcome in England and America.

### The Frankfort Parliament

All in all, and in spite of setbacks, considerable progress had been made in the various states of Germany in the direction of constitutionalism. No progress had been made, however, toward the realization of one dream of every liberal; namely, the union of all Germans under a government of their choice. We have noted the strength of national feeling in Germany at the time of the Congress of Vienna, and the disappointment which the decisions of the congress brought. It goes without saying that the outbreak of revolution in the various capitals of Germany in 1848 and the granting of a constitution by one sovereign after another filled German nationalists with new hope.

German national feeling at this time was stirred by events abroad no less than by those at home. The re-establishment of a republic in France brought back memories of the First Republic and its attempts to extend

the boundaries of France at the expense of her neighbors. Whether well-grounded or not, there was widespread fear among Germans, especially those of the south, that the Second Republic would tear up the Treaty of Vienna and seize the left bank of the Rhine. A reminder of this state of feeling is the famous song, *Die Wacht am Rhein*, composed at this time by a German patriot named Schneckenberger. Furthermore, the Germans of Holstein, a possession of the Danish crown, in revolt against their sovereign, set up a provisional government and appealed to the German Diet for aid, an appeal which evoked a response in German hearts inversely proportioned to what practical assistance might be expected from the moribund Diet. Finally, the failure of the *Sonderbund* and the establishment of a strong federal government in Switzerland were events not without encouragement for German nationalists.

Early in March, 1848, a meeting of German liberals had been held in Heidelberg. This group decided to invite all Germans who had ever served as deputies in their local parliaments to come to Frankfort later in the same month to serve as a preparatory parliament (*Vorparlament*). More than five hundred deputies attended the Frankfort meeting. They made plans for the election of a national constitutional assembly. This body was to be chosen by universal suffrage on a basis of one representative for every 50,000 inhabitants, the vote to be by secret ballot. All German states, it was decided, were to be eligible for representation whether they were within or without the boundaries of the Confederation. A total of 605 delegates was thus provided for.

The famous Frankfort Parliament gathered in May, 1848. All the foremost liberals of Germany were present: historians, theologians, journalists, exiled patriots, men who had spent themselves in strenuous action for the great cause or had lived in hope deferred. The poet Arndt, called upon to address the assembly, was so moved by the occasion that he could speak but a few words, then burst into tears. Few of the delegates, however, had had any political experience. No less than four months were consumed in a discussion of the rights of man. This is an engaging topic and might well occupy the mind for an even longer period. Practical men, however, would have made a more immediate attack upon the problems of the moment. For example, what should be the boundaries of the new German state? The Austrian delegates urged that the whole of the Hapsburgs' Austrian lands be included. The Prussians made a similar demand for their own non-German possessions. Again, should the new government be of a unitary or a federal type? If the latter, what should be the division of powers between states and nation? Should the national executive be elective or hereditary? If hereditary, which one of Germany's princely families should be chosen as chief? And then there was the problem, so

familiar to us, of great states versus small states. Indeed, one cannot help calling to mind the very different procedure of our own Constitutional Convention in 1787. Its attack upon practical problems was immediate, direct, and successful. It will be further recalled that our Constitution, as originally drafted, contained no mention of the rights of man.

As months slipped past and revolutionary fires died down, the prospect that any constitution drafted by such a body would meet with acceptance grew less and less. Undismayed by the course of events, a majority of the delegates stuck to their task, however, and the new document was finished in March, 1849. All non-German territories were to be excluded, it was decided. There was to be an upper house representative of the states as such, and a lower house chosen by universal suffrage on a population basis, and by secret ballot. The executive was to be invested in an hereditary dynasty, the choice being limited to the German princes then reigning. Within a month's time the new constitution was accepted by twenty-eight of the thirty-eight German states, and Frederick William IV. of Prussia was elected emperor.

### Failure of the German Liberals

But all this was waste motion. The house of Hapsburg, again securely the master of its varied possessions, demanded that the whole of its lands be included in the new union, a demand which, if acceded to, would have given Austria thirty-eight seats out of a total of seventy in the upper house. When this unreasonable demand was refused, Austria withdrew her delegates from the constitutional assembly and denounced the constitution. Moreover, King Frederick William declined the proffered crown, saying that he refused to pick up a crown out of the mud and that the only answer to democrats was bullets. These adverse actions by Germany's two greatest states sealed the fate of the experiment. Nearly all the members now left Frankfort, and the rump of one hundred delegates which remained was forcibly dispersed (June, 1849).

Feeble and half-hearted efforts were made to unite Germany along other lines. First Prussia brought forward a scheme of union and then Austria did so, but since each denounced the other's plan there was no hope of success for either. It remained only to resurrect the Confederation and its Diet, and this was done. "The agony and stress of two years of revolution had produced in Germany no more than the restoration of the *status quo*."

Many liberals, giving up all hope of a new Germany in their lifetime, now left for America. "We will lay the foundations of a new and free Germany in the great North American Republic," they said. "We will

take with us as many as possible of our best people and will provide for others to follow. Thus may we be able to establish in one of the American territories an essentially German state as a refuge for those who have found conditions in Germany intolerable." This design was of course impossible of realization in full, but many thousands of Germans did make their way to America and they settled in the Middle West in communities which long remained, and in some cases still are essentially German. By 1860 the German-born population of the United States was approximately 1,250,000.

### Revolution in the Italian Peninsula

In the Italian peninsula the revolution of 1848 took the form of an effort, more or less concerted, to expel Austria. It began among the subjects of the pope. The Congress of Vienna had sanctioned the garrisoning by the Hapsburgs of a number of papal cities. During the course of the year 1847 the garrison of Ferrara was considerably increased, the Austrian government explaining that its action was made obligatory by the establishment in the city of a civic guard. The manner of the Austrian military was brusque and offensive; the reaction of the citizens of Ferrara, defiant and murderous. When the ministers of the pope broadcast their account of the clash in firm and measured protest, Italian patriots everywhere shouted their approval. In a few weeks, more hatred of Austria was engendered in Italian breasts, it is said, than during the previous thirty-two years. From London Mazzini called upon the pope to "unify Italy." From South America Garibaldi offered the pope the services of his famous Italian Legion. Europe was then ringing with the praises of this fabulous adventurer, who had refused all gifts and honors for defending the republic of Uruguay against Argentina on the ground that he fought solely for liberty.

Under the stimulus of the events of February, 1848, in Paris, risings occurred in every quarter of Italy, and an epidemic of constitution granting took place. Charles Albert's constitution for Piedmont was dated March 5 and was followed, on his part, by a declaration of war on Austria. Pope Pius IX formally called upon Austria to withdraw from the Italian peninsula. With revolutionary fires ablaze in every quarter of Italy, the papal sovereign was under great pressure to declare war upon the Hapsburgs. This, in April, 1848, he declined to do, declaring that as the representative of "Him who is the author of peace and lover of concord" he could not do so, adding, "We seek after and embrace all races, peoples, and nations." The revolutionaries of Lombardy and Venetia having in the meantime turned out the Austrian authorities, the king of Piedmont sought to complete their rout by invading Lombardy.



Contingents from nearby Italian states accompanied the Piedmontese. For some weeks it seemed possible that a united Italy would be the fruit of the revolutionary movement. Austria's military defenses in Lombardy, based upon the famous "Quadrilateral," were formidable, however. Moreover, Italians were as yet little practiced in the art of cooperation, and jealousies quickly developed. The king of Piedmont soon found himself facing the enemy alone. Beaten at Custoza in July, 1848, he was utterly routed early in the following year at Novara. Retiring to his own lands, Charles Albert was closely pursued by the Austrians. He was now obliged to yield to superior force and to affix his signature to a treaty which called for a heavy indemnity from Piedmont as well as a personal pledge of good behavior on his own part. Exhausted physically and mentally by the struggle, Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son. A few months later he died in exile. It might truly be said of Charles Albert that nothing in his public life became him like the leaving of it.

### A Roman Republic

One reason for the utter defeat and rout of the king of Piedmont was that much of the strength of the national movement had been diverted to the establishment of a republic at Rome. "Having refused to grasp the sword which patriots sought to put in his hands, the pope found it turned against him." A rising of Romans brought Mazzini and Garibaldi quickly to the scene. There, in February, 1849, they proclaimed a Roman Republic, around which they confidently expected the peoples of Italy to rally.

Austria, which would normally have come to the pope's assistance, was still occupied with troubles of her own. The envied post of first friend of the pope was seized, therefore, by the newly established Republic of France, which quickly sent an army to lay siege to Rome. This action on the part of the French government may well seem anomalous, but we must recall that the Second Republic had already passed into the control of reactionaries and was presently to cease to be a republic even in name. The siege of Rome by the French was brief and successful. Mazzini fled to Switzerland to resume his life of exile after so brief an interruption, and Garibaldi again went adventuring overseas, this time to North America.

### Aftermath of Revolution in Italy

Of the revolution of 1848 in Italy little remained, but that little was important. The heroism and self-sacrifice of Charles Albert and the army of Piedmont marked out his dynasty and his people as centers to which

Italian patriots could rally with confidence. The son in whose favor Charles Albert had abdicated was Victor Emmanuel II. The new king was faced at his accession with a difficult decision and one of crucial importance for the future of Italy. Austria insisted, even demanded, once the *status quo* was re-established, that Piedmont renounce its constitution and fall in line with the rest of Italy. The Hapsburg emperor even offered, if Victor Emmanuel would thus promise to be a "good neighbor," to cancel the substantial indemnity otherwise collectible. After earnest reflection the king of Piedmont resolved to remain true to the tradition established by his father: liberalism in Piedmont, nationalism in Italy. Many patriots now came to the conclusion that the pope could not be a leader in unifying Italy. As the spiritual head of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world, the pope could not at the same time be an Italian nationalist of a type which the times required, they thought. More than that, there was a growing conviction that Italian unity could be achieved only at the expense of papal sovereignty. As for the republican ideal of Mazzini, most practical patriots, after 1849, were agreed that it was dead.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### *Napoleon III of France; Unification in Italy*

WE TOOK our leave of Napoleon III at the moment of his triumphant establishment of the Second Empire on the anniversary of Austerlitz in 1852. The successful adventurer was forty-four years of age. He had long pondered upon the nature of the "Napoleonic mission" which he believed to be his function to carry forward, and he had frequently made his views known. These views have been well described as "a vast and vague combination of socialism and universal peace." Napoleon III was a humanitarian, it would seem. He had established a dictatorship, but for the benefit of the French people. He believed that they were not yet fit for self-government. They needed to be taught respect for law; they needed to learn that government was not their enemy but their friend. One cannot but wonder whether it ever occurred to Napoleon that their election of himself as president and emperor was itself a signal proof of the unfitness of the French people for self-rule.

The social aim of the Napoleonic mission was stated to be the abolition of poverty. The triumph of Christianity, said Napoleon III, had abolished slavery; the triumph of the French Revolution had abolished serfdom; the triumph of democracy, he concluded, would abolish pauperism. As for universal peace, that great good must be sought, he felt, in a foreign policy which should aim, first, at tearing up the repressive treaties of Vienna, and then, under the leadership of France, at an association of the free peoples of Europe in a peaceful confederation. It all sounds a bit like an earlier and less sinister version of the creed of Hitler.

#### Economic Policy of the Second Empire

In moving toward the extinction of poverty, the emperor outlined plans for the stimulation of French industry and agriculture. He was an economic liberal. In practice his measures do not differ from those noted in the reign of Louis Philippe; indeed, most of the ministers of Napoleon III had made their entrance into public life in the time of Guizot. We read of the founding of schools of agriculture, the inauguration of fairs, the subsidizing of industries, the building of railways, and the launching of proj-

ects of flood control. In 1855, following the lead set by the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London a few years earlier, the French emperor opened a great Paris Exposition which attracted a swarm of visitors exceeding five million. This was the first of a series of industrial and agricultural exhibitions. To enable landowners to improve their estates, the emperor founded a land bank (*Crédit Foncier*) in 1852 through which, with the help of a government subsidy, money could be advanced for long terms at low rates. Railway building moved forward at top speed, six of the great French companies being established under Napoleon III and the total mileage increased to sixteen thousand.

Among the public works set on foot by the emperor none was more remarkable than the beautification of Paris. As prefect of the Department of the Seine, and therefore governor of Paris, Napoleon selected an energetic, voluble, and not over-scrupulous Alsatian named Haussmann, under whose direction the capital of France was transformed. "Haussmannization" consisted of clearing great squares in front of public buildings and railway stations and driving broad boulevards through the heart of the city. Military considerations played a part in these enterprises. Never again could a few thousand insurrectionists hold an army in check. Napoleon and Haussmann made Paris the most beautiful capital in Europe. An index to the prosperity of France is the fact that the population of its capital city increased from 700,000 to 1,300,000.

The success of the economic policy of the Second Empire was considerable. A multitude of workers was furnished with employment; money filled the pockets of the bourgeoisie. French prosperity was more apparent than real, however, for though employment was good and wages were advancing, the cost of living was also advancing and at a more rapid rate.

### The Emperor's Court

The emperor set himself to entertain the people of Paris with a brilliant court. Shortly after his accession he fell in love with Eugénie de Montijo, countess of Teba, a beautiful Spanish lady of twenty-six. With her widowed mother, Eugénie had been pleasantly occupying herself for some years with visits to the principal capitals of Europe. She was extremely beautiful, having "a cameo-like profile, a high-arched forehead, almond eyes, golden hair, and a slim and elegant figure." During her visit to Paris in the winter of 1852-1853, Napoleon paid her marked attention, being constantly in her company and taking her on walks and drives. On one of their morning perambulations he noted Eugénie's admiration for a clover leaf drenched with dew; next day he presented her with a jeweled clover leaf with dewdrops of diamonds. The enamored

pair were speedily married and court life began to revolve around them. It may be doubted, however, whether Eugénie's influence upon Napoleon was more beneficial than harmful, for her dominant characteristic was a shallow emotionalism.

To Napoleon's great joy the empress presented him in due course with a son. The people of Paris awaited the advent of an heir with eager expectancy, and it had been arranged in advance that twenty-one guns would be fired if the child were a girl, and one hundred if it were a boy. The excited populace listening to the boom of the cannon went wild when the twenty-second gun was heard.

### Political Repression

It was the emperor's wish to enrich his subjects, and even to amuse them. But he also restrained them. Political meetings were forbidden. All political parties, except the one which supported the government, were forbidden. A rigorous control of the press was instituted. Newspapers which gave offense a second time were suppressed. One paper reported that a speech which the emperor had made had been "well received." It was promptly warned that this "doubtful expression is unsuitable in view of the wild excitement which the emperor's words occasioned." Some papers took to printing detailed accounts of debates in the English, Belgian, and Piedmontese parliaments side by side with the terse official summary of the day's proceedings in the French legislative body. When asked for his opinion about the state of the country a French economist replied, "How can I possibly get news? Nobody tells us anything except the government, and we do not believe what it says." An elaborate system of spies was maintained. University professors were required to supply synopses of their lectures in advance. Professorships of philosophy and history were abolished.

French liberals turned more and more to literary pursuits, while amusing themselves with whispered anecdotes and bon mots prejudicial to the dictator's regime, many of which found their way abroad and were published in the Belgian and English press. Critics who found it impossible to remain quiet were exiled. Among the two thousand and more French liberals who lived abroad were Guizot, Thiers, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Zola, and Anatole France.

### Foreign Policy of Napoleon III

In his foreign policy Napoleon was faced with a dilemma. For the success of his policy of prosperity he had need of a long period of peace; on

the other hand, no one who bore the name of Napoleon could be expected to sit quietly and watch the world go by. Moreover, the self-announced fulfiller of the Napoleonic mission had promised to tear up the treaties of Vienna and liberate oppressed nationalities. Then, too, an active foreign policy was a desirable offset to a repressive policy at home. As his contemporary Prince Albert put it, "Having deprived the people of any participation in the government and reduced them to mere spectators, they grow impatient like a crowd at a display of fireworks whenever there is any cessation of the display."

Napoleon's first great venture, the Crimean War, will be considered in another place. We may note here that in that war France had the satisfaction of leading England and the Austrian Empire into battle against Russia, thus bringing to an end, after forty years of life, the Holy Alliance. It was no little satisfaction to Napoleon III to appear in the role of England's friend, a pleasure denied to the first Napoleon. When the English prime minister proposed a toast to "the united fleets of France and England," he made a gesture which had not been possible since the time of the Crusades. Napoleon III even paid a state visit to England, staying at Windsor Castle. "Is it not strange," confided Queen Victoria to her diary, "that I, the granddaughter of George III, should be dancing in the Waterloo Room with the nephew of England's greatest enemy, who is today my closest ally, though eight years ago he was living in this country an obscure exile." Napoleon emerged from the peace conference at Paris at the close of the Crimean War with enhanced prestige. He was now resolved to lend his aid to the unification of Italy, a cause in which he had long been interested.

### Count Cavour, Prime Minister of Piedmont

We have observed that the events of 1848 had singled out the kingdom of Piedmont, with its royal family, the house of Savoy, as the hope of many Italian patriots. The next ten years of the story of Italian unification are concerned chiefly with developments in Piedmont. The constitution which the king had granted on March 5, 1848, was a liberal one, being closely modeled upon that of England. Indeed, Piedmont's *statuto fondamentale*, as it is called, was to become without essential change the constitution of united Italy. The first prime minister under the new constitution was d'Azeglio, the second, Cavour.

Count Camillo di Cavour was a member of Piedmont's landed aristocracy. As a young man he found irksome the conventional career of army officer marked out for him, and resigning his commission, he retired to his estate. Endowed with an active mind and abounding energy, Cavour

threw himself upon the task of converting his unfruitful lands into an economically administered and productive enterprise. To acquaint himself with the best in agricultural methods he made several trips to France and England. Back in Italy during the critical days of 1847-1848, he founded a newspaper, *Il Risorgimento*, in which he advocated a united Italy under the leadership of a liberal Piedmont. King Victor Emmanuel persuaded Cavour to enter his cabinet as minister of agriculture. The king was reported to have said, upon introducing Cavour to the other members of the cabinet, "This man will kick you all out." Three years later he was prime minister.

Cavour's outward appearance was not impressive, for he was a short man, careless in dress and nearsighted. Such was Cavour's confidence in his own ability, however, that he cared nothing for first impressions. His subtle brain and unscrupulous methods made him the most successful diplomat of his century. Unlike Bismarck, he was a strong believer in parliamentary government. "I am the son of liberty; to her I owe all that I am," he said. He affirmed, further, that he always felt strongest when Parliament was sitting. At each successive stage in the unification of Italy, Cavour insisted that the final step be not taken until a plebiscite was held. Thus the kingdom of Italy is the only nation in modern history to be united by the direct vote of the people themselves.

Cavour undertook during his first few years as prime minister to do for Piedmont what he had done for his own estate. With notable energy and skill he undertook the improvement of agriculture, the expansion of trade, the modernizing of the army, and the reorganization of finances. Railways were constructed linking the more important cities of Piedmont with each other and with the coast. Tunnels through the Alps were begun which would connect Piedmont with France and with Germany. Commissions were sent to England to study industrial methods. At the Paris Exposition of 1855 Cavour saw to it that Piedmont was represented as befitted an important state.

Cavour felt that it was out of keeping with the modern age that so large a proportion of the nation's land was in the hands of the church. "What the feudal nobles are to Germany, the priest caste is to Italy," said an Italian liberal of that day. It was a sentiment with which Cavour apparently agreed. He proposed to the Parliament of 1855 that half of Piedmont's six hundred monastic establishments be suppressed. After a bitter debate lasting several months Cavour's proposal was accepted, and the king gave his assent.

One of Cavour's most anxiously cherished designs was to gain for Piedmont diplomatic prestige. He was definitely of the opinion that Italy could not be united through her own efforts. Only through the inter-

vention of one of the great powers of Europe, he felt, could the peninsula be liberated from its Hapsburg master. It was essential, therefore, that Piedmont make friends with one or more of Europe's leading states. An opportunity soon presented itself, of which Cavour did not fail to take advantage. England and France were busily engaged in organizing Europe, or as much of it as possible, in opposition to Russia, whose Near Eastern policy they feared. The two countries were particularly anxious to secure the adherence of Austria, since Hapsburg interests in the Balkan peninsula made Austria's participation in any anti-Russian policy essential. The Austrian authorities hesitated to commit their country to such an enterprise as long as the situation in northern Italy remained so doubtful. Because Piedmont's attitude remained hostile, it was necessary for Austria to keep a substantial force in Lombardy. With a view to removing this obstacle to Austria's assistance, the foreign ministers of France and England joined in inviting Piedmont to become an ally in the war against Russia, during which she would be pledged to make an end of anti-Austrian agitation.

To most members of the Piedmont legislature the proposal to send troops to the Near East seemed as fantastic as, on the surface, it was. To Cavour, however, the invitation meant an opportunity to gain the diplomatic recognition which Piedmont so badly needed. If the allies won, as seemed likely, the peace conference, owing to the number and importance of the powers involved, would take on the aspect of an international congress. As a full and equal partner, Piedmont could scarcely be denied a seat at the conference, and it was Cavour's hope and belief that there he might gain recognition and advancement for the cause of Italian unity. Unable to reveal all his thoughts, but backed by his sovereign, Cavour persuaded the Piedmont legislators to support the enterprise. Cavour's Crimean policy, says Fyffe, "is one of those excessively rare instances of statesmanship where action has been determined not by the driving and half-understood necessities of the moment but by a distinct and true perception of the future." The soldiers of Piedmont, floundering in the trenches before Sebastopol, seem to have shared Cavour's clairvoyance. "Out of this mud," said one, "Italy will be made."

Events followed closely the line which the great Italian anticipated. The allies won, and the peace conference assembled in Paris. Toward the close of the conference and at the suggestion of the conference's president, Napoleon III, the problem in Italy was proposed for discussion. The English foreign minister, Lord Clarendon, having examined conditions in Italy in detail, declared that the "presence of foreign troops upon Italian soil is a menace to the equilibrium of Europe." He added that certain of the governments of Italy, notably those of the pope and of



the king of Naples, were a disgrace to Christendom. When the Austrian delegate objected to the continuance of the discussion, he was overruled by the chairman of the conference. Cavour's speech was brief and of studied moderation. For the moment he was content. Unification of Italy had achieved the status of a problem involving the peace of Europe.

### Napoleon III Intervenes in Italy

Sympathy and good wishes, however, might issue in nothing more tangible than benevolent neutrality, and Cavour hurried home from the conference (1856) to bend all his energies to the task of securing for Piedmont the active ally which, in his view, she must have. He had made up his mind long since that that ally must be France. Superficially this conclusion might seem to have little to justify it. France was a dictatorship, not a constitutional monarchy like Piedmont. French troops were in Rome upholding the papacy, whose temporal authority a united Italy would inevitably challenge. Furthermore, why should France lend herself to the creation of a strong power on her southeastern frontier? Cavour, however, had made a close study of the character of Napoleon III. To set free oppressed nationalities was an important aspect of the Napoleonic mission. The great Napoleon had frequently intervened in Italy, ostensibly to advance Italian nationalism. As a young man Napoleon III had displayed an ardent and active interest in Italian nationalism, having joined the Carbonari. The death of his own brother during an attempted escape from Austrian agents was a bitter and poignant memory to the emperor of the French.

Incredibly enough, an Italian attempt to assassinate him seems to have played a substantial part in bringing Napoleon III finally to the side of Cavour. Orsini, an Italian patriot and Carbonaro, conceived the idea of assassinating the emperor as a forsworn fellow-conspirator. He had visions of thus precipitating insurrections simultaneously in France and Italy. Making his way to Paris, in 1858, he flung his bomb at the imperial carriage as the emperor and his wife were descending from it to attend the opera. The imperial pair escaped unharmed, though their carriage was wrecked and eight attendants were killed outright. During the weeks of Orsini's trial and imprisonment his noble bearing and dignified expressions caught the fancy of the crowd, and a wave of enthusiasm for the cause of Italy swept over France. In fact, the emperor and empress were disposed to pardon the Italian hero, until reminded by the archbishop of Paris that though they themselves had escaped unhurt there were the eight innocent victims of the assassin, and their families, to consider.

Whatever part the Orsini affair may have played in influencing the

French emperor, his mind was made up, and Cavour was summoned to a secret meeting with him on the French frontier, at Plombières. At this interview, one of the most famous of the century, Napoleon made the following proposal. First, he would aid Piedmont in a war against Austria, but only if war came as the result of Austria's unprovoked attack. Secondly, he would agree to the setting up of a kingdom of Upper Italy which would consist of Piedmont plus Lombardy and Venetia. Thirdly, the new kingdom of Upper Italy, Tuscany, the Papal States, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily would join in a federal union with the pope as honorary president. In return for his aid Napoleon demanded the cession to France, by Piedmont, of Nice and Savoy.

Cavour hurried home to fulfill his part of the bargain. Day and night he labored to provoke Austria into an attack within the time limit which Napoleon had set. The story of Cavour's maneuverings is a fascinating one, but too long to tell. "If we did for ourselves what we do every day for our country," he exclaimed to a friend, "what scoundrels we should be." Unluckily for Cavour, a mood of peace had settled down over Europe; statesmen of all countries were made nervous by the thought of war. For a time it seemed that Cavour must lose. Finally, however, the Austrian emperor himself, rejecting the advice of his ministers in favor of that of his staff, played into the hands of Cavour by answering his provocations with an ultimatum. At last Cavour had his war.

### War, and the Peace of Villafranca

The emperor of the French redeemed his pledge. At the head of a large army Napoleon, in June, 1859, entered Italy, scene of the great Napoleon's most brilliant military triumphs. In the brief campaign which followed it was the weight of French arms that counted most. Beaten at Magenta and Solferino, the Austrians retired in good order, however, and prepared for a siege in the Quadrilateral. Then suddenly Napoleon III sent word to the emperor Francis Joseph that he was ready to talk terms of peace, an act which left Cavour aghast and dumfounded. The two emperors met at Villafranca. It was agreed that Lombardy should be ceded to France, which should immediately hand it over to Piedmont, but that Venetia was to remain in Austria's hands. France thereupon withdrew from the war, and Cavour, utterly disheartened, resigned his post and retired to private life.

Why Napoleon III should have suddenly withdrawn in mid-career remains something of a mystery. To be sure, the situation both in Italy and in Europe generally had developed more rapidly than he had anticipated. Government after government in northern Italy had been over-

thrown by eager revolutionaries, working in close accord with Cavour. The security of the Papal States was threatened and this caused a profound reaction among Napoleon's Catholic subjects. Furthermore, Austria was by no means disposed of as yet, and Prussia, uneasy at the thought that another French emperor, having crushed Austria, might then turn to the Rhine, was already showing signs of active sympathy for the house of Hapsburg. More personal to Napoleon was the fact that for the first time he had actually witnessed the horrors of war. Visiting the scene of battle at Solferino, where the French lost many thousands, he heard the cries of the wounded and witnessed the crude surgery of those who sought to salvage the human wreckage. Louis Napoleon was far from having his uncle's nerves of steel. Moreover, he was no longer young, and campaigning brought him quickly to a state of physical and nervous exhaustion.

### Annexations to Piedmont in Northern Italy

Cavour need not have despaired, for the intervention of France had set in train an irresistible march of events which even Napoleon's withdrawal could not check. The patriots of the northern duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, and even those of Romagna, most northerly of the provinces of the pope, now sought annexation to Piedmont. King Victor Emmanuel was unwilling to accede to these requests save with the consent of Napoleon III. To secure that consent, and to take charge of annexation movements, the king of Piedmont summoned Cavour from his brief retirement. He quickly arranged for plebiscites to be held in the three duchies and in Romagna, and these were overwhelmingly favorable to annexation. Thus, by March, 1860, little Piedmont had increased its population from five to eleven millions. Pope Pius IX promptly excommunicated the authors, abettors, and agents of "this sacrilege." As the price of Napoleon's support Cavour agreed to hand over Savoy and Nice to France. Here also, however, Cavour insisted that the will of the people be an essential prerequisite. Although the French emperor was strangely fearful of the result, his fears proved groundless. Assembling by communes, the voters marched to the polls under the leadership of their priests and with the tricolor waving proudly. Savoy decided for French annexation by 130,000 affirmative votes to 235; the vote of Nice was 15,000 to 160. We may surely marvel at the uniformly favorable approval of Cavour's plans which all of these plebiscites reveal.

### Garibaldi in Naples and Sicily

Further steps in the process of Italian unification were taken before the year was out. These were the work, in large part, of Garibaldi. In North



### UNIFICATION OF ITALY

America Garibaldi had pursued the prosaic life of a businessman, but the war of 1859 found him again in the thick of the fight. He led a volunteer force in the Piedmontese army called "Hunters of the Alps." The withdrawal of Napoleon and the subsequent end of the fighting left Garibaldi again at loose ends. He was full of plans, however, and he could have thousands of volunteers for the asking, such was his fame, for any plan he might decide upon. He thought of attacking Venice but was dissuaded because that would mean another war with Austria. When he learned that Nice, his birthplace, was to be ceded to France, he proposed to prevent this by force. Since this would have meant war with France, Garibaldi's friends in Piedmont again turned him aside, though at the last moment. The one plan which offered the fewest international complications was a raid against Sicily, and this in the end Garibaldi undertook. He set sail from Genoa with about one thousand men, though he

could have had almost any number he wished. Within five months, months of as daring and dangerous adventure as may be found in the annals of history, he conquered a kingdom of eleven million inhabitants. In this marvelous conquest the striking personality of the man played a large part, but to the collapse of the Neapolitan government its own rottenness also contributed not a little.

Garibaldi was almost as much of a menace to Piedmont as to the kingdom of Naples, however, for the great Italian hero regarded himself not in the least as an agent of Cavour. There seemed little doubt that, having conquered Sicily and Naples, Garibaldi would turn his triumphant army against Rome in an effort to offset Cavour's project of Italian unification with one of his own. Cavour had little to fear from this project as such, but nothing was more certain than that an attack on Rome would forfeit to the cause of Italian unity the friendship of Napoleon III. Never was Cavour's diplomacy more active or less scrupulous. While persuading the king of Naples that he was friendly toward him, Cavour sought to stir up an insurrection of the Neapolitans in order to forestall the northward march of Garibaldi. At the same time Cavour was under the necessity of persuading Italian patriots that he was ardently, though secretly, supporting Garibaldi, while not failing to convince Napoleon III that he was opposed to Garibaldi's plans.

Gradually it became clear that armed force alone could prevent Garibaldi from marching upon Rome. The forces of Piedmont could be placed across the road that leads from Naples to Rome only by marching them through papal territory. Cavour claimed that conditions of disorder in the papal provinces of Umbria and the Marches, now on Piedmont's frontier, were such as to justify intervention. Having solemnly promised that Rome itself would not be attacked, Cavour won the grudging consent of Napoleon to the sending of an army to Naples through the papacy's eastern provinces. "Do it," said Napoleon, "but do it quickly." Thus Garibaldi's northward march was checked, though only just in time. Yielding to a personal appeal of Victor Emmanuel, the Italian hero withdrew from his enterprise and retired to his island home of Caprera, a sack of beans his only spoils.

### The Kingdom of Italy

A plebiscite having been duly taken, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in October, 1860, added its eleven millions to the peoples already annexed to Piedmont. A few weeks later Umbria and the Marches followed suit. Early in the following year King Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont was proclaimed king of Italy, "by the grace of God and the will of the nation."

Two important provinces still remained outside; namely, "the Patrimony," remnant of the Papal States, and Venetia. Cavour had definite plans for securing each of them, but before his plans could be carried out he died. He felt certain that Venetia could be taken from Austria whenever the problem of German unification again became acute. As for Rome, he recognized that the papacy would never voluntarily give it over to Italy, but he was convinced nevertheless that without Rome there could be no Italy. Cavour did not regard himself as the enemy of the church, but rather, a friend. He believed that the church was the greatest humanizing institution in the history of mankind, and that this purely spiritual function could best be fulfilled if its temporal power was completely done away with. *Libera chiesa in libero stato* were words frequently upon his lips, "a free church in a free state." On the other hand, Pope Pius IX uncompromisingly affirmed that without a capital city, at the least, in which he was completely sovereign, the pope could not be a free spiritual agent. Eventually Venetia and Rome were won by the new kingdom of Italy, and under circumstances much like those anticipated by Cavour.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### *Unification of Germany and the Fall of Napoleon III*

THERE was not in Germany, as there was in Italy, a question of whether unification would take place. The question was rather which of several projects would succeed. Unluckily, as most students of German history agree, the three-year struggle of the German liberals of 1848-1851 ended in complete failure. This, however, cleared the way for rival projects, the most promising of which appeared to be unification under Prussia and the house of Hohenzollern. In the decade following 1848 the house of Hapsburg lost ground. Austria's participation in the Crimean War had something to do with this. She invited the German Confederation to join with her in the war against Russia, but for the first time in her history she found herself outvoted. Not only Prussia but the other states of Germany as well declined to be drawn into what seemed to them no affair of theirs. Austria's decision to enter the war alone made it clearer than ever before that her predominant interests were essentially non-German.

The success of Piedmont in unifying the states of Italy caused quite a stir in Germany. After the Austro-Sardinian War an association of Germans was organized at Frankfort, to arouse sentiment for union under Prussian leadership. This association secured the support of many liberal leaders. It organized a series of national festivals, an important one being the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Schiller. The association adopted as its slogan Schiller's words, "We will be a nation of brothers."

#### King William I and the Prussian Army

In 1861 King William I ascended the throne of Prussia. He was a brother of Frederick William IV and had already served as regent for three years during the insanity of the latter. William, now in his sixty-first year, took his duties seriously. Though a reactionary he was loyal to engagements once made and he had the good sense to select ministers of ability and give them steadfast support. Moreover, he hoped that he could be useful in the unifying process which seemed to be impending.

William I had not had the usual apprenticeship of a king. Military life was his delight. Not unnaturally, therefore, he regarded the army as the best of schools for the citizen. To reform the Prussian army was his first undertaking. During the Austro-Sardinian War of 1859 he had ordered mobilization as a prelude to diplomatic intervention, and what he saw then convinced him of the need for reform. The Prussian army system was based upon a law passed in 1814. The principle had then been declared that "every citizen is bound to defend his fatherland." From the age of twenty to twenty-three every able-bodied youth was to give his full time to military training. Having returned to civil life, he remained for two years in the primary reserve, then for fourteen years longer in the secondary reserve. In practice, however, recruits were receiving only two years' training instead of three. Furthermore, only 40,000 trainees were called to the colors in a given year, though the number of Prussian youths who annually reached the age of twenty was 65,000. The reason for this slack enforcement of the law was that the number of regiments established in 1814 had never been increased though the population of Prussia had become larger by some 50 per cent.

King William proposed that forty-nine new regiments be established to the end that the whole number of youths arriving at the age of twenty should be called up and held to service for three full years. To carry out this reform he called to his assistance as minister of war, in 1859, General von Roon, the greatest master of military organization since Napoleon. Von Roon also began the accumulation of military stores, the improvement of the artillery, and the substitution of the breach-loading rifle for the less effective musket. Above all, he worked out to the last detail an improved plan of mobilization, his objective being extreme speed. As chief of staff the king appointed Helmuth von Moltke, whose method it was to solve the problems of a campaign with precision and finality before war was declared. Von Moltke was perhaps the first to make a thorough-going use of scientific method in military matters.

### Constitutional Deadlock

It need hardly be added that these plans of the king and his minister of war meant a considerable increase of expenses. Unfortunately for their hopes, the lower house of the Prussian legislature objected vigorously. On a test vote the Legislative Chamber rejected the military items of the budget by a vote of 308 to 11, and forwarded the budget to the House of Peers with the army clauses removed. That body, more amenable to royal influence, replaced the military items and sent the budget back to the Chamber. A constitutional crisis was thus precipitated in the form



of a deadlock between the two houses. This dragged on for months. The king was in despair. He thought of abdicating and had a draft of abdication in readiness. As a last resort he decided to recall from his post as ambassador in Paris a man well known for his absolutist views, Otto von Bismarck.

### Bismarck Deals with the Deadlock

Born in 1815 of the Junker class, Bismarck had had a brief experience both of university life and of civil service. The brevity of both experiences was due largely to his unwillingness to comply with rules. For a few years following these try-outs the young man led the life of a typical Junker on his ancestral estates. He reappeared in public life as a member of the Prussian Parliament in 1847, where he promptly made himself known for his contempt of parliamentary methods. When his tirades against democracy were interrupted by hoots and hisses, the blond giant would pull a newspaper from his pocket and calmly read until the disorder subsided and then renew his attack. During the Berlin insurrection of 1848 Bismarck raised a troop of cavalry to rescue his sovereign king from the mob. Needless to say, no one rejoiced more sincerely than Bismarck over the failure of the Frankfurt Parliament. After this he was named by his king as one of Prussia's delegates to the German Diet, where he frequently gave voice to his hatred of the Hapsburgs. He declared that Austria was not a German state and that it should be expelled from the Confederation. Concerned about remaining on good terms with the Hapsburgs, the Prussian king next withdrew his bellicose delegate from the Diet and sent him as Prussian minister to St. Petersburg, "to cool off." There Bismarck won the friendship of the tsar and displayed marked ability in diplomacy. In 1862 he was promoted to the Prussian embassy in Paris. There, of course, he met Napoleon III and privately reported to his government that in his opinion the emperor of the French was "a great unrecognized incapacity." It was in September of 1862 that King William I summoned Bismarck from Paris to be prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

Called to the premiership in a time of constitutional crisis, Bismarck gave advice to the king which was characteristically prompt and direct. The constitution of Prussia, he pointed out, was the gift of the crown. The deadlock between the two houses over the budget revealed a gap in this constitution. This gap it was the manifest duty of the sovereign to bridge by removing the budget from Parliament and issuing it by royal decree. Bismarck's advice was followed, and astonishingly enough, to our way of thinking, the Prussian people paid the taxes which their chosen representa-

tives had all but unanimously refused to approve. It was during this crisis that Bismarck gave utterance to his most famous remark: "Not by speeches and majority votes will the great question of the time be decided—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron."

Why did not the Prussian liberals rise against their autocratic prime minister and his sovereign? Traditions of self-government among them were not long-lived and strong. A great principle was at stake, but under a government which, though autocratic, respected their civil and religious freedoms, the Prussian people were not of a mind to go to war for a principle.\* For them good government was a satisfactory substitute for self-government.

### Bismarck's Wars

With an army at his disposal which he believed to be the finest in the world, Bismarck planned a series of wars, brief but decisive. His objective was to expel Austria from the Confederation, then unite the other German states in a close-knit federation with Prussia as the controlling power. Fortunately for Bismarck, an opportunity soon presented itself of arousing German national sentiment and at the same time of moving toward his objective.

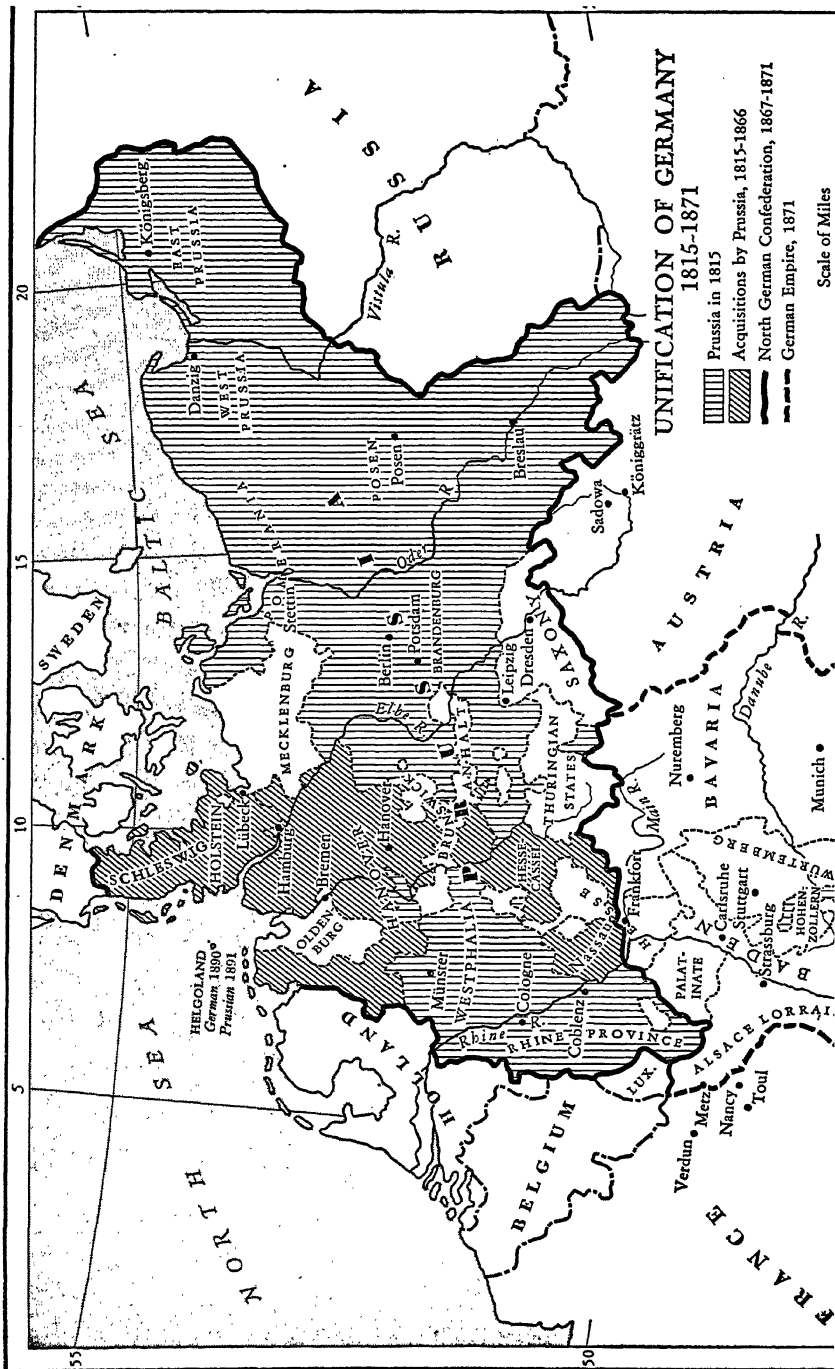
The Schleswig-Holstein problem was a hardy perennial. In 1863 one Danish king was succeeded by another. Both Schleswig and Holstein had long been held by the Danish kings, who on this score were members of the German Confederation. Holstein was wholly German in population, while Schleswig, its northern neighbor, was half German, half Danish. The new king of Denmark proposed to incorporate the duchies into Denmark more fully than before. This did violence to German national feeling; it was also in contravention of established treaties. There was a German claimant to the provinces in the offing who now came forward as spokesman for the German population of the duchies. Bismarck promptly came to his support and made sure that Denmark's attempt to separate some hundreds of thousands of Germans from their fellow countrymen was given the fullest publicity. Cleverly concealing half his plan, the Prussian minister induced Austria to join with Prussia in a brief and wholly successful war against Denmark. The Danish king was glad to escape from the war with the loss of the duchies, which he ceded jointly to Austria and Prussia. Bismarck secured Austria's signature to a convention (the Treaty of Gastein, 1865) whereby Prussia was invested with the administration of Schleswig with the right to dig the Kiel Canal, while Austria was charged with the administration of Holstein, it being stipulated that any disputes that might arise between the two countries should be settled between themselves, not referred to the Diet. It will be

noted that the German prince whose claims Bismarck had "patriotically" supported was quietly dropped.

In Bismarck's mind the Danish war was merely the prelude to a war with Austria. To this end he signed a very important treaty with the new kingdom of Italy. This provided that if Prussia should go to war with Austria over the question of reform in Germany, and within three months, Italy would attack Austria. Venetia should be Italy's prize. To the amazement of German liberals, Bismarck now proposed that a German national legislature be established, its members to be elected by manhood suffrage from equal electoral districts. This breathtaking proposal, which Bismarck brought before the Diet, was opposed by the Austrian delegates, as Bismarck had hoped. In the meantime he picked a quarrel with Austria over the administration of Schleswig and Holstein, provoking her to the point of bringing the dispute before the Diet. As a breach of the Treaty of Gastein this move by Austria provided Bismarck with his excuse for war. How openly provocative were his methods may be judged from the fact that most of the states of Germany, despite Bismarck's threats, sided with Austria in a test vote in the Diet.

In the meantime Bismarck sought to ensure the neutrality of France, whose intervention might have been fatal to his plans. A weak and divided Germany had for centuries been point number one in any program of French security, and no French government could look with anything but profound misgivings on a change in this situation. Bismarck, however, was prepared to bid high for the non-participation of Napoleon III, and he did so at a famous conference at Biarritz in 1865, offering, as a French minister said later, "things that did not belong to him." Probably these offers were unnecessary. Like nearly everyone in Europe, Napoleon felt sure that Austria would win the coming conflict. At the same time he was pleased that Italy had thrown her weight on the Prussian side, for that would help make things even. A military deadlock might thus ensue, in which the French emperor could intervene at his leisure and reap a really satisfactory reward.

Within seven weeks Austria was crushingly defeated! Railway transportation contributed to this swift and sweeping victory of the Prussian forces. In the war against Denmark the Prussian high command had learned that for the successful use of railway transportation a military commander must associate with himself an experienced railway man. In the war against Austria two great Prussian armies were swiftly brought to bear upon the enemy at widely separated points, while a third and smaller army held the other German states in check. This latter, the Army of the Main, won an easy succession of victories over Prussia's smaller neighbors. Entering Frankfort, the Prussians exacted so heavy an



indemnity from the city that the burgomaster committed suicide. In the meantime Prussia's other armies, having joined forces in Bohemia, overwhelmed the Austrians at Königgrätz, or Sadowa, and the war was over.

### The North German Confederation

By the terms of the Peace of Prague, August, 1866, Austria agreed to withdraw from German affairs and pay Prussia an indemnity. Venetia was signed away to the kingdom of Italy. Prussia annexed half a dozen of her German neighbors and was authorized to organize a new confederation of all the other German states north of the Main. Moving quickly as was his wont, Bismarck summoned representatives of the twenty-six states to a constitutional convention where was drafted the famous instrument of government which served as the political framework for the German Empire for half a century. As we shall see, the remaining half-dozen states south of the Main joined with those of the north after the close of the Franco-Prussian War. It will be observed that the terms of peace were easy; Austria ceded no territory to Prussia, and the indemnity was light. The terms were dictated by Bismarck; the Prussian king and his generals were all for making them more severe. Bismarck, as usual, was thinking ahead. A struggle with France was all but inevitable, and a neutral Austria in that event would repay much self-restraint on Prussia's part.

### The German Government

The historian von Sybel, who was a member of the convention which drafted the constitution, described the bases of the new German government as follows: "It was necessary to reckon with these three forces: first, the military demands of the great Prussian state; second, the various individual German states, the demands of which were supported by local sentiment; and third, the strength of public opinion." To Prussia, accordingly, was assigned the crown, to the smaller states the *Bundesrath*, and to public opinion the Reichstag. Prussia, as a matter of fact, received not only the crown but a position of predominance. The king of Prussia became the German emperor (kaiser). The prime minister of Prussia was to serve as chancellor of the empire as well. The Prussian military system was to become the military system of Germany, and it could not be modified without Prussia's consent.

The *Bundesrath*, upper house of the federal legislature, represented the states of Germany. Each state was to have one or more representatives in this body, according to size. Prussia, incomparably the largest of all, had seventeen representatives in a total of fifty-eight. On a basis of size,

the twenty-six states have been described as consisting of a lion, half a dozen jackals, and a score of mice. The members of the *Bundesrath* were not chosen by the people of the various states but appointed by the executive authority.

As the organ of public opinion the lower house, or Reichstag, was to be chosen by manhood suffrage on a basis of population. This might seem to be a considerable concession for Bismarck. Like the English Disraeli, however, Bismarck believed that manhood suffrage was a conservative factor. In a struggle with middle-class liberals, the masses, with their strong and traditional "instinct of deference," would side with the landed aristocracy. Characteristically, however, the "Iron Chancellor" saw to it that by the terms of the constitution itself the Reichstag's control over finance was weak and ineffective. Throughout its history the Reichstag was a channel through which public opinion could express itself but not an instrument of popular control over national policy. It is significant that in a body of nearly four hundred members the average attendance through the years was sixty. Despite some superficial indications to the contrary, therefore, the government of the new German Empire down to World War I, though well centralized and powerful, was not a democracy. As the great Berlin journalist Maximilian Harden put it, "In order to be strong we have rejected the great modern comfort of democracy."

### The Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary

In Austria, as we have seen, the house of Hapsburg had managed to survive the various nationalist movements of 1848. By the beginning of 1851 the dynasty had seemed to be as firmly entrenched as ever at Vienna, at Prague, at Budapest, and even in Milan and Venice. The new emperor, Francis Joseph II, then felt strong enough to attempt a thorough reorganization of his government, centralizing authority in Vienna. The larger units of the empire, such as Hungary and Bohemia, he subdivided, Hungary being cut into no less than five parts. As it proved, however, the emperor had overestimated his strength. The Magyars resented the disintegration of their state, and though the emperor did not give way immediately, defeat in Italy brought his experiment abruptly to an end.

Deciding that it was necessary to interest the peoples of the empire in Hapsburg leadership, the emperor now proposed, in a swift change of policy, to set up a federal type of government. Each nationality of the empire, while exercising self-government in local affairs, would elect representatives on a broadly democratic basis to a federal legislature (1860). This promising plan was also opposed by the Magyars. Led by Francis Deák, they made it clear that they would fight to the bitter end

any plan which did not recognize their predominant position in Hungary. Included in the historic kingdom of Hungary, it will be remembered, were the Slavic provinces of Slovakia, Croatia, Transylvania, and Serbia. Under the federal plan these provinces would have been given separate representation. Again, it was defeat in a foreign war which wrecked the emperor's plans. This time, of course, the defeat was at the hands of Prussia. Two months after Königgrätz, Deák was notified that federalism would be dropped.

A new plan of organization was now brought forward by Deák. It was simplicity itself. There were, he said, two dominant races among the peoples who acknowledged allegiance to the Hapsburgs, the German-Austrian and the Magyar. Let there be, therefore, or continue to be, two states, the empire of Austria and the kingdom of Hungary, with the Hapsburg family at the head of each. In the empire of Austria, the lands west of the Leitha River, let the German race predominate. In the kingdom of Hungary (Transleithania) let the Magyar race predominate. As Deák pithily put it to the Austrian premier, "You take care of your barbarians and we'll take care of ours." In order to give strength and weight to the Hapsburg family, the two governments were to cooperate in the three fields of war, foreign affairs, and finance through committees of their respective parliaments. It will be observed that Deák was not a liberal; he had been an opponent of Kossuth. Deák's proposal was adopted. The result was the famous dual monarchy of Austro-Hungary, founded by the *Ausgleich* of 1867. No constitutional theorist would ever have advised this plan, but its practical value is indicated by the fact that it gave the Hapsburg dynasty another half-century of life.

We may note that the Bohemians, delivered over by the new set-up to the tender mercies of the German element in Austria, made so violent a protest against the plan that the emperor promised to transform the dual monarchy into a triple one. This proposal was promptly negatived by the Magyars, however, and had to be dropped.

### Napoleon III Makes a Half-turn to the Left

The swift rise of Prussia to a position of predominance in Germany, the appearance of a really powerful German state, upset the European balance of power. Upon France, long accustomed to easy leadership, the effect was well-nigh catastrophic. What had Napoleon III been doing while this revolution was being wrought?

It has generally been thought that Napoleon's action in withdrawing from the Austro-Sardinian War was the turning point of his career. He was then revealed as a man of "half-resolves," highly vulnerable there-

after whether at home or abroad. The emperor's domestic policy during the remaining decade of his reign was an attempt to placate the opposition. Exiled republicans were forgiven and recalled. Members of the Senate and Legislative Body were endowed with full parliamentary privileges. Ministers of state were made responsible to the legislature rather than to the emperor. A large measure of freedom was granted to the press. To be sure, the door to liberalism was only partly open. As a distinguished Frenchman remarked, "The empire has made a half-turn to the left." Opposition parties immediately took full advantage of their opportunity and became exceedingly vocal if not very influential. These belated signs of liberalism in the emperor of course added nothing to his strength, for those who benefited by his concessions were ready to bite the hand that fed them.

In the meantime the emperor was engaged in efforts to advance French interests abroad. Not that Napoleon pursued any well-thought-out plan, but he lost no opportunity of sending French soldiers wherever an opening presented itself throughout the world. In 1858 he established French bases in Cochin China and Annam. In 1860 he secured commercial concessions in China. In 1863 he established a French protectorate over Cambodia. His most ambitious colonial project, however, was his Mexican venture.

In his earlier days Napoleon had given much thought to the New World. His eager imagination conceived that as Constantinople had grown great through its strategic position at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, so a new and greater Constantinople would some day arise at the meeting of the ways between the two great continents of the western hemisphere. He dreamed of connecting the two greatest oceans of the world by a canal dug at Panama, and of founding his new Constantinople there. In 1862 a chance presented itself for intervention in the affairs of Mexico, intervention which might lead to the setting up of a puppet state and the establishment of French predominance in that quarter of the world. This scheme, "the most serious menace that America had to face since Monroe and Canning checked the plans of the Holy Alliance," would hardly have been undertaken had it not been that America was engaged in civil war.

A puppet emperor was duly selected and the Mexican Empire was launched in proper style. But then, in April, 1865, the American Civil War came to an end. Furthermore, the quarrel between Austria and Prussia followed swiftly, and it became essential for Napoleon to center his attention on Europe and muster all his forces there. The French troops were therefore called home from Mexico, and the puppet empire promptly fell.



### Causes of the Franco-Prussian War

The feeling not only among Napoleon's followers, but among the general public of France as well, after the battle of Königgrätz, was that French prestige had suffered a heavy blow. "They had no dead to weep but they divined by instinct the loss of their pre-eminence. Without having fought, they were oppressed by the sensation of defeat." Throughout the press of France there arose the cry of "Revenge for Sadowa." It was in response, therefore, to what may be called a national demand that the emperor sought to win from the newly created Germany such measure of compensation as would satisfy public opinion.

Napoleon began by demanding the cession of the portions of Bavaria and Hesse which lay on the left bank of the Rhine. This Bismarck flatly refused to consider. The iron chancellor then proceeded to make excellent use of Napoleon's demand by giving it full publicity. Fear of France, long latent in south Germany, was thus aroused once more. Early in 1870 Napoleon demanded that Bismarck lend his assistance to the acquisition by France of Luxembourg and a part of Belgium. The king of Holland, who was sovereign of Luxembourg, had already agreed to sell that territory to France. But Luxembourg was a part of the old German Confederation, and Bismarck deemed this a sufficient barrier to its cession to France. Meanwhile the king of Belgium, as was to be expected, refused to cede any part of his lands to the French. Bismarck carefully preserved his file of the diplomatic correspondence relating to these matters for publication as occasion might demand. About the same time Napoleon sponsored the purchase by the French Eastern Railway Company of the Belgian railway lines. This seemingly commercial transaction was thought to have a political aspect, and though it was carried to completion on the business side, it was ultimately canceled by the direct order of the Belgian government. French public opinion was quick to see in this cancellation the hand of Bismarck.

It is evident that the French emperor did not want war. He would vastly have preferred to restore his prestige and satisfy French opinion by a diplomatic victory. He realized, however, that war might come, and he therefore sought to secure allies. Here his lack of success was as complete as it had been in his search for a diplomatic victory. In Italy Napoleon had forfeited all hope of friendship by his steadfast support of the papal authority. As recently as 1864 he had reinforced the French army in Rome when an attack was threatened by Garibaldi. He now turned hopefully to Austria. The two emperors, French and Austrian, met in 1867. After careful consideration, however, the government of Austria-Hungary decided not to embark upon a policy of friendship with France.

The Austrian financial and military structure had not yet recovered from the shock of Prussian defeat. Furthermore, the Hapsburgs, with Bismarck's encouragement, were turning their thoughts to Balkan affairs. As for Russia, French sympathy for the Poles was too keen and too openly expressed to make it possible for the tsarist regime to receive any approaches from Napoleon with favor.

Not a little of Napoleon's lack of success in enlisting allies was due to the skillful interposition of Bismarck. The latter's attitude seems to have been that war with France lay in the logic of history. Time and again south Germany had been invaded by its mighty neighbor in the past, with or without excuse. Bismarck felt that he would never be able to secure the voluntary association of the south Germans with the North German Confederation until their fear of France could be removed. For Bismarck, war with France was thus an essential prerequisite of German unification. Furthermore, Prussia was maintaining a very expensive military establishment at the height of its efficiency. The enormous expenditure which this entailed could scarcely be justified save on the ground that another war was impending. Desired by Bismarck and not undesired by a large section of the French public, the Franco-Prussian War may almost be called inevitable. If it was not inevitable, at least "it would have taken a great statesman to have avoided it."

The incident which precipitated the war was a matter of no special moment. It is known as the "Spanish candidacy." After a revolution and the expulsion of the Bourbons, Spanish leaders were looking about for another monarch. They fixed upon Prince Leopold von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of the king of Prussia. Prince Leopold was also a relative, on his mother's side, of Napoleon III, but his ties were closer, as was natural, with the king of Prussia as the head of the Hohenzollern family. Bismarck supported the candidacy of Prince Leopold for the throne of Spain. He regarded it as a counterpoise to the attempt of Napoleon to build up an alliance hostile to Prussia. To France the prospect of a Hohenzollern south of the Pyrenees was alarming. Not content with having upset the European balance of power in France's disfavor, the Hohenzollerns, it would seem, were now bent upon establishing themselves in the rear of France. It was with the unanimous support of the French public, therefore, that Napoleon III called upon the king of Prussia to secure his relative's withdrawal from the Spanish enterprise. Unwilling to provoke France too far, the king said that his relative was free to accept or reject the throne. Leopold then withdrew. Here was the diplomatic victory which Napoleon had sought, such a victory as might well have satisfied a public less eager for sensation, less excitable than that of France. Urged on by the recently liberated press, however, a group

of Napoleon's ministers prevailed upon him to follow up his fortunate stroke by demanding of the king of Prussia that Prince Leopold should never in future entertain a similar invitation from Spain.

Benedetti, the French ambassador to Germany, sought out William at a quiet vacation resort called Ems, where the old gentleman was seeking rest and relaxation. Approaching the king as he was walking along the promenade, Benedetti made known his mission. William did not like to be interviewed in this public way, and in the absence of his chief minister he was reluctant to commit himself. He therefore attempted to put the matter off. Benedetti's instructions were urgent, however, and he approached the king twice again on the same day. Upon making a final call in the evening, the French minister was informed by an attendant that the king had retired for the day and would not receive him.

As was his wont, King William reported the conversations in a telegram which he dispatched to Bismarck at Berlin. Before giving the telegram to the press, Bismarck deleted certain extraneous matter, with the result that the tone of the message was terse and somewhat sharp. The sensation-loving newspapers of Paris published it next day under the flaming headline of "Insult to France." In his *Reminiscences* Bismarck looked back on this incident with somewhat exaggerated satisfaction, crediting himself with having brought on the war by his cleverness in editing the Ems dispatch.

In the French Chamber of Deputies feeling ran high, and it was raised to fever pitch by excited oratory. In a few days the Deputies voted to declare war. Only ten negative votes were cast, and France went to war "with a light heart." Among those who voted against the declaration was the aged Thiers, who characterized the decision as "supremely imprudent."

### The Franco-Prussian War and Its Consequences

The Ems dispatch had been sent on July 13. War was declared July 19. The decisive battle was fought on August 6, and the emperor and his great army surrendered at Sedan on the 2nd of September. On the eve of the war Napoleon had made particular inquiry of his ministers with respect to the preparation of the army. He was assured that the army was ready "down to the last button on the last gaiter of the last soldier." The fact was, however, the French army was poorly organized, inadequately equipped, and badly lead. In the early battles, all on French soil, the Prussian forces numbered 500,000, the French, 200,000. German officers had better maps of France than had the French. The French officers were out of touch with their battalions, soldiers were without equipment, guns were without ammunition. A French general, upon

arrival at the front, telegraphed back, "Can't find my army." The decisive superiority of Prussian breach-loaded artillery, however, far outweighed French ineptitude as a factor in the German triumph. French soldiers fought with their usual valor, but courage was not enough.

Napoleon's surrender on September 2 was followed two days later by the dissolution of his empire. In Paris a group of republicans, led by the fiery Gambetta, set up a Government of National Defense. The new government resolved to continue the war at all costs. With furious scorn it rejected Bismarck's demand for the cession of Alsace-Lorraine and the payment of a large indemnity. "Not an inch of our territory," "Not a stone of our fortresses," "War to the bitter end," "War to the extremity of exhaustion"—such was the declared policy of the new regime. Meanwhile the Prussians had marched unopposed to the outskirts of Paris, where they settled down for a siege. The splendid French capital held out for months, while Gambetta labored like a Titan to raise armies for her relief.

Before effective relief could come, the starving Parisians were constrained to submit. Surrender took place January 28, 1871. Within twenty-four hours the Germans were moving food trains into the city. Ten days earlier, in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles, headquarters of the besiegers, there was proclaimed with impressive ceremony the German Empire, with King William becoming Kaiser William. With the annexation of the south German states Bismarck regarded his work as complete.

After the fall of Paris, Bismarck again proffered terms of peace. He announced that he would not treat with the self-appointed Government of National Defense, but that a National Assembly must be elected, with which he would deal. In the election which followed, the republicans of France put forward candidates pledged to carry on the fight, while the more moderate parties, mostly monarchists, felt that the time had come to confess defeat. When the National Assembly met (March, 1871) it was found that the moderate parties were overwhelmingly in the majority. The old monarchist Thiers, then in his eightieth year, was chosen as chairman of the Assembly and temporary head of France. To him fell the melancholy task of coming to terms with Bismarck. The cession of Alsace-Lorraine was agreed upon, but Thiers succeeded in getting the indemnity reduced from six to five billion francs. The French city of Metz, strategic gateway to the north of France, was included with Lorraine at the express demand of the German high command; Bismarck had preferred not "to have so many Frenchmen in our house." The splendid fortress of Belfort, Vauban's masterpiece, which had held out against the Germans for three months, was left in French hands.

The Franco-Prussian War was indirectly a means to the completion

of Italian unification. On September 20, 1870, only a few days after the collapse of the French Empire, an Italian army broke through the defenses of Rome and entered the city. French troops had been called home for the defense of France some time before. The pope fled across the Tiber and sought refuge in his stronghold of the Vatican. The papal palace of the Quirinal was taken over by the kingdom of Italy and is still the official residence of the house of Savoy.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### *Russia, Turkey, and Eastern Europe, 1815—1878*

#### Contrasts between Eastern and Western Europe

EVEN the casual student of European history cannot fail to be struck by the many contrasts between western and eastern Europe. They are of long standing. Western European peoples are Celtic, Germanic, and Roman; the eastern are Slavic or Asiatic. The source of culture of western Europe was Rome; of eastern Europe, Byzantium or the Orient. The religion of the west was the Christian faith, whether Catholic or Protestant. Eastern Europe was Christian also but its preferred form of Christianity was Greek Orthodox. The Turks, of course, remained Mohammedan.

While western Europe was becoming urban and industrial, the east long remained rural and agricultural. When the west became organized into national states based upon cultural groups, the east remained politically undifferentiated, its political model the Empire. The west adopted democratic forms, but in the east governmental forms remained autocratic and despotic. It is somewhat strange that these contrasts lasted so long, especially after the rise of industrialism in western Europe. Eastern Europe might have been the object of exploitation and assimilation at the hands of the west, for it was rich in raw materials and had great potentialities as a market for capital and manufactures. For the most part, however, the countries of western Europe turned their attention to lands overseas.

At long last, in the nineteenth century, eastern Europe began to assimilate the leading features of western civilization, among them nationalism, liberalism, and industrialism. The leading states of western Europe took a great interest in this process and attempted to direct it. Rivalries developed among them and conflicts ensued. Furthermore, the upheavals and convulsions in the east attendant on the process of assimilation kept western Europe in a state of disturbance as well. One of the greatest wars of modern times had its origin in the Balkan peninsula.

#### Russia; Authority of the Tsar

Most important of the areas of eastern Europe were European Russia and the Balkan peninsula. Tsar Alexander I, in 1815, ruled over a vast

area stretching through northern Europe and Asia from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean and beyond. Of this territory only about a third lay within the confines of Europe. The peoples of European Russia, some fifty million in all, were mostly of the Slavic or Great Russian group. In theory at least the tsar was invested with supreme authority over his subjects. He had numerous ministers of state, but they merely carried out his orders. As one of the tsars put it, "They have no opinion except to carry out my orders."

The tsar's authority was religious as well as political. The Holy Synod, supreme authority in the Russian church, was so constituted as to be little more than a ministry of religion. Among the principal religious duties inculcated by the clergy were unquestioning obedience to the tsar and the avoidance of revolution. The Russian church had lost its last remnant of independence in 1764 when the tsar confiscated its monastic lands.

Next in importance to the church as a support of the tsar's authority was the army. When all else failed, the tsar could keep a movement of unrest within bounds by calling upon the Cossacks, ruthless and daring horsemen, to restore order. A more effective instrument of authority in quiet times, however, was the secret police, which specialized in *agents provocateurs*, priding themselves upon their skill in worming their way into subversive societies, laying bare their activities. The Russian nobility was so deeply entrenched in the army and in the civil administration, however, and so jealous of its privileges, social and economic, that successive tsars were practically powerless to effect changes in the Russian system. One of Alexander I's immediate predecessors had been killed because he had seemed to threaten the privileges of the bureaucracy. And when Alexander himself died, it was only with considerable difficulty that one of his brothers was persuaded to take his place. For all its seeming authority the post of tsar of all the Russias was a job no one seemed to want.

### Social Chasm between Nobility and Serfs

The only cities of any considerable size in the whole of the tsar's dominions were St. Petersburg and Moscow, each having a population of less than two hundred thousand. Fully 90 per cent of the land of European Russia was owned by the tsar, members of the imperial family, and the Russian nobility. The cultivators of these lands lived in a state of unrelieved serfdom. The small degree of Westernization which Russia had received thus far had actually worked out to the disadvantage of her millions of serfs. As we have seen, it was the Russian nobility only which had been Westernized, and this had the result of differentiating it

sharply from the serfs, who remained completely un-Western in mental outlook and way of life.

### Reaction in Russia

Russian institutions, it can easily be seen, lent themselves fully to Metternich's program of reaction which got under way after the Congress of Vienna. Alexander I indulged himself for a few years in a halfhearted flirtation with liberalism, his most celebrated act in this phase of his reign being the granting of a constitution to Poland. (See p. 403.) Byron labeled him a coxcomb tsar,

Now half dissolving to a liberal thaw,  
Then freezing back when e'er the morning's raw.

Nicholas I, who succeeded Alexander in 1825, had an innate predilection for absolutism and he allowed it full scope. Tall and of magnificent physique, he was a complete despot and looked the part. During the first few days of his reign he had had to contend with a revolution led by youthful nobles who were fired with liberal ideas and who thought that it was time to do something for the down-trodden masses. Although the revolutionaries had not the slightest chance of success, the annoyance which the disturbance caused him confirmed Nicholas I in his opinion that "Russia could not be trusted to play with free institutions." As his minister of education put it, "Education is harmful to a people born to obey."

We have already described the Polish revolt of 1830. (See p. 403). For years thereafter a military reign of terror was imposed upon Poland, her older men being sent to Siberia by the thousands and her youths forced into the army. The official use of the Polish tongue was forbidden and some effort was made to curtail its private use as well. This policy of Russification as applied to the Poles after 1830 was an aspect of Pan-Slavism, which found favor with many of the leaders of Russia in the nineteenth century. Instead of apologizing for Russian slowness to adopt Western ways, the adherents of Pan-Slavism affirmed that it was Russia's peculiar genius and strength not to do so. Her twin institutions of Orthodoxy and autocracy made Russia actually superior to the liberal but decadent West. With religious zeal Pan-Slav writers advocated that Holy Russia should assume the part of mother and protector of all the Slavs of Europe. This ideology fitted in well with the old Russian policy of advance toward the Bosphorus. During the course of the nineteenth century this expansionist policy was taken up again and again by successive tsars with great vigor. But in that quarter, of course, the Turkish Empire still blocked the way.



### Turkey; the Eastern Question

One of the most important problems of the century was what was to become of Turkey. In an earlier chapter we traced the rise of Turkish power through late medieval and early modern times and noted the expansion of the territory of the Turkish Empire to limits almost identical with those of the Eastern Empire under Justinian. At one time the whole of the Balkan peninsula was under Turkish control, as well as the greater part of Hungary. Vienna itself was twice attacked, the second time as recently as 1683, but this represented the extreme limit of Turkish advance. Not only had the Turkish Empire taken over the lands of the Byzantine Empire; it had taken over much of its civil and military administrative system as well, a fact which accounts for the solidity and strength of Turkish rule at the beginning of the modern era. But, as we have seen, Turkish rule was also characterized by inner weaknesses which became more and more apparent with the lapse of years. Outlying provinces, such as Morocco and Egypt, became autonomies under semi-independent emirs, and the disease of political disintegration was well established.

The powers which displayed the greatest and most persistent interest in the problem of Turkey were Russia, Austria, Great Britain, and France. Russia was the first to take advantage of Turkish weakness, and she made many gains. Having embarked upon a project of aggression toward Turkey at the close of the eighteenth century, she was diverted for the time being by the threat of invasion by Napoleon. In 1812 Alexander I negotiated with Turkey the Treaty of Bucharest, under the terms of which the province of Bessarabia was ceded outright to Russia and the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, the future Rumania, passed under Russian protection though remaining dependencies of the sultan. This treaty, further, gave recognition, implicit at least, to the tsar's claim to the right of intervention on behalf of the sultan's Christian subjects. The European subjects of Turkey were for the most part of the South Slav group of peoples, as we have seen, and practically all of them were of the Greek Catholic faith. The Christian peoples of the Balkans had lived on, century after century, without the slightest improvement in their situation and with no special hope of any. The sympathy of Russia for these coreligionists of hers was genuine enough, but behind that lay political designs which might not be much more advantageous to the Balkan peoples than the continuance of Turkish rule.

The program of liberty, equality, and fraternity which received such wide attention in Europe during the French Revolution awakened a measure of interest in the Balkans. Acting under its inspiration, and led

by a native pig merchant, Karageorge, or "Black George," the Serbians rose in insurrection in 1804 and managed to wrest from the sultan an acknowledgment of the status of their land as an autonomous dependency under their own dynasty, the Karageorgevich family.

### The Greek Revolution

Closely following this success came a movement of greater importance both for the Balkan peninsula and for Europe at large, namely, the revolt of the Greeks. The Greeks had always been the most important of the non-Moslems in the Turkish Empire. They had a more advanced civilization than the rest and more splendid traditions. Favored also by the physical geography of their land, they had managed to preserve self-governing institutions in their small urban communities, some of which scarcely saw a Turkish official save on his annual visit to collect the tribute. A seafaring people by habit, the Greeks were quick to take advantage of certain events, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which opened to them commercial opportunities theretofore closed: the defeat of France, the extinction of the Republic of Venice, and the opening up of Russian trade following the Treaty of Bucharest. It is estimated that by 1815 Greek merchants, whether of the mainland or of the islands of the Aegean, had six hundred ships in commission, many of them large and heavily armed, and that there were in service seventeen thousand sailors of Greek nationality. Along with the economic revival went an intellectual and literary renaissance among the Greeks. Wealthy merchants sent their boys to the schools and universities of western Europe or founded schools of their own on Western lines. The contrast between their own lot under a despotism which was Oriental in character and fanatical in its fervor and the seemingly far happier situation of the peoples of western Europe was thus brought home to the Greeks in vivid fashion.

Another factor of importance in the revival of Greek nationalism was the work of Adamantios Koraïs (1748-1833) in the creation of the modern Greek language. During the centuries of Turkish rule the ancient tongue of the Greeks had greatly deteriorated. Dialects had multiplied, as they will among an illiterate people. They became so numerous, in fact, that in some instances a few miles marked the limit of a particular form of speech: The Greek tongue had also become much adulterated with foreign words and expressions, and the forms and constructions of classical Greek were no longer adhered to with any strictness. The problem was to set a standard to which living Greeks could measure up without too great an effort but which, on the other hand, would be so close to the ancient language that the incomparable classics of the ancient Greeks

might be a living inspiration. This difficult task Koraïs performed exceedingly well, and he must be accounted one of the greatest of the makers of modern Greece.

The Greek revolution, which lasted more than a decade, began with a national rising in the Morea in 1821. The exalted fervor of the Greeks proved to be highly contagious, and although the governments of western Europe maintained a correct neutrality, at least at first, this could not be said for individuals. A thorough grounding in the classics of Greece and Rome was the foundation of Western education in those days, and the news of the rising of Greek against Turk, Christian against Moslem, made an irresistible appeal to the people of western Europe. As Shelley said, "We are all Greeks." So many thousands of volunteers joined the Greek forces that the Turks complained that they were fighting the whole of Europe. The most famous of the foreign legionnaires was of course Lord Byron.

The war of liberation was waged with unexampled ferocity. During the first rising, about 25,000 Moslems were slaughtered. For this atrocity the Turks exacted a preliminary revenge in the execution, without trial, of the patriarch of the Greek Catholic Church and two of his archbishops. Later on Turkish forces put to the sword the entire population, men, women, and children, of the island of Chios, numbering about 30,000.

Sympathetic to the Greeks as was the attitude of the average man, the European governments, especially those of Russia, France, and England, took a more coolly political attitude. Though they were not willing to see the Greek cause perish, neither were they, it seemed, prepared to do anything to help it triumph. To this statement there are some exceptions. In 1827 a French and English fleet combined to destroy the Turkish fleet in the battle of Navarino, a victory which the British prime minister described as "an untoward event." In the following year Russia finally declared war on Turkey and her action contributed materially to Greek success. By the mutual agreement of Turkey and the great powers a kingdom of Greece was established in 1832, with Otto of Bavaria, aged seventeen, as king.

The two decades which followed provided the sultan of Turkey with a breathing spell, during which he sought to modernize and reform his administrative system, though with little or no success. The Turkish mentality proved incapable of change.

### Russia Plans the Partition of Turkey

Meanwhile Russia resumed the offensive. Her intervention in 1828 was doubtless decisive, but independent Greece soon began to regard her-

self as the rival of Russia in the Balkan area. It was the hope and dream of Tsar Nicholas I and his advisers that the Turkish problem might be solved by a mutual agreement of the powers, and more particularly by an arrangement between Russia and Great Britain. "We have on our hands," said the tsar to the British minister in 1852, "a very sick man. It will be a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us before the necessary arrangements can be made." This remark was followed in due time by suggestions of a more definite character. The tsar's plan was to set up in the Balkans, under Russian protection, two independent states, Serbia and Bulgaria. Great Britain, he suggested, should compensate herself with Egypt. The British, however, looked upon these proposals with profound distrust. For many years they had watched the advancing shadow of the Russian bear north of India. Lord John Russell summed up the British attitude when he said, "If you do not stop the Russians on the Danube, you will have to stop them on the Indus." British coolness to his proposals by no means discouraged the tsar, and an opportunity for aggressive action on Russia's part was presented in the celebrated quarrel over the custody of the Holy Places.

The Holy Places included the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, the tomb of the Virgin Mary at Gethsemane, and the Sanctuary of the Nativity at Bethlehem. This last was enclosed in a church built in the fourth century by the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine. The maintenance of these pilgrim shrines had long been a concern of the Catholic world, and early in the sixteenth century France, in the name of the Catholic powers, had received from the sultan a formal grant of custodianship. For more than two hundred years France remained faithful to this trust, but after the middle of the eighteenth century her custodianship fell into neglect; and with the permission of the sultan, Greek monks had come to share the duties of the Latin monks installed by France, if not to supersede them. About the year 1850 the tsar formally requested the transfer of the custodianship of the Holy Places to himself, adding the demand that Russia's right of protection over the Greek Catholic subjects of the sultan, tacitly conceded by the Treaty of Bucharest, be now formally recognized. Great Britain, not much concerned with the matter of the Holy Places, was quick to see the implications of a formal right of protection. The British ambassador to Turkey was Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, a man of passionate devotion to British interests, who had succeeded, moreover, in making himself a trusted adviser of the sultan. In Lord Stratford's view Russia's purpose was not merely to secure for herself a measure of authority in Turkey, but to infuse a subtle poison into the whole Turkish system. Acting upon the advice of the British ambassador, the sultan expressly rejected Russia's claim of protection.

over Greek Catholics, but adopted a temporizing policy with respect to the Holy Places.

### Russian Interests Clash with French

To the French, and especially to Napoleon III, now their ruler, the question of the Holy Places was of major importance. Eager to advance the interests of France in every part of the world, Napoleon took up Russia's challenge to the French claim with vigor. A minor matter of personal pique also had something to do with the energy with which Napoleon III acted. It happened that the tsar had declined to extend to the new emperor of the French the full recognition which the latter craved, addressing him as *Mon cher ami* instead of *Monsieur mon frère*. Napoleon, it is true, affected to make light of the tsar's failure to recognize him as brother emperor, passing the slight off with the remark that one had to put up with one's brothers but could choose one's friends. It may seem fantastic that so trifling a consideration must be included among the causes of a great war, but of all wars the Crimean War was assuredly the most stupid.

Napoleon's spirited response to the demand of the tsar placed the sultan in a difficult position. It should have been readily possible, however, to find some way to save the tsar's face, to satisfy the French, and to preserve the integrity of Turkey. True, the diplomatists of Europe in their respective capitals of Vienna, Berlin, Paris, London, and Constantinople brought forward one by one during the last few months of 1853 no fewer than eleven projects of pacification, and it is entirely possible that had telegraphic communication been available war would have been avoided. As it was, war was long in coming. The current saying ran that this war took longer to get itself declared than any other in history. The influence of Lord Stratford was steadily on the side of war, as he sought to unite the French and the English in what he conceived to be a defense of Turkish interests against the Russian. When at last there arrived the news of a Russian attack on Turkish forces, Lord Stratford exclaimed, "Thank God. That's war."

### The Crimean War

Unnecessary and indefensible was the verdict of most of the liberal leaders of Europe on this war. The Englishman John Bright, pointing to a monument to the Crimea a few years later, bluntly labeled the conflict "a crime." Though the main theater of the war was on the Danube and important operations took place in the area of the Baltic, where Sweden joined with France and England against Russia, and though the attack on the Crimean peninsula was a later and somewhat unexpected diver-

sion, the war as a whole has become known as the Crimean War. France and England, with some help from Sardinia but little from Turkey, had no trouble in driving the Russians from Turkish territory. Having done this, they decided to push Russia well back from the Balkan area by destroying her fortifications in the Crimea. This entailed a siege of Sebastopol, a siege which eventually lasted nearly a year.

Neither the French nor the English were prepared for a winter campaign, and the sufferings of the besieging troops were frightful, many more dying from sickness than on the battlefield. It was the news of the frightful conditions in the hospitals, made known to the English public by the dispatches of William Russell of *The Times*, first of modern war correspondents, that led to the celebrated journey to the Crimea of Florence Nightingale, "the Lady of the Lamp." The war is also famous in English history for the charge of the "Light Brigade" and for the institution of the Victoria Cross. But these are sorry items when contrasted with the 600,000 human lives lost in a conflict that was unwarranted in its beginning and ineffective in its conclusion.

Napoleon III had the pleasure of presiding over the brilliant assembly of notables who drew up the Peace of Paris in 1856. The treaty provided for a mutual restitution of territories by Russia and Turkey and for a guarantee of the independence and integrity of Turkey. In other words, things were to be as they had been. Beyond this, Russia was penalized in that the Black Sea was to be closed to ships of war and its coasts demilitarized. This provision, so obviously unfair to Russia but accepted as at the point of a bayonet, was repudiated at the first favorable opportunity.

### Alexander II, the Liberator Tsar

For Russia the Crimean War marked the end of an epoch. It was evident that her vaunted greatness was a myth. The boasted splendor of a regime of orthodoxy, autocracy, and Pan-Slavism under Nicholas I stood revealed as merely thirty years of "grinding servitude" ending in a national disaster. It was inevitable that changes would come and it was not to be doubted that these changes would be in the direction of liberalism. The new tsar, son of the old one, was Alexander II (1855-1881). He was well disposed but lacked ability either to take the lead himself or to select ministers with the requisite qualities of leadership. Even when he did get ministers who could both see the needs and dangers of the time and devise statesmanlike ways of meeting them, he failed to support them through thick and thin. Notable as was the reign of Alexander II in the history of reform, its measures were all too often halfhearted.

The new tsar began well by relaxing the censorship of the press and

opening the universities to all classes of the population. It had been evident for some time, however, that the greatest problem of Russia was that of the serfs. There were about forty-seven million of them. Their status was not unlike that of the peasants of western Europe in the thirteenth century, a fact which illustrates well how far Russia was behind the times. The Russian peasants were bound to the soil, owing their lord three days' labor per week and paying a small rent in addition. The authority of a landlord over the person of his serfs was limited, but since landlords were usually village magistrates, they could treat the serfs pretty much as they pleased. In any event, landlords had the power of selecting from among their peasants recruits for the army. This might entail upon the luckless youngsters enforced service for a period of years in some remote outpost of the Russian empire.

### Emancipation of the Serfs

The continuance of serfdom so many decades after the liberating work of the French Revolution was an anomaly. For years Russian liberals had agitated for its abolition. Even the enlightened conservatives were in agreement. During the long reign of Nicholas I several severe revolts of the peasants had taken place. As the young tsar put it, it was "better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait until it begins to abolish itself from below." Inasmuch as half the serfs of Russia lived on lands belonging to the tsar and members of his family, it was proper to make a beginning with them. The lot of the serfs of the crown had always been better than that of the others. Their farms were larger and their personal status was superior. Alexander II now made them free men and invested them with the ownership of the land they cultivated, subject to the payment of its assessed value in forty-nine annual instalments.

The Russian nobles did not feel that they could afford to be so generous, and the terms upon which their serfs were emancipated were agreed upon only after months of arduous negotiation. Finally in 1861, on the day before the inauguration of America's great emancipator, a decree was signed which completed the work of freeing the Russian peasants. The twenty million peasants set free on this occasion were not placed in possession of the whole of the land they cultivated, however; for the nobles had successfully insisted upon retaining about half of the arable land in their own hands. Furthermore, the land which the peasants did receive and for which they must pay in forty-nine instalments was not granted to them in individual proprietorship. The title was vested in the villages, or *mir*s, in which the peasants lived. Individual farmers were merely given the privilege of occupancy of the lands they farmed for a

term of years, and the holdings were subject to periodic redistribution. Since the peasant population, and hence the number of families, increased enormously during the next half-century, the size of the peasant farms, already too small, grew progressively smaller.

Glorious as was the emancipation of the serfs as a chapter in the history of human liberty, it did not solve the Russian land problem. Thousands of peasants, as the first use of their new-found liberty, took to their heels and became wanderers, leaving to those who stayed at home the burden of meeting the payments which the state required. Later on, it is true, these payments were scaled down. On the eve of the First World War provision was made for the substitution of individual ownership for that of village ownership. These improvements did not satisfy Russia's millions of peasants, however, and the revolutionary slogan of "the whole land for the whole people" proved to be irresistible.

### Other Reforms

Unqualified approval may be given to the reform of the judicial system of Russia, also undertaken by the liberator tsar. About the best thing that could be said for the old system was that it was thoroughly corrupt; the innocent could escape punishment through bribery. Western ways were now adopted, features of both the French and the English systems being made use of. Among the latter was trial by jury. This did not work out well at first, since the jurymen, feeling that anyone under arrest was in all probability a victim of the police, as in the past, were too prone to acquit.

Russian liberals pressed the tsar to complete his work by setting up a national parliament. Unwilling to do this, he did authorize the institution of district and provincial *zemstvos*. A district *zemstvo* was representative of the nobles, city dwellers, and peasants of the region in question. Provincial *zemstvos* were made up of representatives from the *zemstvos* of the districts. Legislative authority was given to the *zemstvos* over matters of local concern, such as roads and bridges, public health, and the like. Agents of the central government kept close watch over their work, however, and frequently disallowed the action of these local legislatures as "contrary to the good of the state." In the last year of his life Alexander gave his consent to the setting up of a national parliament, but before this plan could be carried into effect he was assassinated. The next tsar, Alexander III (1881-1894), was unfriendly to reform. His principal minister, Pobedonostsev, was hostile to such Western institutions as parliaments, trial by jury, and freedom of the press, and he advocated Russia's return to her ancient institutions.



### Revival of Pan-Slavism

The reign of Alexander II witnessed an important renaissance of Russian Pan-Slavism. This was stimulated by a fresh revolt of the Poles. Held in ruthless restraint since their failure of 1830, the Poles discerned in Russia's defeat in the Crimea a ray of hope. Though they were unable to organize in the open, the Polish nobles did so underground. The Russian secret police uncovered some of these activities, however, and promptly visited upon the Polish people wholesale arrests and indiscriminate slaughter. A revolt followed in 1863, but it was hopeless from the start. The rebels were gradually hunted down and destroyed. Thinking to destroy the power of the Polish nobility forever, Alexander II, in 1864, emancipated the Polish peasants. He gave them extraordinarily favorable terms, making them free proprietors of the lands they farmed. He trusted that the millions of new landowners would be favorable to Russian rule. They soon, however, proved to be no less antagonistic to the Russian regime than the nobles had been.

The suppression of the revolt of 1863 was followed by a resumption of Russification. In 1867 a Pan-Slav congress was assembled at Moscow, and Russia again proclaimed herself the mother and liberator of the Slavs. Events in the Balkans eventually presented to Russian leaders an attractive opportunity for intervention.

### Turkey Fails to Reform

By the terms of the treaty which brought the Crimean War to a close, the sultan was obligated to replace Oriental despotism with Western institutions. This would mean, among other things, that the Balkan peoples still ruled by Turkey would be endowed with full civil rights. The statesman who drafted this article of the treaty can hardly have known much about the Turks, or if he did know much, he can hardly have believed that the article would prove effective. The Koran expressly states that the unbelievers whom the sword has subjected are to be held forever as slaves. Moreover, many centuries of supremacy had confirmed the mind of the Turk in an attitude which made every attempt at reform an empty gesture. The fact is that little or no attempt was made by the Turks to establish among their European subjects, Mohammedan and Christian, a common citizenship. Public opinion throughout Europe was profoundly disappointed when it became evident that no change was in prospect, and a demand arose among the more vocal of Europe's liberals that the putrid paganism of Turkish rule be swept out of Europe.

The Greeks were now fully free of Turkish rule and the Serbians

practically so, but the other Slav peoples, especially the Bulgarians, were still subject to a political and religious despotism which at times could be tragically cruel. The pressure of Turkish rule bore the more heavily upon the subject peoples of the Balkans after the Crimean War because the Turkish government was bankrupt. The taxes levied on the Christian population were unmerciful, and the temper of the Turkish officials became increasingly fanatical. Suddenly, in 1876, the world was shocked by the "Bulgarian Atrocities."

### Bulgaria's Awakening; Russia Intervenes

Bulgarian national independence had been swept away by the Turks in 1396. No other Slav people of the Balkan peninsula had been dealt with so ruthlessly as the Bulgarians. Their national identity, in fact, was all but lost, since they were classed by their Turkish rulers as Greeks because of their religion. The Bulgarian national church was staffed with Greek clergy, religious services being conducted in the Greek tongue. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Bulgarians actually called themselves Greeks.

Stimulated by the nationalist movements in Greece and Serbia, Bulgarian leaders began a renaissance in 1835 by founding schools and establishing newspapers. In a single generation a group of educated leaders was created. The first objective of these leaders was to repossess the national church. Greek bishops and priests were driven out, and the sultan of Turkey, under the friendly encouragement of Russia, decreed, in 1870, that Bulgaria should have her own archbishop. This stirring of nationalism among the Bulgarians, coupled with the growing fanaticism of the Turkish governors, was the background of tragedy. In 1876 detachments of the Turkish militia fell upon a number of mountain villages in Bulgaria and massacred about ten thousand men, women, and children. A wave of indignation swept across Europe. Gladstone in a flaming pamphlet called for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, "bag and baggage." Russia now seized her opportunity and declared war on Turkey, having first announced that she did not intend to take Constantinople. Russian advance was swift; her troops soon threatened Adrianople, and Turkey sued for peace.

### Peace of San Stefano; Congress of Berlin

By the terms of the Peace of San Stefano, 1876, Turkey acknowledged the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania. Bulgaria was now given autonomy, but her boundaries were so extensive as to arouse

in Great Britain the suspicion that the presumably free Bulgaria was really a vassal state of Russia. The British, led by Disraeli, were disposed to challenge this decision, if need be, by force of arms. Austria, also, was afraid that Russia had won a position in the Balkans from which she could checkmate the Slav policy of the Hapsburgs. Bismarck lent his powerful support to Austrian protests. Perceiving that her hope for a free hand in disposing of Turkish territory was a vain one, Russia grudgingly assented to a revision of San Stefano. The Congress of Berlin followed (1878). The independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania was confirmed, but Bulgaria was to be very much smaller and some of the leading strings with which Russia held her were severed. Austria-Hungary was awarded a protectorate over the formerly Turkish territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Greece was rewarded with the addition of Thessaly. Macedonia, which had been awarded to Bulgaria, was restored to Turkey. Great Britain received Cyprus as her prize, while Russia was allowed to retain Bessarabia and parts of Turkish Armenia. Thus was Russia thrust back once more. Austrian Balkan policy, on the other hand, was much advanced, making most probable that rivalry of Russian and Austrian policies which led to the First World War. A British diplomat confessed with sadness, later on, that Britain had backed the wrong horse. The most important meaning of the Congress of Berlin, however, is that it marked a new phase in the eastern question. There was no longer any pretense that Turkey would reform. The solution of the problem was to lie in the setting up in the Balkans of independent Christian states. Small and weak, these states sooner or later would take refuge under the wings of one or another of the great powers.

## SECTION FIVE

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# Democracy, Industrialism, Internationalism

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THE PERIOD of history which begins in 1871 is the one in which we ourselves live. It faced, and is still facing, the problem of creating a civilization of the masses. Political democracy, at least in form, came first. Soon, however, it was apparent that though democracy may perhaps be the inevitable form of government, it is one of the most difficult forms to operate with reasonable efficiency. Its values have to be learned, even by those who are its chief beneficiaries, through painful experience and by trial and error. In times of crisis, when the problems of human society are both numerous and urgent, dictatorships spring up in mushroom growth, especially in soils which gave no special nourishment to democracy in the first place. Even in lands whose free institutions have had a long history, political democracy may be an empty form unless there is a certain measure of economic equality. How to attain this measure of equality is as yet an unsolved problem, though several solutions have been advanced. At one extreme are the advocates of unrestricted free enterprise; at the other are the believers in a regimented economy of socialism or communism.

This is a period also of the spread of industrial civilization. No great country can remain great if it does not become industrialized. In power politics industrialism is a matter of life and death. But industrialism means too a higher standard of living for the masses—in the long run at any rate—and that is a much more important matter. The greatest contributing factor to the growth of industrialism in the modern world has been the increase of scientific knowledge. So impressive have scientific

developments been and so remarkable the practical results that not a few great thinkers of our time have made science the yardstick of civilization. For some, indeed, it has been a religion. But a more balanced view now tends to prevail: man is still the measure of all things; science is his servant. People are not to be corralled in droves and dealt with like cattle. Individuals cannot safely be labeled, certified as to capacity, and shoved around like cards in a file. The only assurance of social progress lies in a sincere respect for each individual human being.

Finally, civilization, in this period, seems to have entered upon a "universal phase." The student of history finds that nationalism, democracy, science, industry, wars, and movements for peace must be studied today as world-wide phenomena, for that is what they have become or are becoming. The greatest influence drawing men closer into "One World"—a smaller world, at least, than ever before—is the rapidity of modern communication. Man moves on the earth's surface with increasing speed; he flies with ever accelerating swiftness; he sends his voice around the globe concurrently with his thought. That we are entering upon a universal phase does not mean, however, that our problems are now going to be solved more easily or more quickly. What it does mean is that we are all in the same boat.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### *Science, Industry, and Democracy, 1870-1914*

DURING the nineteenth century, and particularly in the second half of it, there arose what may almost be called a cult of science. Thousands of investigators in all areas of the physical and biological sciences uncovered a vast multitude of new facts. Men of genius, applying their minds to scientific data new and old, propounded laws which have transformed thought in every field of knowledge. Outstanding also was the success with which science was utilized in practical affairs. Technological improvements raised the standard of living of Europeans, and of those who shared their civilization, to a point far beyond that of any other people in history. In the mind of the public, the theologian and the classicist were cast in the shade by the man of science.

#### Progress in Astronomy

It is impossible here to give more than the barest hint of the scientific achievements of this epoch, whether in the discovery of data, the announcement of new syntheses of knowledge, or the invention of fresh devices for the comfort and convenience of man. The progress in astronomy, queen of the sciences, has been summed up as follows: "If a man of Columbus' time may be compared with a microscopic organism whose universe was the leaf, he may be said to have glimpsed the tree in 1838, and in 1924 he discovered the forest." The leaf, of course, is the solar system; the tree, our galaxy, which most of us know as the Milky Way; the forest is the beyond. Astronomers were enabled to estimate the movements and velocities of stars and to study their chemical composition. In astronomical observation the eye of man was largely superseded by the photographic plate. The most brilliant achievement of the century in astronomy, however, was independent of the newer aids. A young Englishman named John C. Adams, only two years out of Cambridge, calculated the mass and orbit of an unknown planet by mathematical means. His discovery was subsequently confirmed observationally, and the planet bears the name of Neptune.

### Microbes as a Cause of Disease

In the field of biology brilliant studies revealed the importance of microscopic life. A young German country doctor named Robert Koch (1843-1910) was given a microscope by his wife on his birthday, and he began to study the blood of sheep which had died of anthrax, the scourge of the sheep and cattle of the neighborhood. Koch observed in a smear of blood tiny rodlike objects in threadlike arrangements. With a portion of this specimen of blood he inoculated a mouse, which promptly died of anthrax. Examining its blood, Koch again found a multitude of the tiny rods. Continuing with the study of human diseases, including tuberculosis, the German physician was able to announce that a certain kind of microbe always causes a certain kind of disease.

Working along similar lines was the French chemist Louis Pasteur (1822-1895), whose great-grandfather had been a serf. Pasteur's method of heating milk to prevent its fermentation still bears his name. Like Koch, Pasteur studied the microbes that cause disease, but unlike Koch, he turned his attention primarily to disease prevention. Having discovered micro-organisms in the intestines of the silkworm, he was able to attack successfully a blight which was ruining the silk industry of France. This one achievement more than offset, it has been said, the entire indemnity of the Franco-Prussian War. Best known of Pasteur's work was his success in combatting rabies. Having isolated the germ of this dreadful disease, he first diminished its virulence by "cultivation under detrimental conditions." He then administered the virus as a vaccine to prevent the onset of hydrophobia. So great and so immediate was Pasteur's fame as a result of this discovery that in far-off America funds were raised by popular subscription to send to Paris children who had been bitten by mad dogs.

### Scientific Syntheses

Revolutionary as the work of the experimental scientists was to be in the long run, contemporaries were more aware of the impact of certain great scientific generalizations which shook their conceptions of the world about them. Most important of these generalizations was undoubtedly the law concerning the conservation and dissipation of energy. The sum of nature's energies, it was affirmed, is constant. There can be neither creation nor annihilation. Useful energy, however, is continually diminishing, through disintegration, into nonuseful energy. This process is called entropy. A Cambridge don named Thompson, better known as Lord Kelvin, stated the law in the following terms: "Within a finite period of time past the earth must have been, and within a finite period of time to come

the earth must again be, unfit for the habitation of man." It seemed that the youthful mathematician—he was only twenty-four—had "thrown the world onto the scrap heap."

The most famous and disturbing scientific synthesis of the century, however, was the evolutionary hypothesis. Scientists had long been familiar with the fact that species change. The puzzling question was, why do they change? In 1798 a brilliant young English clergyman published a small volume entitled *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, in which he gave striking emphasis to the thesis that population tends to outstrip its food supply. Indeed, the Reverend Thomas Malthus propounded a law that people increase at a geometrical ratio while food increases at an arithmetical ratio only. We need not undertake here the comparatively easy task of discounting his theories. His own age gave them full acceptance. An important result was that they seem to have suggested to the youthful Charles Darwin (1809-1882) his own evolutionary hypothesis.

Why is it that some human beings survive while others do not? They survive, said Darwin, because they are the fittest to survive. They possess special qualities, probably transmitted through heredity. Generalizing this concept into a law of nature, Darwin stated that species change through the ages because of the survival of the fittest. As Darwin put it in his *Origin of Species*, published in 1859: "Life in its present diverse forms and aspects has all come from a common distant source in a natural evolutionary way." By a process of natural selection weaker forms of life, less suited to their environment, disappear, giving place to stronger, more adaptable forms. The horse, for example, was originally much smaller than at present, each foot being equipped with several toes. Nature has, however, secured the survival of a larger and stronger animal, much faster than his three-toed ancestors.

There could, of course, be no dodging the question of whether man himself was an evolution from earlier forms of life. Darwin gave this question a direct and affirmative answer in *The Descent of Man* (1871). Man's kinship with the lower animals is suggested by many things, Darwin thought. The human foetus in its earliest stages of development resembles a fish. The appendix, now useless in man, is a well-developed and important organ in the cow. The human ear has as many sets of muscles for its control as that of the horse or the ass. To be sure, these controls have become atrophied in man through disuse, and few of us now can twitch an ear.

### The Social Sciences Become Evolutionary

The impact of "Darwinism" on the mind of the nineteenth century was comparable in its magnitude to that of Newtonianism on the mind



of the eighteenth. In every field of knowledge a group of evolutionists began enthusiastically to organize basic concepts in an evolutionary pattern. The new school of thought in philosophy is known as scientific materialism. It held that man "in his totality" is derived "from the interaction of organism and environment through countless ages past." Man's actions are the result of "outward discharges" from his nervous centers, and these outward discharges are themselves the results of impressions from the outer world which have been conveyed to his nervous center by the sensory nerves. "The current of life which runs in at our eyes or ears is meant to run out at our hands or feet or lips." This thesis would seem to eliminate God; it even closes the door on the thought that man has a free mind and will. Human history, thus conceived, is but the record of "the reactions of biochemical entities to terrestrial stimuli."

### Realism

Such conceptions were like a dash of cold water, and a new age of realism began to displace the romantic age. Philosophers, men of letters, painters and sculptors all felt the impact of the new mood, some much more fully than others. Realism is concerned with the here and now; it emphasizes the scientific approach to human problems; its language is prose. Romanticism was more concerned with a utopian world, either of the past or the future, and its natural languages are poetry and music. The failure of the revolutions of 1848 also had a great deal to do with the passing of romanticism. "Not by speeches and majority votes," said Bismarck, "but by blood and iron"—realities indeed! After the tragic Franco-Prussian War the French writer Zola announced to his countrymen: "Only by applying the scientific formula will our sons regain Alsace-Lorraine."

Among men of letters the novel became a favorite literary form. With painstaking thoroughness and scientific detachment novelists depicted a "slice of life," sociological or psychological. Painters analyzed light, and spurred on perhaps by a new rival, photography, they endeavored to give an impression of a subject "as it appeared to the artist at a given moment of time." Impressionists, as such painters were called, were but the first of a long series of innovators in art who have continued sometimes to delight but often to amaze and mystify the laity down to the present. One of the most successful embodiments of the age of realism in art was "The Thinker," famous masterpiece of Auguste Rodin (1840-1917). The figure intimates man's animal inheritance; the pose suggests a mind churned by the stream of consciousness.

It was natural that an age of realism should be one in which economic thought flourished. Here the principal exponent of the new scientific

theory was Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). Spencer held that it was unwise to interfere through legislation with the natural elimination of the unfit. "People with any constitutional flaw preventing the due fulfillment of the condition of life are continually dying out, leaving behind those fit for the climate, food, and habits to which they were born." Spencer approved of "the beneficence which brings to early graves the children of diseased parents and seeks out the low spirited, the intemperate, and the debilitated as the victims of an epidemic." It is an interesting fact that this philosopher whose views sound so harsh and realistic was personally generous and humane. Furthermore, his own body was weak and frail. It was his view that the state exists solely to guarantee individual rights. First among these is the right of private property. Personal acquisitiveness, he said, is as instinctive as the desire for food—a thought well suited to a capitalist age.

### Impact of Darwin on Religion

The new concept of man was upsetting to religious-minded folk, and more especially to those for whom a verbally inspired Bible was the main stay of faith. Darwinism did not seem to square with the story of Creation set forth in Genesis. Furthermore, anthropologists, applying evolutionary ideas, suggested that many of the religious rites of Christians are the outgrowth of magical practices of early man, and that they bear a strong resemblance to the practices of our primitive contemporaries.

Biblical scholars shook the faith of many when they raised the question of the origin and authenticity of various books of the Bible. There can be no certainty, they said, that the Gospel of John was written by John; moreover, the other three gospels are by no means the independent accounts of eyewitnesses. The miracles of Jesus thus seemed to depend upon records whose historical value was open to question. Some of the "higher critics," as they were called, announced that they could no longer believe that Jesus rose from the dead. They could only conclude, they said, that "Jesus was not really dead, or that he did not really rise again." The most widely known of these Biblical scholars, perhaps, was Ernest Renan whose critical studies turned him aside from his purpose of entering the priesthood. His *Life of Jesus* appeared in 1863. To Renan, Jesus was no God; he was a man whose life came to an end with his death but whose gospel of love will live forever. The nobility of Jesus' life, the greatness and universality of his teachings, made such matters as miracles and the virgin birth, in Renan's view, inconsequential. Beautifully written, Renan's book gained a host of admirers.

The Roman Catholic Church was less disturbed by the findings of the physical and social scientists than were the Protestants. For one thing

the Catholic Church could act with deliberation and, for its own communicants at least, speak with finality. With the theory of evolution the Roman Church did not concern itself. The human soul was its care; Darwin could have the body. All the foremost Catholic theologians had recognized the allegorical character of the Book of Genesis, and Thomas Aquinas had made a famous reconciliation between natural law and supernatural religion in the middle ages. Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) undertook a revival of the study of Aquinas' works. Interestingly enough, Pope Leo also displayed a friendly attitude toward experimental science. Pasteur was a devout Catholic layman. Gregor Mendel (1822-1884), an Augustinian monk, carried forward experiments in heredity in a monastery garden and published his first results in a Catholic periodical.

The Protestant world was perturbed by "modernism" largely because the Bible occupied such a central place in its scheme of things. Furthermore, Protestants cherished and exercised the right of private judgment; they did not quietly wait for an official pronouncement from an acknowledged head. If a Protestant minister became so liberal in his thought and teaching as to be "read out" of his church, he could simply go over to another denomination as liberal as himself. Failing that, he could found a new sect.

### Modifications of Darwinism

"Pure Darwinism" held sway in the physical and social sciences for about a quarter of a century. Then came a measure of reaction. For one thing, biologists began to point out that the evolutionary process is not so simple as Darwin, or the nonscientific enthusiasts who read him, asserted. Instead of there being a fairly steady modification from the parent form, a species sometimes changed by leaps and bounds ("mutations"). Also, ancestral characteristics are inherited according to fixed ratios—this being the special observation of Mendel—and quite important changes from the parent form take place in the embryo. Such changes cannot be a result of environmental factors at all. A closer reading of Darwin himself revealed that he had never claimed the strongest to be the most fit. Indeed, he asserted that "the social instincts—the prime principle of man's moral constitution—with the aid of active intellectual powers and the effects of both naturally lead to the golden rule."

A new school of philosophers also arose to challenge the rule of scientific materialism. T. H. Green (1836-1882) from the cloistered seclusion of an Oxford college affirmed that man possessed a "free and eternal mind." The stream of consciousness, impressions from the external world which flow through the mind of man, are not knowledge. Knowledge is the work of mind. "There is an absolute difference between change and

the intellectual consciousness or knowledge of "change." Among other philosophers who sought to set bounds to the sweep of materialism was the American William James (1842-1910), who had had an excellent training in science. James denied that the mind is a "passive reactionless sheet of white paper." It may seem to be so when the objects that strike it are concrete and particular, but not when it reacts to the universe. Evidently our conclusion must be that no one formula can account for the whole of human personality.

### The Age of Steel

Advances in science were probably equaled by developments in industry. During the second half of the nineteenth century there was an enormous increase in the use of machines in the processes of manufacture. Technicians set for themselves the goal of reducing the use of human labor to an absolute minimum. Tools were invented which could fashion mechanically almost any article of manufacture from a toothbrush to a locomotive. Much progress was made also in the mechanizing of agriculture.

To withstand the harder usage and the greater speeds of the newer manufacturing methods, machines and machine tools had to be made of steel. Cast iron was too brittle, malleable iron too soft. Steel differs from iron in having a very low carbon content, generally less than 1 per cent. Its production had formerly been very expensive. In 1856, however, Sir Henry Bessemer invented a process for producing steel both quickly and at a low cost. In the blast furnace the excess of carbon is burnt out of the molten ore by intense combustion. Later on, improved methods were devised for the most careful control of the process. Nowadays, of course, the open-hearth method of steel making has become more important than the Bessemer process. To accentuate the valuable properties of steel, various alloys came to be employed: manganese for ductility, tungsten for hardness, and chromium for rust resistance. The age of iron was thus succeeded by an age of steel.

The per capita consumption of iron and steel within a given country affords a reliable index to the degree of the country's industrialization. On the eve of the First World War, Germany was the leader with 575 pounds per capita; Great Britain followed with 520; Belgium, with 419. France and Sweden were together, lower down, with 333.

### Coal, Petroleum, and Electricity

Coal continued to be the prime source of heat and power, and it became increasingly valuable also as its by-products came into fuller use.

Great Britain increased her coal output within the period from 80,000,000 to 300,000,000 metric tons per annum. Germany's increase was from 12,000,000 to 280,000,000 tons; that of France, from 8,000,000 to 40,000,000 tons. We may get some measure of Europe's attainment in the field of coal production if we compare the figure for the United States of America, which stood, in 1913, at 600,000,000 tons per annum. Great strides were taken also in the more complete harnessing of the heat and power which coal produces. The most successful method devised was that of transforming coal and coal dust into gas.

Some concern began to be felt over the eventual exhaustion of coal reserves. The most important substitute as a source of heat and power was petroleum, the first oil well for commercial use being drilled in 1859 (in Pennsylvania). The high importance of oil and its derivatives is now a commonplace. The world output, which in 1850 was zero, had risen by 1913 to 400,000,000 barrels a year. Unfortunately very little oil is found in Europe, which relies chiefly upon deposits in Mexico, Persia, and the Dutch East Indies. Electricity was at first confined almost wholly to lighting. Edison invented the incandescent bulb in 1879. In the same year, however, an electric engine was brought into use in Berlin, and thereafter the use of electric power in industry was rapidly increased. On the eve of the First World War by far the greatest producer of electric power was Germany, her output being no less than one third of the world's total.

This enormous increase in the use of power for the operation of machines meant, of course, that Europe was producing useful commodities on a scale never known before. The partial self-sufficiency of former times, when the typical household supplied its own clothing by the use of the spinning wheel and the hand loom and when it lived on its home-grown vegetables, pigs, and poultry, practically vanished. Most households no longer attempted to produce even a part of the goods they consumed. A measure of this revolution in the living habits of Europeans is the fact that while the population increased in the second half of the nineteenth century by 100 per cent, the exchange of goods increased by 2000 per cent.

### Railway Expansion

The increased exchange of goods made extraordinary demands upon the railways, and they proved equal to the occasion. The experimental stage in railway history was already past by the middle of the century. High speeds had now been attained. Europe had already passed through her first boom in railway building, and the economic crash of 1847-1848 was a result. Recovering from this setback, railway construction went forward in successive spurts, and the two thousand miles of 1840 became

two hundred thousand by 1910. Transportation of freight and passengers by road died away. Even canals, after their promising beginning in the earlier decades of the industrial revolution, were largely superseded.

The country which made the greatest use of railway lines was, as might be supposed, Great Britain. Even the Alps, however, highest of Europe's mountains, could not baffle for long the genius of the railway engineers. The Mont Cenis Tunnel was completed in 1862. The high degree of engineering skill displayed in its construction is evidenced by the fact that the two construction crews, starting eight miles apart on opposite sides of the mountain, were, when they met in the center of its mass, only one foot apart in elevation.

### Capitalism's Greatest Age

General use of machinery meant that it was no longer possible for the average worker to become an independent manufacturer. He simply could not accumulate during his lifetime funds adequate to purchase the expensive equipment required. More and more the tools of production were owned not by the men who used them but by capitalists. These men of wealth, singly or in groups, founded companies in which they invited the public to invest its savings. About 1850 the limited liability company was invented, and its use spread quickly through the various countries of Europe. The flow of capital to industrial enterprises was thus greatly increased, since investors could now place their wealth in the hands of captains of industry without undue risks, the financial liability of the investor being limited to the actual amount he invested. When cutthroat competition arose between companies engaged in the same industry, arrangements were often made to eliminate it by a combination of the various enterprises into a gigantic trust which could, and generally did, monopolize the industry concerned. Corporations thus became larger and larger. This was capitalism's greatest age.

### The New Imperialism

The overseas expansion of Europe which began in the sixteenth century never actually came to a stop. The hundred years following the triumph of Britain in 1763, however, was a period of relative inactivity, and such gains as were made, when not a matter of indifference, were a source of uneasiness to the people at home. About 1870 a new attitude toward colonization became manifest, resulting in a renewed scramble for overseas possessions which continued unchecked to the eve of the First World War. Some historians have called this phase of Europe's expansion the "New Imperialism."

Many factors contributed to the renewal of Europe's expansion. To a certain extent, population pressure was responsible. Between 1850 and 1914 Europe's population increased from 270,000,000 to 460,000,000. During the same period some 40,000,000 Europeans left their homes in search of better opportunities abroad. Important also was the fact that as Europe's capitalism expanded, ever larger supplies of raw materials were required. Cotton and rubber Europe did not produce at all, and she had little oil or coffee. A third factor was that in order to keep their plants functioning at capacity, industrialists were under continuous pressure to expand their markets. Fully one quarter of all England's manufactures, in 1900, was exported; for Germany the proportion was one fifth. But even more important was the need of new opportunities for the investment of accumulated capital. Once a high degree of industrialization was attained, profits declined. Europe's capitalists then sought more profitable areas of investment elsewhere. British investors began to pour their capital into overseas enterprises in substantial amounts about 1880. By 1914 the total of British investments abroad exceeded twenty billion dollars. The interest on this immense sum was five times as large as the profit on the whole of Britain's foreign trade.

Close analysis of the economic value in the new colonial system, however, reveals its weakness. In the first place, comparatively few of the Europeans who went abroad settled in territories belonging to their homeland. In the year 1907, for example, nearly a million Europeans found homes in the United States of America. Furthermore, as a source of raw materials, colonies are unimportant, producing today only 3 per cent of the world's supply. Germany, which had no colonies of importance, far outstripped the rest of Europe in the speed and magnitude of her industrial expansion. Nor are colonies necessary for foreign investment. One half of Britain's overseas investments are in lands where the British flag does not fly. Economists, in fact, are more and more of the opinion that, in the long run at any rate, colonies do not pay.

The factors of decisive importance in modern imperialism are psychological. After the defeat of France in 1870, Bismarck went out of his way to encourage the French leaders to pursue a policy of colonial expansion. In this way, as he expressed it, the French would find "satisfaction for their pride." Modern European peoples were inclined to develop a "power complex," to which their leaders catered on all possible occasions, and colonies became pawns in the political game. The extension of the suffrage and the increase of literacy brought the masses to the level of political consciousness. They developed a sort of "quantitative acquisitiveness," which delighted in the extension of the authority of their country over large areas of the earth's surface. When, for example, Gladstone

failed to support General Gordon in the Sudan, he was driven from office by a storm of popular resentment. The masses were also responsive to the cult of racialism. Darwinism, with its emphasis on the survival of the fittest, seemed to lend its support to the view that certain races of mankind are superior to others and that the final test of their superiority is war.

The literature of no Western nation is free from the concept of racial superiority. "The Anglo-Saxon race is infallibly destined to be the dominant force in the history and civilization of the world," said the British statesman, Joseph Chamberlain. "The German is a superior type of the *homo sapiens* from both the physical and mental point of view," said the German anthropologist Woltmann. The phrases "manifest destiny," "white man's burden," and "inferior races" were well worn. One of the most interesting illustrations of this cult appears in the following statement in an American party platform of the year 1900 with reference to the problem of the Philippines: "The mysterious hand of Providence has laid this burden on the Anglo-Saxon race."

Religion also played its part in encouraging imperialism. Convinced that Christianity was the predestined religion of all mankind, the Christian communities of Europe, Protestant and Catholic, sent out missionaries in increasing numbers to carry the Gospel to every people of the globe. It was inevitable, when the lives of any of these devoted men and women were lost or their work was destroyed, that public opinion in European countries should be roused. Intervention frequently followed, and in this way yet another colony would be acquired.

Finally, the New Imperialism owed much to the great contemporary improvements in transportation and communication. Railways could open up vast territories of which only the coastal areas had previously been accessible. Telegraphic communication preceded or paralleled railway construction. The introduction of the iron ship doubled the speed of ocean transportation for passengers and goods and halved the cost. There was no limit now to the possible size of a ship. The invention, in 1870, of a marine steam engine sufficiently economical in operation for use in ocean-going vessels was an event of decisive importance. Britain led the way in shipbuilding, in 1914, with 60 per cent of the world's total. Germany was in second place, far to the rear as yet but gaining rapidly on the leader.

The Suez Canal was opened to traffic in 1869, and some twenty million tons of shipping a year passed through this waterway when it had come into full use. The Kiel Canal, connecting the North Sea with the Baltic, was opened in 1895, its importance more strategic than commercial, however. At Panama the canal begun by the French in 1889 was finished at length by America in 1914. For us this canal is of the highest



importance strategically, but its commercial importance is also very great.

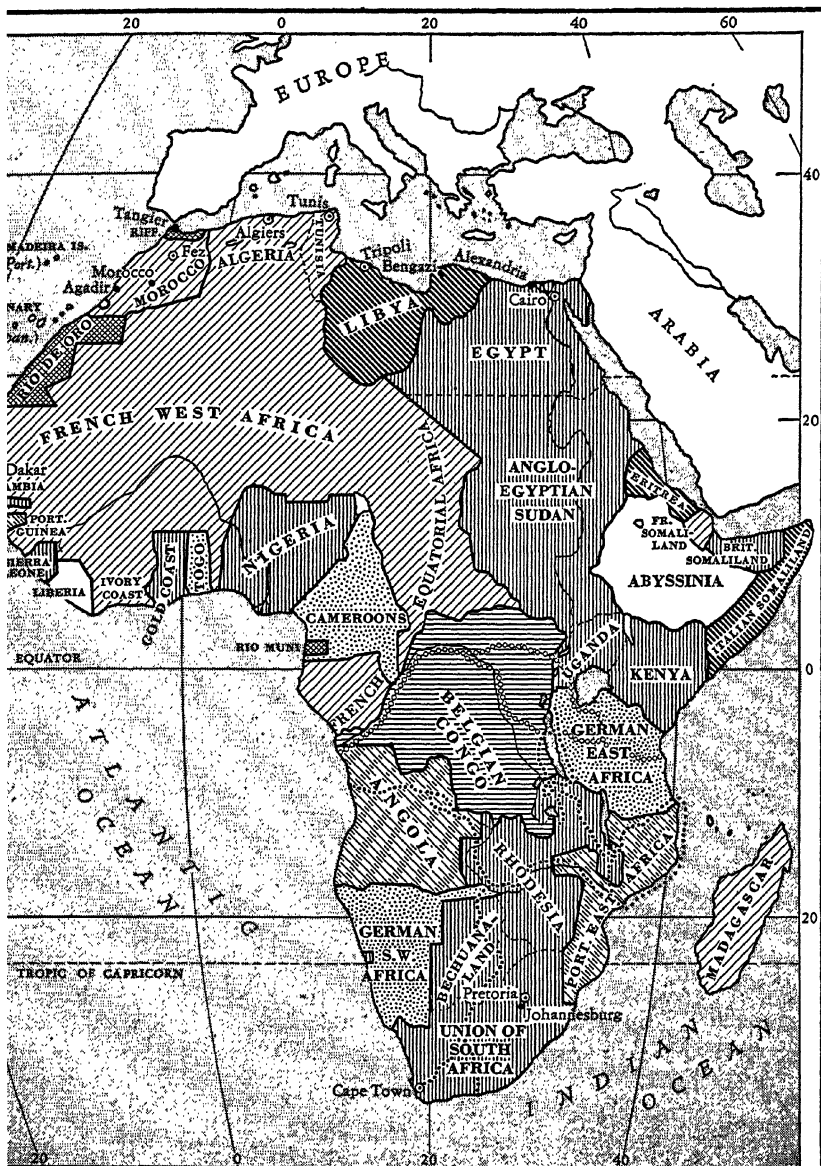
By 1914, what with the new imperialism and the old, ten of the countries of western Europe had come into possession of half the globe, an area seven times the size of Europe itself. Britain held the lion's share with one quarter of the earth's surface. France followed with one twelfth.

### The Partition of Africa

Perhaps the most striking accomplishment of the New Imperialism was the parceling out to half a dozen states of Europe of the vast continent of Africa. North Africa had long been known to Europeans; in fact, its peoples and its civilization may be said to belong to the European system. Some hundreds of miles of the east coast also was vaguely known to Europeans through their trading contacts with the Moslems. The west coast had been explored in the early modern times by the Portuguese, and on the southern tip of the continent the Dutch had established a colony for the convenience of their shipping. In the traffic in negro slaves which sprang up along the west coast most of the states of Europe had participated. In 1870, however, Africa was still for the most part a "Dark Continent," the largest land mass in the world still unknown to the white man.

The physical obstacles to the exploration of Africa were formidable. The Sahara is the world's most effective barrier to travel. Nor are Africa's rivers convenient highways. They empty into the sea through swampy deltas; their upper courses are blocked by rapids and waterfalls. Vast stretches of the interior of the continent are covered with tropical jungle. Wild animals were a menace to the explorer, and the hostility of the numerous tribes of natives was an even greater threat to his safety.

The opening up of the Dark Continent was brought about by a combination of imperialistic pressure, scientific curiosity, and the lure of adventure which it held out to explorers, the last stimulated by the interest of the reading public. Greatest of African explorers was David Livingstone (1813-1873), who first went to South Africa as a medical missionary but later resigned his mission post to devote himself the more fully to exploration. For thirty years Livingstone traveled in the interior of Africa from the equator southward to the Cape and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. He lived with the natives, eating their food, entering sympathetically into their lives, and being accepted by them as a "superior being," which in a very real sense he was. Public interest in his discoveries and observations, which he recorded with true scientific thoroughness, was intense—so much so that when the famous explorer, on one of his later expeditions, was not heard of for many months, the publisher of the



## PARTITION OF AFRICA

	British		Italian		German		Portuguese
	French		Belgian		Spanish		Independent

..... Route of Livingstone, 1849-1873

..... Route of Stanley, 1871, 1874-1877

*New York Herald* sent his "ace" reporter to find him. This he did, and Henry M. Stanley (1841-1904) became a worthy successor to Livingstone, winning fame in his own right by crossing Africa from a point on the east coast near Zanzibar to the mouth of the Congo.

Stanley's exploit (1877) brought him world renown. In particular, he attracted the attention of the young king of Belgium, Leopold II, whose knowledge of Africa was considerable and whose interest in scientific discovery was keen. Leopold summoned representatives of the leading powers to Brussels and there set on foot an organization for the "exploration and civilization" of Central Africa. Both Livingstone and Stanley had been deeply impressed by the horrors of the slave trade as practiced by Arab slave hunters. An important aspect of the civilizing work of King Leopold's organization was to be the suppression of this crime against humanity.

The humanitarian emphasis of the new enterprise was soon lost sight of, however. Stanley returned to the Congo as Leopold's agent only to find that the French had been before him and that they had established themselves on the north bank of the Congo River. Stanley prudently staked out a claim for his employer on the south bank. Getting wind of what was passing, England and Portugal entered into an agreement which awarded the mouth of the Congo to the latter. Other powers protested this action, and the result was the summoning of an international conference at Berlin in 1884. A large part of central and western Africa was here divided up, peacefully and to the mutual satisfaction of most of the participating powers. One of the principal beneficiaries was King Leopold, to whom was awarded the administration of a territory of 900,000 square miles known as the Congo Free State. This area proved to be rich in rubber trees, growing wild in the forests. The story of the tapping of this wealth and its speedy exhaustion, of the deterioration of the Belgian king's character, of the inhuman treatment of the natives, and of the anger of the civilized world when it heard the horrid tale constitutes a decidedly unpleasant chapter in the history of European imperialism. Early in the twentieth century the Belgian government bought out their king, and since that time the Belgian Congo has enjoyed an administration not appreciably different from that of other such areas of Africa in European hands.

The Berlin conference of 1884 established a pattern for the future partition of Africa. Any European state proposing to establish a protectorate in Africa was requested to notify the others. All were to work together to abolish the slave trade and introduce the people of Africa to the blessings of civilization. By 1914 the entire continent, two small areas excepted, had passed under the sovereignty of one or another of the powers

of Europe. France was the largest African power, with more than four million square miles; Great Britain had three million; Germany, Belgium, and Portugal, about one million each. Italy had 600,000 square miles; Spain, 75,000.

Superficially these acquisitions are impressive. As profit-making enterprises they are not so impressive. True, most of the world's diamonds come from Africa, half of the world's gold, and one third of the world's coffee. Africa is also an important source of wool. Her rubber forests are exhausted, however, and her cotton-producing possibilities are uncertain. Considerable coal is obtained, but very little oil. Most disappointing of all, the population of the continent is still sparse (150,000,000) and its purchasing power very low. Only about 5,000,000 Europeans, about sixteen-thousandths of Europe's population, have settled in Africa and there is no prospect of a large increase of white settlers.

Economically disappointing, Africa proved to be an increasing source of trouble politically. The early decades of expansion were fairly peaceful because there was plenty of room for everybody. But in the course of time severe clashes among the powers gravely imperiled the peace of Europe and the world. Important causes of both the First and Second World Wars are to be found in African problems.

In Africa, European expansion was easier than anywhere else. Asia was the home of ancient cultures, deeply rooted, which turned aside the thrusts of European imperialists in some measure, or at least necessitated the employment of new techniques. The story of European advances and of Asiatic reaction will be the subject of a separate chapter.

### Spread of Political Democracy

Industry and commerce were revolutionizing the European scene, and the changes which we have summarized were not without political accompaniments. By 1871 there was manhood suffrage in France, Germany, and Switzerland. During the half-century that followed, nearly every other country in western and central Europe was well on the way to that goal, and by the end of that time many countries had fully attained it. In this political revolution, one of the most momentous in the history of mankind, there was a minimum of revolutionary violence; for the most part successive extensions of the franchise were orderly results of legislation. When we reflect that European legislatures were controlled by autocratic and bourgeois elements, it seems remarkable that such groups gave the vote to the far more numerous working classes. Pressure was applied, however, by the organized workers, whose consciousness of class had been developed by associative action in trade unions and cooperatives.

Nor was it easy to refute their arguments. It had been in the name of the rights of the individual that the middle class had wrested a large measure of authority from the privileged aristocracy. To deny the validity of this great principle of liberalism now that its logical extension was demanded would have been highly embarrassing. Political maneuvering also played its part in the legislative grant of an extended suffrage, the aristocracy, in some countries, supporting the enfranchisement of the masses as an offset to the power of the bourgeoisie. In other countries Catholic groups favored it, hoping to hold in check a growing body of secular legislation. In Italy and Spain manhood suffrage was delayed because the governing classes were preoccupied with the problem of getting parliamentary institutions to function at all.

Not a few observers of the social scene were aghast at the prospect that political control might now pass to the masses. It was like "shooting Niagara." Inevitably, said the doubters, liberty will be sacrificed to equality and fraternity, and there will ensue a progressive deterioration of culture. Alexis de Tocqueville reported such a tendency in America in his *Democracy in America*, which was widely read by the intelligentsia of Europe. "When none but the wealthy had watches," he observed, "they were almost all very good ones. Few are now made which are worth much, but everybody has one in his pocket."

As a matter of fact, manhood suffrage, or its near equivalent, was not immediately followed by drastic changes of any character. For one thing, the "instinct of deference," traditional in the lower classes, remained strong, and the voters continued to select their political leaders from the aristocracy, whether of birth, wealth, or education. Also, the upper classes remained entrenched in the upper houses of legislatures, where longer terms and special modes of selection continued with little modification down to 1914.

### Extension of the Sphere of Government

With the increase of voters came a very great extension of the functions of government. The state, indeed, so multiplied its activities that it touched the lives of all its subjects at almost every point. The greatest development of state activity was in the field of education. "We must educate our masters," exclaimed a British statesman on the enactment of a bill enfranchising the workers. Up to this time there had been two prevalent concepts of education. One was that education is a function of the church, to equip the individual for life in this world as a free moral agent and for life in the world to come as a ransomed soul. This was in origin a medieval concept, but it was widely accepted in 1870 and has many adherents

today. Another view was that education is the concern of the parents who, if they have the means, may wish to equip their children for life on the social and economic level to which the family is accustomed. To meet this demand, select private schools were organized. A different conception of the purpose of education now appeared: education for all as a responsibility of the state, free and compulsory, with good citizenship as a principal objective. This is perhaps the greatest responsibility ever undertaken by the state, and its success has not been unqualified. Too much emphasis, probably, was at first placed on a reduction of the level of illiteracy. Down to 1914 the governments of Europe appeared to be in conscious rivalry with each other in their attempt to achieve this end. The result was a somewhat mutilated product. Without technical training, adolescents were thrust into the world to swell the ranks of unskilled labor; and without religious training, for the most part, they were left to meet the crises of life with souls half-starved.

Educational in its nature, to be sure, was the compulsory military training to which most European countries turned, or returned, in the sixties and seventies, following the example of Prussia. In Italy and Russia the army had more success than the schools in reducing illiteracy. In a wider sense, military service was educational in its contribution to national solidarity and, to some extent, in its fostering of the democratic spirit. It is to be doubted, however, whether these advantages offset the heightened spirit of militarism which was a direct result of long-continued conscription. An officer class, with a general staff at its head, was an invariable political and social adjunct of conscription. This class was ceaselessly engaged in drafting its plans and perfecting its skill, and was highly sensitive to all warlike provocations. Furthermore, the highest officers were nearly always drawn from an aristocracy of birth or wealth. Tradition was partly responsible for this, but so also was the fact that young men who worked for a living had little time for military service beyond what was required by the law of the land. England alone of the larger countries of Europe had no compulsory military training. English liberals were prone to attribute this to the love of liberty and freedom which had long characterized English life. Doubtless, however, the real reason was that England was able throughout the nineteenth century to rest securely behind "the shield wall of her navy."

Another example of the extension of the functions of the state may be seen in laws making civil marriage legal, or even compulsory, and divorce more easily obtainable. The care of the poor, also, became less and less a matter of private charity, more and more an aspect of public welfare. Most of the countries of western Europe made some provision by law to protect and sustain the lowest income groups in the major vicissitudes of

their lives; namely, unemployment, industrial accidents, illness, and old age. In Germany the activity and authority of the state were the greatest in Europe.

### Church and State

The increased activity of the state, with its accompanying secularization of culture, was a matter of deep concern to religious authorities. This was especially true in the Catholic countries of Europe. Separation of church and state had long been an ideal of the liberals. Now, it seemed, many of the functions of the church, especially in education, were to be appropriated by the state, and the church itself, perhaps, along with all other institutions, subordinated to the state. The order of the Jesuits had long been famous for its schools. When it protested the monopolizing tendencies of governments in the field of education it was expelled. Liberalism and nationalism were combining with the scientific temper of the age to produce in Europe a spirit of anti-clericalism, which expressed itself either in direct criticism of the Catholic church as the alleged upholder of political reaction and the opponent of scientific advance, or in indifference to the teachings and services of the church.

Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) was a zealous defender of the Roman Church against the inroads of anti-clericalism. In the encyclical *Quanta cura* and his *Syllabus of Errors* (1864) he denounced "freethinkers" and condemned the view that the authority of the state is supreme over all matters and all persons. At the Vatican Council of 1869-70, the first general council to be held since the Council of Trent, there was proclaimed the dogma of papal infallibility: when the pope speaks officially on a matter of faith or morals he is infallible. For the moment, at least, this pronouncement had the effect of adding fuel to the flames of anti-clericalism. The next pope, Leo XIII (1878-1903), was a man of calmer temper. Though he held fast to the fundamental traditions of the church and declined to retract its claims in the face of the rising tide of modernism, the contest was conducted with less acrimony. He did not refuse to negotiate with any government of Europe, however anti-clerical, and he encouraged, in various countries, the formation of political parties pledged to the support of Catholic viewpoints.

### Labor and Capital

With the spread of industrialism, and its intensification, the social and economic condition of the workers called ever more insistently for attention. The prevailing economic philosophy in 1870 was *laissez faire*, the system of free enterprise. Workers were commonly hired for the cheap-

est price, were worked to the limit of capacity, and were then cast aside like old and worthless tools. As a natural result, laborers were already forming unions the better to market their labor and otherwise protect themselves; but the right to strike was not generally acknowledged and collective bargaining was not accepted practice.

Down to 1900 industrial Europe was still in a phase of expansion, and the workers shared, to a certain degree, the prevalent prosperity. After that the upward trend of real wages was checked and a decline set in. Even at best, the workers' share of the wealth remained small. In Great Britain 5 per cent of the population owned 60 per cent of the wealth in 1913; in France, 2 per cent owned 25 per cent. The average family of workers lived in a congested area close to the factories in which the wage earner was employed. Quarters consisted of one or more bedrooms, in each of which from four to five persons must be accommodated, together with a kitchen which served also as dining and living room. Streets were narrow and dark, and the atmosphere was generally polluted by the smoke of the factories. The diet of the working classes consisted of bread, with either tea or coffee; and vegetables, generally cabbage, potatoes, or beans. Meat and eggs were luxuries; substitutes were usually used in place of butter. An English historian, writing in and of the "Gay Nineties," says, "It is very unpleasant to record that notwithstanding our assumed moral and material progress . . . we still have a vast array of persons quartered upon us unable to support themselves, and an army which in numbers has recently shown signs of increase rather than decrease."

First to protest the lot of the workers was a group of English humanitarians of whom Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin are the best known. They were appalled by the misery of the masses and they expressed their moral indignation in graphic language. These early critics of the social order, while they castigated the aristocrats and bourgeoisie, were by no means, however, believers in political democracy. Carlyle, in fact, seems to have believed in an enlightened despotism; his hero was Frederick the Great of Prussia. Another group of nonpolitical critics of the social order was supplied by the churches both Protestant and Catholic. In nearly every Protestant church there were at least a few leaders who preached a "social gospel." Most important single contribution of a religious nature was an encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum novarum*, published in 1891. The pope affirmed that labor and capital each have a Christian duty toward the other. Employers should treat workers as men, not as tools; hours and conditions of labor should be regulated if need be. Labor, on the other hand, must live up to its contracts and refrain from acts of violence. In a word, the way to solve the problems of labor and capital is to apply Christian principles.



In the world of practical politics, the impact of the problem of the workers led to the transformation of old parties and the founding of new ones. Conservative parties, in which the landed aristocracy was still strong, concluded that *laissez faire* benefited the bourgeois element of society exclusively and at the expense of the toiling masses. Their leaders, therefore, in the spirit of the paternalistic relationship of landlord and tenant, sought to restrain employers by acts of legislation. In Great Britain it was the Tory party which prohibited the labor of women and children in the mines. In 1871, under the leadership of Disraeli, an act was passed which gave to trade unions the full legal status which, with some amendments, they still enjoy. These salutary measures of state control, it should be noted, were limited to industrial workers. The relations between the rural masses and the landlords, whether of Great Britain or Ireland, were still unregulated.

### The New Liberalism

Liberal parties were also transformed, though toward the end of our period. The "New Liberalism" was based upon the thesis, which seemed to be self-evident by the end of the nineteenth century, that the liberty of the individual is not a gift of nature. The exploited masses were a sufficient refutation of a belief to the contrary. Liberty is a social achievement. The free individual is the goal, not the starting point of society. Government is not, therefore, a mere policeman, as early liberals had asserted; it is man's guardian and teacher—even, in times of economic recession, his employer. Leaders of the New Liberalism were in agreement that a very much greater activity of the state was called for, especially in the fields of business regulation and social security. Many old-fashioned liberals declined to tread in the new paths. They believed, they still believe, in the sovereign value of free enterprise with a minimum of state control, and as a political force European liberalism has been greatly weakened by this division among its adherents.

### Socialism; Karl Marx

Both conservative and liberal parties had a substantial measure of success, at least for a time, in capturing the votes of the newly enfranchised masses. More radical leaders were entering the field, however, and numbers of workers soon attached themselves to them. The new leaders held that the whole economic order and social structure of the times must be destroyed, then rebuilt. Such men were known as socialists. Under the impact of scientific thought, the earlier socialism of the utopian variety was giving way to the "scientific socialism" of Karl Marx and his followers.

Marx (1818-1883) was born in Prussia, the son of a Jewish lawyer who had left his ancestral faith and become a Christian. Karl received the best of education, progressing to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. His major fields of study were history and philosophy. Radical in his views, Marx made himself unwelcome first in his native country and then successively in France and Belgium. Settling in England and supporting himself precariously with his pen, he devoted the rest of his life to socialist propaganda. His system of thought, to which he gave expression in the *Communist Manifesto* (1847) and at much greater length in *Das Kapital*, was the fruit of a prolonged study of history, especially the history of the working classes.

One conclusion to which Marx's researches led him was that "the mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life." This is his famous economic interpretation of history, a viewpoint which has had great influence in nonsocialist circles, though its vogue has declined. The course of history is determined by many factors and their proportionate weight varies from age to age. A second thesis of Marx was that history is a record of the overthrow of one social class by another, of a continuing class struggle. Social evolution is the story of the survival of the fittest. Marx has been called by one of his early disciples "the Darwin of sociology." The last struggle will result in the triumph of the workers. Marx believed that this would come soon, and that the proletariat should then seize power by force.

Marx's third thesis was his doctrine of surplus value. Under the capitalist system, he affirmed, industrial enterprises tend to become larger and larger with ownership concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. As a consequence, all except capitalists are forced into the status of wage earners, whose lot in life becomes increasingly poor. This tendency is the more to be deplored since labor is the sole factor in production. Capital, which supplies the tools, is merely labor previously performed, or "saved." Marx asserted that the workers could produce enough to support themselves by working six hours a day. The balance of their time, therefore, was spent in the creation of "surplus value" for the sole benefit of their employers. "Workingmen of the world, unite!" he proclaimed, "You have nothing to lose but your chains." Unite they did, as we shall see, in large numbers and in all the industrial countries of Europe.

After the enfranchisement of the working classes a division appeared among the followers of Marx. Right wing socialists, or "collaborationists," maintained that the best way to bring into being the new social order in which all socialists believed was through the gradual and orderly processes of legislation. Professing to see some good in the social order of their day,

they determined to work with the more progressive leaders of the older parties and secure reforms one by one. The German Bernstein, the French Jaurès, and the British MacDonald were outstanding leaders of this school of thought.

### Communism; Lenin

Left wing socialists, also called communists, rejected all compromise and collaboration, and as "pure" Marxists maintained that the total destruction of the social and economic order of the day was a necessary preliminary to the realization of their aims. The greatest representative of this point of view, after Marx himself, was Nikolai Lenin (1870-1924). Indeed, Lenin made a contribution to socialist literature almost as great as that of Marx himself. He believed that the time for collaboration with bourgeois parties, if there had ever been a time, was past. The economy of Europe was no longer expanding; on the contrary, it had entered upon a phase of contraction. The proof was the fact that each bourgeois government under the guise of imperialism was endeavoring to grab quickly as much of the world's wealth as possible for the benefit of the narrow class which it represented. Further collaboration would be fatal to the welfare of the workers. For one thing, the world might soon be plunged into war through the clash of rival imperialisms, and the conscripted workers would be called upon to die in the defense of an already "dying capitalism." The workers must unite now in a communist party for the necessary destruction of the existing social order. And the party must be as disciplined as an army. "To belittle socialist ideology *in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree*, means strengthening bourgeois ideology." (*Italics his.*) Such a system would involve the setting up of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a preliminary form of government. The ultimate goal remained the same, the establishment of a classless society of which the principle would be, "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." Lenin's part in bringing about and heading the Russian revolution we shall consider in Chapter XL.

## CHAPTER XXX

### *The Second Reich*

#### Consolidation of the Reich

HAVING presided over the dramatic incidents of its birth, Bismarck had the privilege of directing the destinies of the German state for nearly twenty years. His concept of government was simplicity itself. It should have unlimited power for the promotion of the public welfare; it could tolerate no competitor within its boundaries. Bismarck would doubtless recognize the totalitarian viewpoint as closely akin to his own concept of the state, though he would have to acknowledge that in comparison with the methods of Hitler his own measures were halfhearted.

With much of the work of Bismarck as peacetime chancellor we can have no quarrel. The government which he had established was obliged to provide itself with certain instrumentalities without which a modern state cannot function, and to supply the German people with the facilities and amenities which the peoples of other states had long enjoyed. As illustrations of excellent reforms we may cite Germany's new postal system, prototype of the Universal Postal Union, a uniform standard of weights and measures, a consular service, an imperial bank, uniform coinage, and a criminal and civil code, the last a work of twenty-five years. None of these measures encountered any special opposition, though it is interesting to note that certain states of Germany, so strong was state's rights feeling, continued to maintain postal and consular services of their own.

#### Bismarck's Contest with the Church

In a further project of coordination, however, Bismarck encountered opposition that was both wide and deep. Approximately 37 per cent of the subjects of the new empire were of the Roman Catholic faith. An atmosphere of tenseness then pervaded the Roman Catholic world. The enunciation of the dogma of papal infallibility (July 18, 1870) was followed by a storm of criticism in which some Catholics joined. The feeling on the part of the Catholics who opposed the dogma was that it would kill national feeling among Catholic clergy. The loss of the temporal power of the papacy three months later accentuated emotions already aroused. During these same months Bismarckism was triumphing in Europe,

Lutheran Prussia defeating Catholic France as she had already defeated Catholic Austria. The advent to supreme power in Germany of a man of Bismarck's views could not but be disturbing, even alarming, to the Catholics. When Bismarck met his first Reichstag, he was annoyed to find that more than sixty delegates had organized a party for the defense of Catholic institutions.

The Iron Chancellor moved to the attack, and under his leadership laws were passed, some in Prussia and some in the Reich as a whole, forbidding religious orders to teach, making civil marriage compulsory, and providing that Roman Catholic priests must be educated in the public schools. The Jesuit order was expelled and the papacy forbidden to interfere in civil affairs. Steadfast in their faith, German Catholics, people and clergy alike, refused obedience to these laws. Attempting a rigorous enforcement, Bismarck broke up, for the time being at least, all the Catholic bishoprics of Prussia and imprisoned or exiled the bishops. At one time as many as four hundred parishes were without priests.

What made the opposition the more tenacious was the fact that most of the Roman Catholic regions of the new Germany were less than lukewarm to the Reich on other grounds. The Catholics of Alsace-Lorraine retained their sympathy for France. The Catholics of East and West Prussia were largely Polish, and their national sentiment, already strong, was becoming more intense. In an acute phase for five years, this *Kulturkampf* or "war of civilization," as it was called, lasted for thirteen years. It was ended, finally, by a one-sided compromise in which Bismarck withdrew nearly all of his religious measures, retaining the law of civil marriage and a statute providing for the supervision by the state of all schools whether public or parochial. Bismarck was glad to drop a policy which, as he finally realized, strengthened the loyalty of the Catholics to their church and increased its prestige. On the eve of the First World War the Catholic party held ninety seats in the Reichstag and had a voting strength throughout Germany of about a million and a half.

### Industrial Advance

From the thankless task of coercing Catholics Bismarck turned to a more congenial project, that of promoting German prosperity. What he did in this field was important, though he was hardly the miracle worker he is sometimes said to have been. Before 1870 the people of Germany, with little or no encouragement from their governments, had achieved an industrial output which was equaled, on the Continent, only by that of the French. The number of workers in Germany was somewhat less than in England, and the per capita productivity of German workers was

considerably less than the English because German industries were less fully mechanized. Germany was fortunate in her natural resources. Her share of the coal reserves of Europe was estimated at 56 per cent, more than twice the English figure, and her production of coal was double that of France. With the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, important deposits of iron ore were also made available to Germany, though a considerable segment of the iron basin was inadvertently left in French hands.

For three or four years following the Franco-Prussian War Germany experienced a steady industrial expansion. Twice as many companies were founded as in the previous twenty years. As someone wrote at the time, "Factory chimneys sprout like weeds in the soil of Germany." The payment by France of the whole of her billion-dollar indemnity contributed to the industrial boom. As was inevitable, however, plant expansion proceeded to the point of overproduction and the boom collapsed. The industrialists called to Bismarck for help. The landlords and farmers were also suffering—from the competition of the agricultural products of Hungary, Russia, and the United States. Accordingly, Bismarck held out a helping hand to both industry and agriculture in a moderate protective tariff. With some help from this measure, German industry made a slow recovery, building this time more solidly. By 1890 Germany was ready to astonish the world with both the volume and the quality of her products.

### Bismarck's Social Legislation

Bismarck also held out a helping hand, somewhat belatedly, to labor. The German working classes had already achieved considerable success both in organizing themselves and in formulating a program for their own betterment. Ferdinand Lassalle, of a wealthy Jewish family, had begun to organize associations of workingmen in 1863. He sought to interest them in a workers' party also. Meanwhile Wilhelm Liebknecht, friend and disciple of Marx, had been organizing the German workers into socialist groups. In 1875 the followers of these two leaders united to form the famous Social Democratic party, combining in their program the democratic objectives of Lassalle and the socialist principles of Marx. Two years later the new party mustered a dozen seats in the Reichstag, having polled half a million votes.

Bismarck was irritated by the appearance on the scene of another rival of the state, which claimed the right to promote the interests of one class of the German people. Incensed also by attempts upon the life of his friend and master, Kaiser William I, which he gratuitously laid at the door of the socialists, Bismarck attempted to break up the new movement,

silence its publications, and exile its leaders. For several years his repressive policy was continued, and the authorities credited themselves with a gratifying number of meetings suppressed, publications suspended, and leaders exiled.

Meanwhile Bismarck was preparing in the interests of the working classes a program of social legislation. As a landlord and aristocrat he was not afflicted with the *laissez faire* inhibitions of the industrialists. Furthermore, we may credit Bismarck with some, at least, of the paternalism which characterized the best of the landlord class. In any event, the protection of workers no less than that of capitalists was an aspect of the public welfare with which the state, in Bismarck's view, was bound to concern itself. The state had long conserved and developed the physical resources of the nation—forests, land, coal and iron, and water power; it should also conserve and develop the productive power of its human resources.

The first principle of this "higher conservation," as applied by Bismarck and his successors, was education. Germany's educational system became the standard of the world. Schools for all were made compulsory and free from the age of six to the age of fourteen. Included in the school program were physical examinations at stated intervals and physical training. Free breakfasts were provided when needed. For the boys and girls who entered employment at fourteen there were vocational continuation schools. Most of those who went on to high schools and universities took up scientific, technological, and commercial studies. In these fields also Germany led the way. The contribution of her educational system to her industrial development was very great. It was for this reason, in fact, that scholarship and scholars enjoyed a prestige in Germany unparalleled in any other country. As an Englishman put it, Germany was a "land of damned professors."

For the great mass of industrial workers in the lower income brackets a complete program of social insurance was prepared. The four great vicissitudes of life for industrial workers are accident, sickness, unemployment, and old age. The burden of accident insurance Bismarck placed wholly upon the employer. Sick benefits were to be paid from a fund to which both employer and employee contributed. Old age pensions were paid out of contributions by the state as well as those of employers and employees. Bismarck did not think it necessary to provide insurance against unemployment. German industry was expanding, and permanent unemployment was not as yet a problem. Provision, however, was made for giving work to those temporarily without it, and the setting up of a national association of employment agencies facilitated the placement of workers. Constantly revised and extended, Bismarck's preliminary labor laws gradually attained the dimensions of a code. The Workmen's In-

insurance Code of 1911 extended to two thousand articles and covered the whole field of social insurance. Under its protection had been gathered practically the whole of the German industrial population. It may well be that in any final estimate of Bismarck's work his social insurance program should take first place.

### Bismarck's Diplomatic System

The most congenial task to which Bismarck addressed himself after the dramatic episodes of unification was that of consolidating Germany's new place in European affairs. Germany, as Bismarck put it, was now "satiated with conquests." She had no longer any territorial objectives. Against her, however, was what he called the "heavy mortgage of French irreconcilability." Bismarck's diplomatic program was to establish such a network of alliances as would ensure German predominance in the affairs of Europe and leave France isolated. He set to work immediately, therefore, to cultivate the friendship of Russia and Austria. Those two powers, like Germany herself, were traditionally hostile to liberalism, and a common political ideology is undoubtedly an important basis for international friendship. Tsar Alexander II was a nephew of Kaiser William I; moreover, a firm friendship enforced the tie of blood. Preoccupied with the problems of the Near East and the Far East, Russia had not concerned herself about the advent of a new power in western Europe. As regards Austria, Bismarck sought in every way to conciliate Francis Joseph I. He encouraged him and his ministers, now that they could not have a German policy, to turn to Balkan expansion and the cultivation of their Slav subjects. Thus a "League of the Three Emperors" (*Dreikaiserbund*) was projected in 1875. It never got beyond the preliminary stage, however, and was seriously weakened by the clash of Russian and Austrian interests in the Balkans which was brought into the open at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Bismarck found it necessary, for the moment, to choose between Russia and Austria. He chose the latter, and in 1879 there was signed the famous treaty between Germany and Austria upon which so much depended during the tense days of crisis in July, 1914. The combination thus formed is known as the Dual Alliance.

Bismarck was most reluctant, however, to allow Russia to escape from his diplomatic system, and in 1881, after another clash between Austria and Russia in the Near East, an incident which Bismarck had helped to promote, the three governments signed a nonaggression pact, each agreeing to remain neutral if any one was attacked by a fourth power. In the following year Italy joined with Germany and Austria, transforming the Dual Alliance into the well-known Triple Alliance, which lasted down to



the First World War. It speaks volumes for Bismarck's diplomatic skill that he was able to persuade Italy to join with Austria in friendly alliance, for the house of Hapsburg had been the traditional foe of Italian unity, and France, whose isolation was thus made emphatic, had been Italy's traditional friend.

After the successful completion of the Triple Alliance, Bismarck embarked upon a policy of friendship with Great Britain. There were many ties between Germany and England in this period, and Germany had as yet neither colonies nor a navy to arouse British susceptibilities. The English royal family was closely related to the house of Hohenzollern as well as to several of the other royal families of Germany. Memories of a common partnership of English and Germans in the war with Napoleon were kept alive at annual banquets where English and Prussian officers convivially met and mingled. English students went to German universities to round out their academic training. Many a Victorian intellectual or man of letters found in Germany a "spiritual home." With this background the policy of *rapprochement* easily took root, and markedly friendly relations were maintained between the German and English governments, especially between 1886 and 1892. The French press of the period was sure that an alliance had been signed, but such was not the case. After Bismarck's retirement an alliance was unlikely. Meanwhile both Serbia and Rumania had been drawn into the German-Austrian orbit through fear of Russian aggression. In all Bismarck's long and brilliant career no other chapter can match, in sustained vigor and success, his twenty years' work of maintaining Germany's hegemony in the affairs of Europe.

### The New Kaiser

On March 9, 1888, Kaiser William I died and was succeeded by his son Frederick III. Fatally ill at his succession, the new kaiser lived but three months. He, in turn, was succeeded by his son, William II, aged twenty-nine. This young man had an active if not a powerful mind and had benefited by an excellent education. He could converse interestingly on any subject, was an excellent speaker, and had a definite personal charm. We may easily rate him as the ablest Hohenzollern since Frederick the Great. William II's principal weaknesses were a susceptibility to flattery unusual even in royalty, a nervous temperament which made consecutive work all but impossible, and a habit of unguarded speech, especially in public, which got him into repeated difficulties. He shared to the full the Hohenzollern conception of government by divine right. Upon his accession his first address was made to the army. "The soldier and the army," he said, "not parliamentary majorities, have welded the

German Empire together. My confidence is placed in the army." His address to the people came three days later. All through his reign he gave public utterance to such phrases as "The will of the king is the highest law" and "One shall be master, even I." Obviously there could not be two rulers of the state; Bismarck was shortly forced to resign (1890). The chancellors who succeeded Bismarck, though able enough, were not free to inaugurate policies of their own, and for the first fifteen years of his reign, at any rate, the new kaiser was really his own chancellor.

### German World Policy

Bismarck, as we have seen, was of the same school of thought in his ambition for Germany as Frederick the Great. To Bismarck, Germany was primarily a European power. During the reign of William II, however, and to some extent under his leadership, Germany became a world power with a world policy. "Nothing must go on anywhere in the world in which Germany does not play a part," said the new kaiser. A principal basis for the new policy was economic. During the quarter of a century between the accession of William II and the outbreak of the First World War German industrial expansion was stupendous. Her output of coal, already large, was multiplied by three; her output of steel, by thirteen. The value of her exports and imports increased by 300 per cent. Although Germany's railway mileage was only a little greater than that of France, her freightcar loadings were twice as large. The linking together of her canals and navigable rivers by rail gave Germany the best communication system in the world. It had been Bismarck's dream to have all railway lines owned and operated by the state, and by 1910 this had practically been achieved. Under these circumstances Germany quickly became a factor in world trade; before the end of the period her foreign trade was the second largest in the world.

Germany's phenomenal success in foreign markets was due partly to her low cost of production, which in turn stemmed from her greater industrial efficiency and from the acceptance by her wage earners of a comparatively low standard of living. Apparently something of the spirit and discipline of the German army had entered the marrow of the German people. Moreover, German manufacturers, characteristically, made a careful study of the foreign market and adapted their products to the tastes of the peoples to whom they were offered. Along with all this went the development of a highly trained sales force, the product of thorough education in technical subjects and foreign languages.

To carry her goods to the markets of the world, Germany built a merchant fleet. In 1870 she had literally no merchant ships, nothing but

the memory of German shipping in the period of the Hanseatic League. By 1900 Germany's merchant fleet was second—a poor second, to be sure—only to that of England. One of the German shipping lines was the largest in the world. German goods became known everywhere, and they were known as superior in quality as well as cheaper and more serviceable than any others. "Made in Germany" is doubtless the most famous slogan in the history of advertising.

Along with industrial expansion and business enterprise as factors in German world policy went an aggressive policy in diplomacy. The use of force was a Prussian tradition, and "power politics" was therefore a policy which the new leadership of Germany found it natural to employ. Proud of their great civilization and a bit intoxicated by success, perhaps, the kaiser and his social and military entourage developed what might be called a superiority complex. They were vigorously seconded by several German writers of the period, scientific and otherwise, who were preoccupied with the masterful qualities of the German race. These writers popularized the concept of a Nordic race, light-haired, blue-eyed and tall, the most vigorous, the boldest, and the most intelligent race in Europe. In its present form this race was to be found in Germany alone, but in most European countries it was present as an aristocracy of leadership. The best known of the propagators of this racial "myth" was Houston Stuart Chamberlain, an expatriate Englishman who wrote in German. His book, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, went through many editions. The kaiser had a special liking for it and industriously circulated it among his friends. The Nordic thesis also derived considerable support from the findings of Woltmann (see above, p. 495), who even claimed Caesar as an earlier specimen of this race, pointing out in him the "thoroughly Teutonic type of skull and face." Other savants claimed Dante, Shakespeare, Galileo, and Voltaire as Nordics. And the Vandals who once held Corsica, it was pointed out, had left a Nordic strain among the islanders, else how explain Napoleon? It is well known that some of the musical dramas of Richard Wagner (1813-1883), the *Ring of the Nibelung*, for example, are devoted to the glorification of the German race and the inculcation of pride in its past grandeur. Houston Chamberlain was a son-in-law of the great composer. Hitler's fondness for certain of the works of Wagner is well known.

Pride of race gave rise to the thought that all the Germans of Europe should be united under one flag. This was little more than a thought, however, and Pan-Germanism as an organized movement enlisted the support of very few Germans before the First World War. As a practical force German pride was, however, one factor in the world policy which was inaugurated by William II and his advisers.

### Germany Acquires Some Colonies

In 1871 the newly formed German Reich had not a single square mile of overseas territory, nor was Bismarck interested in colonies. As a landlord he was a member of a class traditionally provincial in its views. As a diplomat he was engaged in securing German hegemony on the Continent, and he found it easier to keep the friends he made by staying out of the colonial game. In 1874, for example, the native ruler of Zanzibar voluntarily offered Germany a protectorate, but Bismarck declined. Toward the end of his career, however, the Iron Chancellor began to entertain a different view. Though he might lack interest in colonial matters, a considerable portion of the German public was interested. Furthermore, German hegemony in Europe had been secured and Bismarck could look about more confidently. Responding to the views of German industrialists, he began to introduce in his speeches references to the economic value of colonies. In 1884 he publicly announced his conversion in a telegram which he sent to a German merchant who had made a settlement in southwest Africa. Thereafter in close consultation with the British, for whose colonial interests Bismarck was always solicitous, Germany acquired German Southwest Africa, German East Africa, and some islands in the Pacific Ocean. This period of friendly cooperation between the German and the British empires is sometimes called the "colonial honeymoon."

After Bismarck's retirement and under the leadership of the new kaiser German expansionists found every encouragement. Said Chancellor Hohenlohe, in 1894, "Support of our colonial possessions is a command of national honor and a manifestation of our national prestige." The Anglo-German honeymoon came to an abrupt end when the kaiser sent a telegram to President Kruger of the South African Republic congratulating him upon having maintained the independence of the Boers against the British Empire. In 1907 the establishment of a ministry for colonies marked an advanced stage in the development of the German overseas empire.

When one looks for specific results in the way of territorial acquisitions, however, there is not much to be seen. The truth is, of course, that most of the prizes had long ago been won by the older empires of England, France, Spain, Portugal, and the Dutch. Germany's most important acquisition was made in the Far East. Her colonial experts had long been interested in the Orient, and as early as 1897 had fixed upon Kiaochow in the Shantung peninsula as suitable for a naval base. In the following year two German missionaries were murdered by some Chinese of that region. Regarding this sad occurrence as a favorable opening, the kaiser

declared, "We must take advantage of this excellent opportunity before another great power either dismembers China or goes to her help. Now or never!" Such was the message dispatched to the commander of a German squadron in the Pacific. As a result China leased to Germany two hundred square miles on the shores of Kiaochow Bay. With the lease went valuable economic concessions in the hinterland. The outbreak of war between Spain and the United States offered a hope to the Germans that Spain's valuable Pacific empire might be thrown on the market. That this did not happen was partly due to American resentment at Germany's "busybody" tactics. A few Pacific islands, however, did pass to Germany by sale from Spain (the Caroline, Palau, and Mariana groups).

### The German Navy

Meanwhile Germany turned to the construction of a navy. In 1895, with her foreign trade already second in the world, Germany's navy ranked fifth, below that of Italy. The following year the kaiser named as his minister of marine a naval officer who was "probably the ablest naval man produced by any country in modern times," Alfred von Tirpitz. The new minister set himself to develop and organize a pro-naval sentiment in Germany. He established a vast propaganda society, which he stimulated by the activities of a corps of lecturers and by the publication of an attractive and well-edited periodical. This Naval League, together with the lecturers and the journal, *Die Flotte*, was heavily financed by the steel interests of Germany. The kaiser obligingly backed his energetic minister with bombastic speeches and took upon himself the resounding title of Admiral of the Atlantic. From a first appropriation of 65,000,000 marks the naval budget rose to a total of 420,000,000 marks on the eve of the First World War, when the German navy ranked second to that of England.

### Germany in the Near East

With Africa largely parceled out, with Asia an arena of jealous and powerful rivals, and with the entire western hemisphere closed to the German flag by the Monroe Doctrine, German imperialists had great difficulty in finding a project commensurate with their dreams. There was such a project, however. Its locale was the region of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, which in ancient times had been one of the most productive areas in the world but for long centuries had lain fallow under the unenterprising rule of the Turks. German interest in this area grew slowly but became exceedingly strong.

As early as 1889 the kaiser had visited the Holy Land. On an occasion

of ceremony Germany's brilliant young ruler exclaimed, "Tell the three hundred million Mohammedans of the world that I am their friend." The greatest Mohammedan power of the world, that is, the state under whose flag the greatest number of Moslems dwelt, was Great Britain. Germany's Mohammedan policy had therefore a definite anti-British tinge from the start. A German field marshal was sent to Constantinople to reorganize the Turkish army. German industrialists and bankers were despatched to the Near East to study the economic possibilities. In 1903 there was launched in Berlin a political and financial project known as the Berlin-Byzantium-Bagdad Railway. A railway line, of course, already ran from Constantinople to Berlin, and linked the various Balkan capitals with Vienna. The idea behind the new project seems to have been, first, that with Germany's backing Austria should extend and complete her dominance of the Balkan peninsula, then that the two countries would, in a friendly way, influence the political policies and exploit the economic resources of the Turkish Empire in the Near and Middle East. A railway, to be built eastward from Constantinople, would promote this economic development. With various branches tapping subsidiary areas of the region, this would be extended through Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf. Upon the completion of the line, the products of Germany's vast industrial machine could be shipped by fast freight direct to the very door of India, thus rendering the British route through the Mediterranean and Suez obsolete. In the actual construction of the new railway, progress was slow, and on the eve of the First World War the German engineers were still struggling with the difficulties presented by the mountainous interior of Asia Minor.

How small a result Germany had achieved in the colonial field is shown by the following figures. The total white population of all the German dependencies in 1913 was less than 25,000. The total tonnage outward bound from Germany's colonies amounted to but one half of 1 per cent of Germany's total imports. Colonial purchases from Germany amounted to less than 1 per cent of her total exports. The fisheries of Germany, in terms of men and ships employed, were three times as important as her entire colonial trade.

### Authoritarian Germany

On the eve of the First World War, Germany was the most efficient wealth-producing country in Europe. In a contest for power her opposition would be deadly. In such a contest, moreover, Germany would not be found on the side of the democracies. To be sure, Germans possessed universal manhood suffrage in the elections to the Reichstag, but there

was no true responsibility of ministers to the Reichstag and the three-class voting system in Germany's largest state was the very antithesis of political democracy even in a formal sense. Moreover, the German concept of the state was in striking contrast to that of the western democracies. "The state is power, unlimited power for the benefit of the people," said Bismarck. That had been the Prussian tradition before his time; it became the German tradition thereafter. Germans looked to the authorities for the care of their health, the education of their children, the choice of a vocation, and security in their old age. In Germany, as nowhere else in Europe, the state had become all-embracing. Bismarck's state socialism was the benevolent despotism of Frederick the Great in a modernized form; nor was the later National Socialism of Hitler's regime so very different. It was natural and inevitable that German citizens should develop an increasing deference to authority and respect for it. They have never beheaded a king nor immortalized a Hampden. They have had no Boston Tea Party. The nature of the German state, authoritarian and essentially undemocratic, was apparent to thoughtful students long before 1914. Lord Acton, famous British historian, wrote in 1895, that it was "the greatest menace to be encountered by the Anglo-Saxon race."

### Liberalism and Socialism in Germany

And yet Germany was not wholly conservative and authoritarian. Conservative parties, dominated by the Prussian landed magnates and the big industrialists, directed the affairs of state, it is true. By far the largest party, however, if popular support is the criterion, was that of the Social Democrats. Though their ultimate goal was a Marxian society and state, their immediate practical program consisted of the following political planks: universal suffrage; a responsible ministry; the initiative and referendum; local self-government; freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly; the control of foreign policy by the Reichstag; the substitution of arbitration for war; the substitution of a militia for the army; the disestablishment of the church; and freedom of trade. The attainment of all or most of these objectives would have liberalized Germany and transformed her into a great peace-loving democracy. The five years of German history immediately preceding the First World War suggest that such a transformation, had not war intervened, was a practical possibility.

The political prestige of the kaiser was severely damaged, in 1908, by the publication in a London daily of excerpts from his many speeches on Anglo-German relations. Feeling was not good at the time, and the kaiser had hoped to pour oil on the troubled waters. He merely added fuel to the fire, and a demand arose in Germany for the exclusion of the bungling

kaiser from all direction of public policy. Though the tempest subsided, the kaiser's part in public life thereafter was never a decisive one. In 1909 he appointed a new chancellor, a man of a new type. This was Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, who continued at the helm of the German state until after the commencement of the war. A splendid product of the German educational system, Bethmann-Hollweg had made government service his career, and the chancellorship was a fitting reward for years of diligent and successful administration of a series of offices. To a scholarly temperament Bethmann-Hollweg added a moderate sympathy with liberal ideas. The scandal of the Prussian franchise drew his interest. In a current election, under the three-class system of voting, the conservatives, with only 16 per cent of the votes, returned 212 members to the Diet, while the Social Democrats with 23 per cent of the votes won only 7 seats! A bill for the amending of the electoral law was drafted by the chancellor, though parliamentary difficulties delayed its enactment until after the war had begun. The new chancellor also took up the cause of the people of Alsace-Lorraine, who had long complained of the arbitrary nature of German rule. They were now supplied with a legislature of their own, with a few—according to them, too few—powers of legislation. Turning to social legislation, Bethmann-Hollweg drafted in 1911 the Workmen's Insurance Code, whose importance we have already noted.

What the chancellor feared, and this sentiment was shared by all conservatives, was an increase in the political strength of the socialists. That this fear was well founded was revealed by the Reichstag election of 1912. The fruit of years of political propaganda and organization was the winning by the Social Democrats of 110 seats, as contrasted with 43 in the previous Reichstag. More than 4,250,000 socialist votes were cast in this election, or 35 per cent of the total. In some alarm German conservatives, Junkers, militarists, and big industrialists, sought to counteract the drift toward socialism by making a din of war talk. Germany was in danger, they asserted. Patriotic anniversaries were seized upon as occasions of elaborate and dramatic celebration. The kaiser went so far as to send formal congratulations to his army for its victory over little Denmark in 1864!

Unfortunately for the Social Democrats and their hopes for a truly self-governing Germany, the international situation was indeed one of crisis, for Balkan wars were keeping all Europe in a highly nervous state. The socialists stuck to their guns nonetheless. Their leader, Karl Liebknecht, exposed to the Reichstag the scandal of corrupt relations between the government and the Krupp armament works. He accused the Krupps of the deliberate fomenting of war scares and alleged that they were members of an international ring of cannon makers which carried on



militarist propaganda in many countries to increase their sales. With some difficulty the chancellor sidetracked an investigation by carefully packing the Reichstag committee which was charged with it.

The Zabern affair, in the winter of 1913-1914, had important political significance. In the town of Zabern, Alsace, a young army officer and aristocrat severely injured a crippled shoemaker who had made some unflattering remarks. Blazing publicity was followed by widespread indignation against the officer—a significant fact in our estimate of this period of German history—and a court-martial sentenced the young man to a year in jail. On appeal, however, a higher military court suspended the sentence on the ground that the officer had acted in "self-defense." Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg's explanation and justification of the Zabern affair was ill received by the Reichstag, which, by a vote of 293 to 54, passed a resolution condemning the chancellor's explanation as inadequate. This was practically a vote of "no confidence," a thing almost unique in the history of the Reichstag. Bismarck had never contemplated, nor had he ever experienced, anything like it. In a truly parliamentary government such a vote would have been followed by the resignation of the cabinet or an appeal to the voters. The German chancellor, however, was able to make his peace with the conservative groups, and with the help of the Catholic party he patched up a majority. Is it too much to believe that on the eve of World War I parliamentary government in Germany was just around the corner?

## CHAPTER XXXI

### *France, 1870 to 1914*

#### The Commune of Paris

THE HUMILIATING Franco-Prussian War was followed by a chapter of history all too common in France. After the "blinding flash of catastrophe" came the "diseases of defeat." Paris refused to recognize the authority of the new government led by the aged Thiers. A majority of the politically minded Parisians had been republican for a decade or more. They despised the peace policy of the Assembly. They took offense at its decision to sit at Versailles rather than in Paris. They were further angered by the Assembly's action dissolving the National Guard, of which every able-bodied Parisian was a member on a small salary. The Assembly's decision to discontinue the wartime moratorium on rents and interest payments aroused widespread resistance among the working classes. Professional revolutionaries made the most of these matters and set up a self-governing organization for Paris called "The Commune," inviting all other French municipalities to do the same. Most of the leaders of the Paris Commune were radical republicans of the school of Robespierre and Lamartine, and there was a small minority of socialists. The over-all objective of these "communists" was to democratize France by drastically decentralizing its government. Of course the socialists among them hoped that this would make easier their project of socializing France. French unity would be preserved through a loose confederation of its many communes.

The challenge to its authority the National Assembly met with energy and promptness. Troops were assembled and the city of Paris was subjected to a siege, its second within a year, this time by French soldiers with the German army passively looking on. The fratricidal war was waged with bitterness. Captured troops, on both sides, were shot in cold blood. The Seine ran red between "two walls of flame." When the national troops penetrated to the heart of the city, they set fire to the Hôtel de Ville, one of the great monuments of Gothic art in Europe, and burned it to the ground, six hundred defenders perishing in the flames. With the second fall of Paris there came to an end the "terrible year" (July, 1870—July, 1871), a year which had cost France half a million dead, besides the million six hundred thousand inhabitants lost with Alsace-Lorraine.

## Founding of the Third Republic

With Paris subdued, the National Assembly was free to turn its attention more completely to its other problems. Under Thiers' leadership France paid her indemnity. A huge loan was floated on a wave of patriotic devotion, and in only a little more than half the time allowed by the treaty German troops were withdrawn from French soil. To placate if not entirely satisfy those who, like the "communists" of Paris, had called for local self-government, Thiers arranged for some relaxing of the rigid control at the center which Napoleon I had instituted. The voters were to elect councils in each of the eighty-nine departments of France, and also in the more than thirty thousand communes into which the departments were divided. For the time being the functions of the new councils were to be advisory.

Meanwhile a much greater question remained: What was to be the character of the national government? Since the great Revolution Frenchmen had been divided into two groups: one conservative, Catholic, orderly, aristocratic, authoritarian; the other progressive, anti-clerical, democratic, "with a hope in man equal to its faith in God." To put it more briefly, conservatives believed in the monarchy, the army, and the church; progressives, in liberty, equality, fraternity. The first group was strong in the provinces and among the peasantry; the second was more urban and industrial. However, many peasants, as well as some aristocrats, were republicans. The principle of division was more temperamental than it was economic or social. Stendhal (Henri Beyle, 1783-1842) wrote a novel entitled *The Red and the Black*, in which he expatiated upon this fundamental cleavage in French political life, a characteristic that has lasted down to the present.

It should not surprise us to learn that a majority of the members of the National Assembly of 1871 were desirous of re-establishing monarchy. Under the shock of defeat the majority of the voters, apparently, were in favor of an authoritarian regime, and in France such regimes were traditionally monarchical. There was a technical difficulty in the setting up of monarchy, however, for there were three claimants to the throne—the count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X; the count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe; and Prince Napoleon, son of Napoleon III. Of the three candidates the first two were admittedly the strongest. Their claims were irreconcilable, however, and unluckily neither one greatly exceeded the other in the number of his supporters in the National Assembly. Statesman that he was, Thiers soon came to the conclusion that monarchy, however desirable, was at the moment impossible, and he so declared. "The republic," he said, "is the form of government which

divides us least." This was in 1873. His declaration was promptly followed by his fall.

Thiers' successor was MacMahon, a general in the Franco-Prussian War whose military reputation, surprisingly enough, had remained high. MacMahon's chief recommendation to the monarchist majority which named him "president" was that he could be relied upon to hold the fort for monarchy. The deadlock between the rival Bourbons continuing, the monarchists decided to organize a government which, though republican in form, could be transformed into a monarchy at a moment's notice should the deadlock be broken. The term of the president was fixed at seven years, and the constitution, providing for a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, was drafted to last out his term. At the end of MacMahon's term, if not sooner, the two houses were to meet in joint session to decide what the next step should be.

One of the monarchist members of the Assembly suggested that this simple set-up should be so amended as to provide a method of electing a president in succession to MacMahon. M. Wallon's proposal was that the Senate and Chamber in joint session be empowered to elect a president. This amendment seemed to many monarchists to be "defeatist" in character, but it passed by the narrowest of margins, 353 to 352. As we know, the transition to monarchy was never made, and M. Wallon is sometimes called "the father of the Third Republic." This government proved to be the longest lived by far of the eleven regimes which France had had since the Revolution of 1789. As a recent writer has said, it was "not based upon logical schemes or attractive political theories but upon expediency, upon compromise, upon a wise acceptance of facts, which made an extreme or doctrinaire attitude impractical."

### Constitution of the Third Republic

The constitution of the Third Republic was the English parliamentary system adapted to republican forms. Like the English king, the French president was a figurehead. His great powers, executive and legislative, were exercised in his name by ministers not really chosen by him and responsible wholly to the legislature. Sir Henry Maine has said, "The king of England reigns but does not govern; the president of the United States governs but does not reign; the president of France neither governs nor reigns." But this dictum is too sweeping. The Frenchmen who drew up the constitution of 1875 were at pains to surround the office of president with such trappings of royalty and endow it with such "functions of majesty" as would be fit for the king to whom they looked forward. The presidents of France lived in a palace, not a White House, and the cir-

cumstances of their life were far from being characterized by democratic simplicity.

The Chamber of Deputies was chosen by manhood suffrage. There could be no going back upon this principle. There were about ten million qualified voters in 1875; that is, ten million men of twenty-one or over who had resided at least six months in a given commune. Approximately one third of the voters could neither read nor write. A substantial majority of the voters were peasants, and inclined to conservative views. The monarchist framers of the constitution conceived of the Senate as a body which would set "dikes and barriers" in the way of any possible tendency toward radicalism in the Chamber, whether then or later. Of the 300 members of the Senate 75 were appointed by the National Assembly for life. Elective members were to be chosen indirectly by electoral colleges set up in each of the departments. The term of senators was fixed at nine years. The Senate's authority in legislation was the same as that of the Chamber. However radical the Chamber of Deputies might be from time to time, it was thought that the Senate might be depended upon to be steadily conservative.

### The Republic Republicanized

The political history of the Third Republic, after its formal establishment in 1875, was marked by a decided trend from the conservative and monarchical to the progressive and republican. As the shock of defeat subsided, one French institution after another was first besieged and then taken over by the republicans. In the very first election of the Chamber a majority of the constituencies returned republicans. When the monarchist president, MacMahon, selected a ministry as monarchist as himself, the Chamber refused to cooperate in the government. Taking advantage of a constitutional provision, the president with the consent of the Senate dissolved the Chamber. The voters elected a Chamber with a republican majority larger than before, and President MacMahon resigned. It may be remarked that no other president ever made use of the constitutional provision for dissolution of the chamber, a fact that goes far to account for the marked instability of French cabinets ever since. As successor to MacMahon the victorious republicans selected, not Gambetta, colorful, young, and fiery, but a man of a very different type, a type destined to become familiar in the presidential office. The new president was Jules Grévy, aged seventy-two, "grey, impersonal, frock-coated, and whiskered," a man of undoubted distinction but chosen chiefly because he had not been too much involved in the political conflicts of the recent past.

With the Chamber and the presidency in their hands the republicans gained possession of the Senate also at the next election, and the provision for life membership was repealed. Meanwhile the seat of government was transferred from Versailles to Paris, and July 14, Bastille Day, was again made a national holiday. The monarchists who drew up the Constitution of 1875 had made no provision for a Bill of Rights, and this omission the republicans now proceeded to make good, guaranteeing freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right of public meeting. A free compulsory public educational system was inaugurated. In setting up their educational program the republican majorities in Senate and Chamber revealed a marked anti-clerical bias. Further grants of assistance to schools maintained by religious orders were refused; institutions of higher learning controlled by the Church were denied the right to call themselves universities or to grant degrees; and the order of the Jesuits was expelled from France.

### Boulangism Threatens the Republic

These early successes of the republicans soon received a check, however. Ministries had followed each other in too swift succession, revealing a disappointing lack of political stability in the republic. Budgets had failed to balance. The office of president passed under a cloud when Grévy was compelled to resign as the result of a scandal which concerned a member of his family, though it did not touch the president himself. A younger generation came to the front in France, some of whose members were exclusively concerned with securing revenge on Germany, a matter in which older republican leaders had shown little interest. Poincaré, later premier and president, said that in his youth, and he was born in 1860, he could discover no reason "why his generation should go on living except for the hope of regaining the lost provinces." In the late eighties thousands of young chauvinists formed a "League of Patriots" which became a formidable pressure group. The chauvinists who attacked the republic for its weakness were joined by those who questioned its financial stability or its honesty and by others who feared its anti-clerical bias. These elements had little in common except a desire for strong government, for the setting up of an authoritarian regime.

A man was at hand, a "strong man" upon whom these diverse groups of Frenchmen could unite. He was General Boulanger, young, handsome, with a reputation for courage. Resigning from the army, Boulanger became a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in one constituency after another. Financed by a wealthy duchess—Boulanger was a great favorite with the ladies—he held nightly court in his favorite Paris restaurant, faultlessly dressed, with two big black pearls in his shirt and a red carna-

tion in his lapel. In January, 1888, he was elected to the Chamber from one of the constituencies of Paris notwithstanding a determined effort by the republican ministry to defeat him. On the evening of election day, with all Paris wild over the news of his victory, the young general could doubtless have upset the government had he chosen to put his fortune to the touch. Eschewing all violent means, however, and emphasizing the parliamentary character of his movement, Boulanger let the moment pass. Moving quickly, the ministry preferred charges of treason against him, meanwhile frightening his mistress into flight. Boulanger then fled himself, "like an absconding cashier," and two years later committed suicide.

The collapse of Boulangism weakened the conservatives. The count of Chambord had died meanwhile, and since he left no direct heirs, his rival of the Orleanist family became sole legitimist claimant to the French throne. Unfortunately for him, however, the legitimist party refused to acknowledge his claim. The untimely death of the prince imperial, heir of Napoleon III, in 1879, had extinguished the hopes of the Bonapartists.

### The Dreyfus Case

Antipathies of monarchists, clericals, and army men, on one hand, and progressives, anticlerical and republican, on the other, were further sharpened by the celebrated Dreyfus case. France suffered in the nineties from an outbreak of anti-Semitism. Monarchists and clericals spoke of a Jewish-republican conspiracy against France. Their attitude was given some point by the involvement of a number of Jewish bankers in a financial scandal connected with the Panama Canal project (1894). Ferdinand de Lesseps, famous builder of the Suez Canal, embarked, at the age of seventy-four, upon the digging of another canal at Panama. Not being an engineer by profession, he clung to his plan for a sea-level cut long after experts had advised him that locks were necessary. Enormous sums were sunk in the project; and in order to keep it alive, further sums were distributed among the legislators and newspapers of France. The scandal was uncovered finally, and De Lesseps, then eighty-eight, was sentenced to five years in jail.

Later in the same year the anti-Semites were confirmed in their prejudices by the arrest and trial of Captain Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew attached to the French General Staff. Dreyfus was charged with having sold French military secrets to the Germans. For more than a decade the Dreyfus case divided Frenchmen into two hostile camps, those who believed in a revolutionary Jewish conspiracy and those who believed in a reactionary royalist and clerical conspiracy. In particular, the honor and



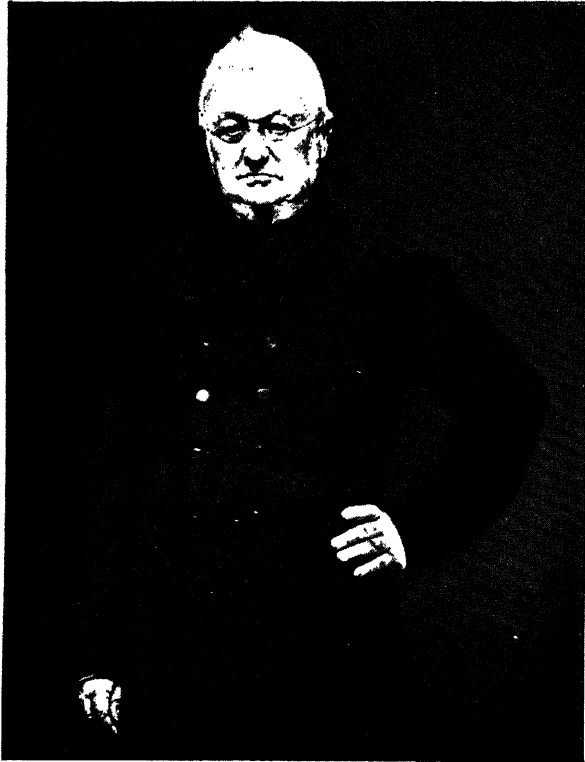
NAPOLÉON III AND BISMARCK (*p. 458*)

At Biarritz in 1865 the French Emperor agreed to remain neutral in the forthcoming war between Prussia and Austria. (*Keystone View*)



THE COMMUNE, PARIS, 1871 (*p. 521*)





LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS (1797-1877)

French statesman, liberal monarchist and, later, conservative republican, he played a leading role in two revolutions and survived a third (pp. 521-523).



PARIS DURING THE SIEGE, 1870-1871 (p. 467)

During the terrible winter of 1870-71, Parisians struggled against starvation on daily rations of a meager portion of bread and two ounces of horse meat.

prestige of the army were deeply involved, and for many Frenchmen the army was France. There is no evidence of the existence of a conspiracy, and the conviction of Dreyfus, originally at least, seems to have been the result of an honest mistake on the part of the military court. Luckily for him, the family of Dreyfus was wealthy and influential, and after some years of imprisonment on Devil's Island, Dreyfus was brought back to France and finally, in 1906, completely vindicated by the Supreme (Civil) Court. An immediate consequence of this vindication was the complete reorganization of the army. The higher officers, mostly royalist, were displaced and republicans were substituted for them. Thus had the republicans made a conquest of still another great French institution.

### Separation of Church and State

The republicans also turned their guns on the church, for many of the French clergy had taken the anti-Dreyfus side. The religious orders especially were objects of republican hostility. They maintained schools to which the French nobles, the army officers, and the upper middle class sent their children, there to be imbued, it was alleged, with anti-republican sentiments. They maintained newspapers and periodicals which openly attacked the republic and were notoriously active in promoting the candidacy of anti-republican senators and deputies. By the Law of Associations, in 1901, all the religious orders of France were obliged to apply to the government for authorization. No religious order was permitted to exist unless authorized, and under the terms of the law the state reserved the right to suppress any order at any time. Out of 753 religious orders in France at the time less than half complied with the provisions of the law.

So far the anti-clericals had made only a beginning. In 1902 there came to the premiership of France "a little old man of seventy, pugnacious, and devilishly vindictive, animated by a violent and ferocious hatred of the Catholic party." Premier Combes had once been a priest but now hated the religion he had left. It was his view that "clericalism is to be found at the bottom of every agitation and every intrigue from which republican France has suffered during the last thirty-five years." Combes proposed completely to separate church and state. During the Revolution the entire property of the Catholic Church in France had passed to the state, as we have seen. Napoleon I, while not in any way disturbing this arrangement, had come to an agreement with the papacy by which Catholics were allowed free use of the cathedrals and parish churches of France. French bishops were appointed by the pope, French priests by the bishops. All clerical salaries were paid by the government. This

arrangement, the Concordat of 1801, had survived all the changing regimes in France, and it was this which Combes proposed to bring to an end. Accordingly, the Concordat was abrogated. This meant that the Catholic Church was placed in the same position with reference to the state in France as it had long occupied in England and America. The support of Catholic priests and bishops, as well as other expenses of the church, was to be borne by the faithful. Ownership of cathedrals and churches was still vested in the state, but their use was to be regulated by contracts between the priests and representatives of the government and it was to be free.

Meanwhile the work of secularizing education, begun in the earlier years of the republic, was carried to completion in the Secular Education Act of 1904. After ten years there was to be no teaching by religious orders. With a complete monopoly of education by the state it was hoped that the youth of France might be nurtured exclusively on republican principles. There can be no doubt that the drive against the church, the work of the more radical republicans, had been carried farther than the majority of Frenchmen wished. During the years immediately preceding the First World War there was considerable evidence that a more moderate policy was imminent, but its advent was postponed by the outbreak of hostilities. Evidently, in 1914, it was too early to say that republicanism had ceased to be the "dogma of a party" and had become "the creed of the nation."

### French Industry

France had once been the leading industrial nation of western Europe. Toward the close of the eighteenth century she was surpassed by England. A century later Germany had forged ahead, leaving France in third place. Not that France did not participate in the industrial development of the nineteenth century; it was simply that her development, as compared with that of England and Germany, was slower.

In the first place, the economy of France was different from that of her rivals. Since the time of Louis XIV French manufacturers had specialized in quality products. They made the finest porcelains, the finest gloves, the finest wines and silks. As industrial wealth increased in Great Britain and Germany, the demand for the luxury products of France increased also. Thus French industrial prosperity depended, in high degree, upon the prosperity of her neighbors. As between industry and agriculture, France presented an economy that was much better balanced than was common among the larger states of western Europe. Indeed, even today French agriculture is still slightly more important than French industry.

For the slower industrial expansion of France after the Franco-Prussian War the loss of iron ore to Germany in the cession of Alsace-Lorraine was partly responsible. It is said that it took the French iron industry twenty years to recover from this setback. Furthermore, French coal, though sufficient in quantity and of the proper quality for smelting iron under modern conditions, lies at a considerable distance from her iron deposits, being on the Belgian frontier.

Still another factor which slowed down French industrial expansion is the fact that in the eighties French population growth came to a standstill and subsequently began to recede. Many factors were responsible, among them the inheritance law of the Code Napoléon which required a father to leave a certain proportion of his property to each of his children. The ideal peasant family was one son to inherit the land and one daughter to marry the only son of a neighboring farmer. Cheap labor became scarce, and the French were obliged to depend more and more upon immigration from Belgium and Italy. Although there was a small increase in the population of France during the half-century preceding the First World War, about 25 per cent of the increase was attributable to immigration. Everywhere else in Europe during this period the flow of migration was outward.

Finally, French industrialists showed themselves to be particularly slow to adopt progressive methods with a view to speeding up production. On the eve of the war four fifths of the industrial establishments of France employed fewer than five workers each.

### French Agriculture

French agriculture presents a somewhat more pleasing picture. For one thing, France not only sustained her own population but was also for a considerable time a wheat-exporting country. Again, France alone among the larger countries of western Europe had a large class of peasant proprietors. There were between five and six million of these owner-farmers, though the farms on the average were small, 99 per cent of them being of less than one hundred acres. What is not so widely known is that there are still plenty of large estates in France, well over one third of the arable land being so held and rented out in small plots to farmers for cash or a share of the crop.

In common with the rest of western Europe France adopted protective tariffs, about 1890, of an uncommonly high level, the taxes on agricultural products averaging 25 per cent, those on articles of manufacture, 15 per cent. Only the United States and Russia had higher tariff schedules than France.

### Trade Unionism and Socialism

The French working classes were first endowed with the right to organize in 1884, but they quickly made up for lost time. In 1895 was founded the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (C.G.T.), or "One Big Union." The total membership of the confederation in 1914 was about 600,000, which is estimated to be somewhat less than half the total number of industrial workers in France. No doubt the persistence of a large percentage of small industrial establishments kept the number of trade unionists down. What it lacked in size, however, the C.G.T. more than made up in activity. Its official policy was radical, and there was much resort to "direct action." Perhaps the most famous instance was the general strike of the railroad men in 1910. This action, which threatened a complete stoppage of the transportation system of France and a resulting paralysis of her economic life, was broken at the last moment by Premier Briand, who adopted the simple device of summoning all railway workers to military service. Faced with the prospect of court-martial, the workers obeyed the government and the strike was broken.

The socialistic character of French trade unionism is reflected in the growth of socialist parties. Corresponding to the one big union of the workers was the Unified Socialist party (1905). Its most conspicuous leader before the war was Jean Jaurès, a brilliantly gifted man, a persuasive orator, and a skilled parliamentarian. Jaurès' preference was for legislative rather than revolutionary methods. He might have been France's first socialist premier, had he not been struck down by an assassin just as the great war, which he opposed, was about to begin (July, 1914). The group of socialist members of which Jaurès was the leader constituted one of the largest blocs in the Chamber of Deputies. Under his influence much social legislation had been enacted, including a provision for old age pensions. In general, however, social security was less advanced in France than in Germany or Great Britain.

### Alliance with Russia

French foreign policy after the Franco-Prussian War was one of self-effacement. A period of recovery was necessary. The monarchists who ruled France in those days were frankly pessimistic about the future. About 1880, however, they were displaced by republican leaders who sought to rehabilitate France, partly through colonial expansion. Luckily Jules Ferry and the republican leaders who supported him could count on the friendly neutrality of Bismarck, who would have been glad to see

the French absorbed in colonial enterprises rather than chafing at Germany's hegemony of Europe.

France had won and lost one empire, as we know. Toward the securing of another, at present the largest but one in the world, a good deal had been done already, partly by Louis Philippe and partly by Napoleon III. French holdings in Algeria, Cochinchina, and Cambodia, together with smaller parcels of territory in India, America, Africa, and the islands of the Pacific, aggregated 375,000 square miles. Between 1878 and 1898 this area was doubled. New acquisitions were Annam and Tonkin, taken from China; Laos, from Siam; the province of Tunisia; and the island of Madagascar. Madagascar alone was larger than the whole of France. Naturally, France did not make these gains without treading on anyone's toes. Italy shared with France the supervision of the finances of the Moslem ruler of Tunis, for a time, and there were more Italian than French colonists in Tunisia. Furthermore, Tunis includes the part of the coast of northern Africa which lies closest to Sicily. Small wonder that Italians felt seriously aggrieved when France in 1881 proclaimed her protectorate over Tunisia without consulting them. Unfortunately, they were in no position to do anything about it. The far more serious clash with Britain over the Sudan will be examined in a later chapter.

In 1891 France signed a treaty of alliance with Russia. This made a decided rent in the network of alliances and friendships built up by Bismarck, and it occurred, significantly, the year after his fall. From the standpoint of "checkerboard diplomacy," France and Russia are natural allies, each having a frontier exposed to the menace of Germany. There had been much, however, to hold the future allies apart. French republicans sympathized with the persecuted Poles, and Paris had long been a haven for Russian revolutionaries. Making the most of the lack of sympathy between French democracy and Russian autocracy, Bismarck had maneuvered to keep the two countries apart. This was not difficult, since Russian leaders respected Bismarck and were confident that he would never agree to a war on Russia. The Russians were not so sure of the new kaiser, however, and they observed with interest that he did not offer to renew the treaty with Russia which Bismarck had signed. On the announcement that the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy had been renewed, the tsar in August, 1891, invited the French fleet to visit Kronstadt. An alliance was shortly arranged, mutually defensive, to be supplemented by a military convention. Russia agreed to support France if the latter was attacked by Germany, or by Italy and Germany; France agreed to support Russia if Russia was attacked by Germany, or by Austria-Hungary and Germany.

### Entente with England

France had thus acquired a friend and could look about more confidently. To recover complete freedom of action, however, and to restore the balance of power in Europe, France had need of another powerful ally. Her only possible choice was Britain. Unfortunately French imperial expansion had brought on repeated clashes with the British Empire. To make matters worse, the other power with which the British Empire was in most frequent collision was Russia. The inclusion of Great Britain with Russia and France in a Triple Entente, a result achieved by 1907, amounts to a diplomatic revolution. First came an understanding, the "Entente Cordiale," between France and England in 1904.<sup>1</sup> Having examined the areas of mutual conflict throughout the world, French and British statesmen compromised rival claims and arranged a truce between the two empires. In case of pressure from a third party the two powers agreed, also, to give each other diplomatic support. Beyond this British statesmen would not go. Three years later the British and Russian governments arrived at a similar truce and understanding. Thus was Europe organized, diplomatically at least, into two armed camps of not unequal strength.

## CHAPTER XXXII

### *Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1867-1914*

#### Italians Unused to Parliamentary Government

"WE HAVE united Italy. It remains for us to unite the Italians," was the remark of one of Italy's statesmen shortly after Italian troops had taken Rome in the autumn of 1870. Italian unification had been something of a *tour de force*. It was accomplished with surprising rapidity; and under the new state the inhabitants of the peninsula were bound in a closer union than most thoughtful observers had considered either possible or desirable. A federal state would seem to have been the type of government best suited to Italian conditions. It would appeal to nationalist patriots who looked beyond the confines of their own state, and it might also please, or not too greatly distress, the much larger number whose loyalty to the particular city-state of their ancestors was their strongest patriotism. Instead, a highly centralized government was the form assumed by the new kingdom of Italy. Local government was copied from the local government of France, which had developed through the centuries an unusual degree of homogeneity and which, if it suited the French, might almost *ipso facto* have been recognized as unsuited to the Italians. The central institutions, still more unfortunately, were fashioned upon the English model. Not one of the dozen or more states of the peninsula, if we except Piedmont after 1848, had had any experience with self-governing institutions, and the English system, even after centuries of trial, worked but passably well in England. It is not surprising that the Italian people failed to realize the value of free institutions. They had come too easily and in a form not adapted to Italian conditions. Survival of localism and the effects of inexperience in self-government were painfully apparent when the honeymoon period of unification was over.

#### Attitude of the Papacy

During the first thirty years of the new kingdom's history struggle and ill success were evident in every realm of Italian life. The attitude of the pope was a heavy handicap. The papacy never accepted or recognized



its defeat and refused to treat with the government or recognize it in any way. The government proceeded to draw up a unilateral treaty, known as the Law of the Papal Guarantees, which recognized in certain areas in Rome and in certain properties elsewhere full papal sovereignty. An income of 3,250,000 lire, about \$620,000, was to be paid to the papal government by the Italian government in lieu of revenues lost to the papacy when the bulk of its property was seized by Italy. This treaty the papacy never ratified, however, nor was the proffered income accepted. To successive popes the king of Italy was still the king of Piedmont, and the city of Rome, while it remained in "enemy" hands, was too dangerous a territory for them to enter. The Catholic kings of Europe could visit the king of Italy in Rome only at the cost of censure by the Holy Father. Furthermore, the pope called upon the Catholics of Italy to refuse to cooperate with the new government in any way, and especially in voting for members of the Chamber of Deputies and in holding office. Issued at first as an exhortation (*Non expedit*), the request became a prohibition (*Non licet*) in 1885. Inasmuch as 97.1 per cent of all Italians are Catholics, it would appear that if anything like a general response had been made to papal exhortation or command, the political functioning of the Italian government would have ceased.

The political status of the pope was of course a matter of grave concern to the other Catholic powers of Europe. Fully realizing this fact, the Italian authorities had originally proposed that the whole matter of the papal status be settled by international agreement, and it was only after receiving no response to its suggestion that they had enacted the Law of the Papal Guarantees. Most of the Catholic powers looked upon the schism between papacy and kingdom with equanimity, although they had some fears lest the papacy become "a chaplaincy of the house of Savoy." In the opinion of Bismarck, Italy had given the pope too much freedom. During the German leader's quarrel with the Vatican he himself longed to use forceful methods, including perhaps the sending of a warship to the port nearest Rome. This, of course, would have involved Germany in a war with Italy, which Bismarck did not want.

### Illiteracy and the Franchise

Added to the burden of papal hostility was the handicap of illiteracy. Throughout Italy the percentage of illiteracy in 1871 was about 70. In the south it was 90. Italian leaders did not make the mistake of immediate and wholesale enfranchisement of the illiterate multitude. Various restrictions of age, property, and education gave the vote, in 1871, to but 600,000 in a population of 25,000,000. Soon a law was passed

making elementary instruction compulsory for children between six and nine. This had some effect, but owing to the fact that the enforcement of the law was placed in the hands of local authorities, the effect was not uniform. By 1882 a lowering of suffrage qualifications was deemed advisable, and the list of voters was extended to two million. Finally in 1912 the right to vote was extended to practically all adult males, though probably half of them were still illiterate.

### Italian Monarchs

On the whole, the house of Savoy was popular. Victor Emmanuel II had a regal manner and a soldierly bearing, and at the same time he was hearty and approachable. Humbert I, who succeeded his father in 1878, sought in every way to identify himself with the fortunes of his people. When cholera afflicted certain areas of Italy, he displayed considerable hardihood in visiting the victims. It is perhaps significant that Humbert won for himself the contemporary title of "the Good." In the end he was the undeserving victim of an assassin. The new king, Victor Emmanuel III, who succeeded his father (1900), made a favorable impression by the tenor of his first proclamation, dedicating himself "to the guardianship of liberty and the defense of the monarchy, both alike indissolubly united to the highest interests of the country."

### Unhealthy State of Italian Politics

Down to 1900 there were two principal divisions among politically minded Italians, the Right and the Left. The men of the Right were the spiritual heirs of Cavour and Gioberti. They approached problems in a spirit of realism and sobriety. National budgets must be balanced however heavy the taxes; government spending must be strictly confined. Posts of leadership should be restricted to men of education and social position. The men of the Left were less careful in their judgments. Their manners and their virtues were of a democratic sort. On the whole, the Left outnumbered the Right in the three decades between the completion of unification and the end of the century.

Former republicans were responsible for a good deal of the strength displayed by the Left. Republicanism had been fairly strong in the Italian peninsula before unification, but nearly all of its adherents had now become reconciled to monarchy. They had resolved, as one republican said, to "accept monarchy which has united us and renounce the republic which would divide us." Although Garibaldi himself never formally announced his conversion to the monarchical side, he was treated

with great respect by the new government. Politically he was ignored and treated as a survival.

Chief among the younger Leftist leaders were Agostino Depretis and Francesco Crispi. Both of these men had been disciples of Mazzini and associates of Garibaldi. Both were genuinely anxious to give unity to the Italian kingdom. Their encouragement of railroad building and codification of the law was directed to this end. Both men favored the extension, gradual to be sure, of the right to vote. Both gave support to the principle of popular education, though their budgets made all too little provision for it. Both strove with at least moderate success to keep the national budget in balance.

It should be noted that Depretis and Crispi were exceedingly skillful politicians, really quasi-dictators using popular institutions as a mask. Depretis originated the political policy of "transformism," that is, "buying the votes of this or that parliamentary group by luring its leaders into the government." Crispi, on the other hand, when asked to state his political views replied, "I am Crispi." Nowhere else in Europe were elections so corrupt. Bribery was universal and in the open, votes being sold for as little as a dime. Local officials, under orders from "higher up," would purge the voting list on election eve of thousands of names. A certain professor of literature found himself denied the right to vote on the ground that he was illiterate. To supplement such devices, organized gangs of hoodlums, such as the Camorra and the Mafia, were sometimes resorted to in a final effort to control elections. Instead of saying, "I have a majority, make me prime minister," a political leader in Italy would say, "Make me prime minister, I'll get a majority." Once the premiership was attained, a leader could usually disarm opponents by giving them offices. Successive cabinets were merely "shifting combinations of minor leaders with their personal followings." There was no such thing as responsible government. Centuries of despotic rule had engendered in the Italian people habits of thought and behavior too deep-seated to perish with despotism itself.

### Economic Life

The economic life of the nation was only a little more fortunate than its political life. With 25,000,000 inhabitants in 1871, Italy was already overpopulated in proportion to its natural resources. By 1910 the population had risen to 41,000,000. While a somewhat fuller and more effective use was being made of natural resources, migration from the peninsula had been heavy during the entire period. A high point was reached in 1906 when 750,000 Italians left their native land to supply the market for unskilled labor in the cities of northern Europe and the United States

of America. The larger number of these emigrants had no intention of settling permanently in foreign parts; most of them left their families behind. The gross migration from Italy, it is estimated, was 16,000,000, but the net loss resulting was only 6,000,000.

Agriculture and industry were under severe handicaps. Much of the soil of Italy is not suitable for cultivation, being either arid upland or swampy lowland. Owing to the wasteful cutting of her forests, Italy had suffered for centuries from soil erosion. Another evil inheritance from her unenlightened despots was the swarm of sharecroppers whose labor made easy the life of an idle aristocracy. Coal and iron, the twin essentials of industrial life, were lacking.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that Italy had an unfavorable balance of trade. The national deficit could be made good only by profits from the tourist industry and remittances from the Italian workers abroad. The tax burden of the nation was of course heavy. Unbalanced budgets, almost routine, made Italy's debt by 1914 the fourth largest in Europe and three and one half times that of the United States. During the First World War, it might be added, Italy's debt was multiplied by seven.

In spite of everything, successive ministries struggled manfully with Italy's economic problems, and with some success. Importing both coal and iron, Italy founded steel mills which at the close of the period employed a hundred thousand workers. Her silk mills produced half of the silk thread of the world. Great areas of swamp land were transformed into prosperous farms. Finally, the one great natural resource of the country, water power, was utilized in hydro-electric plants which gave to Italy in this field of development first place in Europe.

The new economic developments were mostly in the north. The less favored south even suffered a decline. From this region and from Sicily came most of the emigrants who sought work and perhaps homes in other lands. Naples, once the economic and cultural capital of the south as well as its political center, sank to the status of a second-class city. Lesser cities of the south lost such large percentages of their populations through emigration as to be reduced to mere towns.

### Objectives of Foreign Policy

In foreign policy Italian leaders seem to have set before themselves three objectives. These were, first, the completion of national unity by bringing under the Italian flag Italians who were still under foreign flags; second, a more effective provision for national security, especially in the region of the Adriatic; third, an imperial expansion commensurate with Italy's importance as a European power.

Some hundreds of thousands of Italians were still living under the Austrian flag; Nice, Savoy, and Corsica were in French hands. To rectify the Austrian frontier was a project especially dear to Italian hearts. Seizing an opportunity at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Italy formally laid claim to the Trentino. The claim, however, was denied, and Crispi, returning empty-handed, declared that he had been "slapped and despised."

The region of the Adriatic is of fundamental importance to Italy. The mountains come down to the sea so closely along her eastern coast that at some points the railway connecting southern Italy with the north is exposed to the guns of hostile ships of war. Some of Italy's important industrial areas are vulnerable for the same reason. Furthermore, along this whole length of coast there is not a single good harbor. Ports of Roman times, like Ravenna and Rimini, have been silted up and today are miles inland. On the opposite shore of the Adriatic, on the other hand, are numerous harbors with great natural advantages; Cattaro is a textbook example of the perfect naval base. Here is also a sheltering fringe of islands. For security's sake, therefore, it was desirable that Italy should be able to close the Adriatic to foreign battle fleets.

From an economic point of view, control of the Adriatic was almost equally important. The land that lies behind the eastern shore is rich in the fundamentals of economic life which Italy lacks: oil, minerals, timber, and fertile soil. The peoples inhabiting the region lacked capital and industrial leadership, both of which Italy could supply. It is not surprising, therefore, that economic penetration of the Balkans became a fundamental policy of the Italian government. It was a policy, however, that bore little fruit, for Austria-Hungary was already well established in the Balkans, and she further enlarged her holdings at the very congress at which Crispi had been "slapped," establishing at that time a protectorate over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

With her Balkan policy largely thwarted Italy turned to Africa as a field of expansion. She first looked to Tunisia. Some thousands of Italians were already settled in this Moslem land when, in 1881, Italy, in partnership with France, intervened to protect financial interests. Unfortunately for Italy, partnership did not satisfy French aspirations, and before the end of the year, as we have seen, the French announced a protectorate. Thrust thus out of Tunisia, Italy turned to east Africa. Here her merchants had already established themselves at Assab and at Massawa on the Red Sea coast of Abyssinia. In 1890 Italy organized her possessions in this area into the province of Eritrea, a name which recalled memories of the Roman Empire. About the same time Italy gained a foothold on Ethiopia's southwest frontier by peaceful agreement with the Sultans of Somali and of Zanzibar, the whole area acquired going under the name of Italian

Somaliland. These strips of coast, arid and hot, were worthless without hinterland. The next step, accordingly, was the economic penetration of Ethiopia. Italy aided a local chieftain named Menelik to usurp the imperial throne of Ethiopia and subsequently signed a treaty of friendship with him. This treaty seemed to secure for Italy a protectorate over Ethiopia, though this was later denied by King Menelik.

Great Britain looked upon Italian plans with benevolent neutrality, but the attitude of France, at this time, was hostile. France was thinking of extending her line of communications eastward from the Atlantic through central Africa to the Red Sea. Deciding to support Menelik against Italy, France was granted the privilege of constructing a railway through Ethiopia from Jibuti on the Red Sea westward to the Nile. Thus encouraged, Menelik adopted a policy of active resistance to Italian penetration. Resolving to press her claims, Italy marched a well-equipped force from Eritrea into the heart of Abyssinia. It met with disaster. In the battle of Adawa (1896) 4600 officers and men, including two Italian generals, were killed and 1500 were captured. Italy sued for peace, recognized the independence of Ethiopia and agreed to pay an indemnity of two million dollars. Never before had a native African state defeated a European power. The political repercussion of this reverse was considerable. Premier Crispi resigned and retired to the obscurity of private life, pursued by the hatred of the people and the censure of Parliament. It is a little surprising, indeed, that the parliamentary regime itself survived.

### Growth of Socialism

One of the most important domestic developments of the later years of the century was the rise of the Socialist party. The party was first organized in 1891, its lateness on the European scene being attributable to the slowness with which Italy was industrialized. It quickly attracted a considerable number of the "flower of the youth." In 1895 the Socialists published their "minimum program," calling for universal suffrage, freedom of the press, religious equality, and other reforms long taken for granted in most democratic countries. The economic reforms demanded by the Socialists—social insurance, the improvement of the condition of labor, and the nationalizing of the railways—had already been made familiar by Bismarck and, excepting the last, were about to be introduced in England. Italian Socialists rapidly gained in parliamentary strength, and by 1913 constituted the largest group in the Chamber of Deputies, though still far from commanding a majority. As compared with other such parties in western Europe, Italian Socialists had a preference for violence and "direct action." In 1898 during a clash between the workers

and the military in Milan ninety persons were killed. In 1904 the Socialists staged their first "armed strike," a four-day demonstration which won them no particular advantage.

One consequence of the growth of socialism was the withdrawal of the papal prohibition of participation in parliamentary elections. "The highest interest of society must be protected at all costs" ran the new ruling, which meant that in constituencies where the Socialists seemed likely to win, a Catholic might vote or even become a candidate. A small but solid bloc of clerical deputies soon appeared in the Italian Chamber.

### Italy Overcomes Her Handicaps

After a struggle of thirty years the Italian state and nation, about 1900, seemed to have reached solid ground. Though the national debt was enormous, it was found possible to refund it at a lower rate of interest and still maintain government bonds at par or above. During the first decade of the twentieth century the national economy functioned so well that it was possible to spend really substantial sums on education, both elementary and vocational. The illiteracy percentage fell sharply. The national government also set on foot a variety of enterprises for the encouragement of agriculture, always Italy's principal economic activity. In 1905 King Victor Emmanuel III established at Rome the International Institute of Agriculture, which has since assumed a leading position among the economic institutions of the world. During this first decade of the new century Italian trade more than doubled, a rate of increase greater even than that of Germany. Italian industrialists now began, under government auspices, the development of hydro-electric power in real earnest. On the Ticino and the Adda, twin torrents rushing down from the Alps to the Po, were built the largest power stations in the world. The fame of Italy was spread abroad by the explorations of the duke of Abruzzi and the inventions of Marconi.

### Giolitti

With brief intervals Giovanni Giolitti was prime minister from 1900 to 1915. He professed to be a liberal, even a democrat, but like all successful Italian leaders he was an opportunist, more clever and more experienced in the game of politics than his contemporaries. As a member of the opposition put it, "Statistics teach us that infant mortality prevails among the ministries not presided over by the honorable Giolitti; usually they do not live to the measles stage but pass away at the first teething crisis." It is surely of some significance that, though born in 1842, Giolitti took no part in the dramatic incidents of Italian unification.

With much of the Socialists' program of 1895 Giolitti was in sincere sympathy. The principle of universal suffrage he accepted; accident insurance, old age pensions, and maternity benefits were established during one or another of his administrations. Trenching still further on Socialist territory, Giolitti nationalized the railways and insurance companies. Under his authority municipalities were empowered to own and operate all public utilities, and they quickly took advantage of this opportunity. He also encouraged the establishment of cooperative banks under state auspices. Thus were Italians becoming habituated, before the advent of Fascism, to the intervention of government in their economic and social life. It should be added that King Victor Emmanuel III gave every evidence of being a sincere liberal, seeking always to make parliamentary institutions work as they should.

### Revival of National Spirit

National self-confidence was manifested in the renewal of imperial projects in Africa, this time in agreement with France. France was looking for friends and was not averse to winning Italy away from the Triple Alliance if at all possible. In 1900 France assured Italy of a free hand in Tripoli on Tunisia's eastern border in return for support in Morocco. A few years later the heads of the two states exchanged formal visits, though the visit of the president of France was the cause of a breach between the pope and the French government. In 1906 Italy supported France in the latter's diplomatic duel with Germany over Morocco. Her reward was French acquiescence in Italy's renewed plans for the penetration of Ethiopia.

Italy also returned to the economic penetration of the Balkans even though this meant, sooner or later, a clash with Austria, with whom she was joined in alliance. Some headway was made in Montenegro, where Italians built a railway and secured a tobacco monopoly. After Austria's transformation of her protectorate over Bosnia and Herzegovina into actual annexation (1908), Italy signed an agreement with Russia which stipulated that the latter would assist Italy in checking Austria in the Balkans in return for Italian support of her policy in the Bosphorus. It will be observed that Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance, was now linked with both France and Russia, members of the Triple Entente.

The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the occasion of a marked revival of Italian national sentiment. Nationalist societies became active. At a congress held in Florence in 1910 the speakers advocated an increase in the armament program and attacked liberalism. As an educational measure the congress called for the introduction into the schools of



books by Kipling and Theodore Roosevelt and the inculcation of "the morality of men who do things." The literary leader of the nationalists was Gabriele D'Annunzio, well known for his admiration of the Nietzschean concept of the superman. Even socialist leaders began to have doubts about the efficiency of a liberal regime in the prosecution of the national plans. This spirit of aggressive nationalism bore fruit in the determination of the Italian government to push forward its economic penetration of Tripoli, by force if need be. Deeming the moment opportune Italy, in 1911, presented Turkey with an ultimatum, and rejecting the reply as unsatisfactory, declared war. The conflict which followed led straight to the First World War.

### Austria-Hungary

The empire of Austria had suffered some rude shocks during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. To be cast out of the German Reich by Bismarck was a severe blow to her pride. To forfeit her hegemony over the Italian peoples and to suffer the amputation of Lombardy and Venetia were cruel blows of fate. Yet Austria-Hungary, to use the name which became usual after the *Ausgleich* of 1867, was still one of the largest states of Europe, with an area of 260,000 square miles. It lay in the upper valley of the Danube, one of the most favored regions of Europe. Its population, by the census of 1910, was about fifty-one million. The numerous nationalities represented in this population made of Austria-Hungary a striking anomaly among the states of western Europe, most of which had by now achieved organization along national lines. Yet the dual monarchy, in holding together so many millions of diverse people in an economic union, did them a great service, a service the value of which was largely lost sight of because of the denial to these peoples of political and cultural liberty.

### Terms of the *Ausgleich*

"Austria-Hungary," said Bismarck, "is a house of bad bricks held together by some excellent cement, the German population." By the *Ausgleich* of 1867, as we have seen, Austria and Hungary were to share the same monarch—emperor in Austria, king in Hungary—and the same flag. The two states were to remain completely equal in status, with separate parliaments and ministries. Each had its own capital and its own constitution. It was agreed, however, that the two states, through a joint ministry, would manage foreign affairs, defense, and finance in common, the work of the ministry being supervised by delegations of sixty members

from each parliament communicating with each other in writing. The terms of the *Ausgleich*, it was further agreed, were to be reviewed every ten years.

Matters did not go too smoothly under the *Ausgleich*. Hungarian leaders never ceased to hope and work for complete independence. They shouldered off a good two thirds of the joint expenses of government, and complained ceaselessly of the use of the Austrian flag, the Austrian hymn, and the German language. In 1892 Hungary secured the recognition of Budapest, jointly with Vienna, as royal residence and capital. At the fourth renewal of the *Ausgleich*, in 1907, the Hungarian leaders were so unco-operative that it seemed clear to all concerned that another renewal would be impossible.

### Francis Joseph I

Among the bonds which held the two countries together for forty years was the Hapsburg dynasty. The dynasty, supported by the army, well described as a "school of loyalty," had the prestige of a thousand years of office. It had had much experience in governing diverse nationalities. It had fought nationalism—Swiss, Dutch, Italian, and German—again and again, and always with substantial success. It had, wisely, learned how to accommodate itself to occasional disaster by a change of policy.

The latest of the Hapsburgs was in some ways one of the most remarkable. Francis Joseph I came to the throne midst the turmoil of the revolution of 1848. He was then eighteen years of age, and he remained upon the throne until 1916, nearly seventy years later. It will be observed that his reign roughly parallels that of Queen Victoria, being slightly longer. Francis Joseph was a well-educated man. He could speak most of the nine languages used by his subjects; he had been trained in the law; and he was well acquainted with modern science. In his political policy Francis Joseph was cautious and conciliatory, holding on to all the authority he could without going to extremes and risking the loss of it all. He ordered his private life on simple lines but in public stood on his dignity. He displayed remarkable stamina in withstanding political reverses and domestic tragedies. Of the latter he had surely more than a normal share. His brother Maximilian perished in Mexico; his wife met death at the hands of an assassin; his only son, Rudolph, was found dead under circumstances certainly, mysterious and possibly scandalous; his nephew, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who had become heir to the throne, was assassinated at Sarajevo in 1914. Francis Joseph was then an old man of eighty-four with "whiskers white as snow and blue eyes like steel."

### Nationalism in Austria-Hungary

At the close of the First World War the Allies, in fulfillment of the principle of the self-determination of nationalities, dissolved the empire of Austria-Hungary into its component parts. It will be well, therefore, to make note of the nationalities of the empire in some detail. The population of Austria, in 1910, was approximately 28,500,000. Of this the German element constituted 35 per cent, the Slav 58 per cent, the Italian 3 per cent. The Germans lived principally in Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg, and Tyrol. The principal Slav peoples were the Czechs of Bohemia, the Moravians, the Poles of western Galicia, the Ruthenians of eastern Galicia, and the Slovenes of Carniola. The population of Hungary was 20,500,000. The Magyars constituted 48 per cent of the whole. There were also some 3,000,000 Rumanians, chiefly in Transylvania, and 5,500,000 South Slavs, chiefly in Croatia-Slavonia.

### German Austrians Tolerant of Minorities

In Austria the Germans endeavored to predominate over the other peoples, whereas in Hungary the Magyars constituted the master race. In the policy of the two peoples there was a marked difference. German Austrians were mild mannered and easy going, certainly as compared with their Prussian contemporaries. The Austrian legislature gave representation to each of the eight nationalities in the empire. Nationalist delegations were so substantial and the rules of procedure in the Austrian Reichsrat were so easy that obstructive tactics made it one of the most disorderly legislative bodies in the world, and the extension to all the peoples of Austria of universal suffrage, in 1907, rather increased than diminished the disorder of the sessions. Still further evidence of mild government was the fact that the Hapsburg ministers abandoned for a time the ancient policy of denationalizing minorities. Austrian Poles enjoyed unusual liberties. The Czechs made extraordinary advances, both culturally and politically; Prague became practically a Czech city and the use of the German language throughout Bohemia underwent a great diminishment. About 1900, however, under Magyar pressure, Francis Joseph discontinued the policy of Slavic appeasement, and political repression again became the rule. By 1914 the Czechs, in particular, were ripe for revolt.

### Magyar Policy

In Hungary the policy was quite different. Most of the land was held in large estates by the Magyar nobility. Magyar, a Turanian tongue of

Asiatic origin, was the one official language. Even in villages where the Magyar element was slight, street signs and timetables were in Magyar only. Rumanians and South Slavs were looked upon by the Magyars as inferior peoples and held in economic and political subjection. Most of the subject peoples were sharecroppers or landless laborers, and their total representation in the Magyar House of Deputies was 70 out of 413 members. The attempt to Magyarize the subject peoples of Hungary met with a certain measure of success, but the reaction which came after the First World War was severe.

### Economic Life

With one of the richest areas in Europe in its possession Austria-Hungary made only fair use of it. Generally speaking, Austria supplied articles of manufacture and Hungary raised food. Some of Austria's industries were famous, such as her breweries and the Skoda munition works. Austria was also rich in mines, and a good third of the land was covered with valuable forests. Industrial development was far from complete, however, and 48 per cent of the population of Austria was still engaged in agriculture.

Agricultural methods throughout Austria-Hungary remained medieval. Landed magnates paid little attention to the development of their estates. They also ignored industrial investment. One result of this was that the Jews, who numbered some hundreds of thousands throughout the Hapsburg lands, were able to engage in banking and industrial management in unusual numbers and with great success. Periodical outbursts of anti-Semitism disturbed the social scene and, incidentally, were a formative influence in the early years of at least one Austrian, Adolph Hitler.

### Vienna, a Capital of Culture

One of the glories of the Hapsburg empire was Vienna, fourth city of Europe. Its location on the banks of the Danube was a strategic one; routes of trade and travel from the south and east to the north and west of Europe passed through it. When the medieval walls were removed in the middle of the nineteenth century, a great concentric boulevard was constructed, two miles long and a hundred and fifty feet wide. The magnificent opera house, the cathedral of St. Stephen, the vast imperial palace, and other public buildings made the Ringstrasse, as it was called, one of the finest streets in the world. As a cultural capital Vienna was the "Paris" of central Europe, setting the fashion in dress, art, and music. The university had a world-wide reputation for its excellence in medical studies.

### Relations with Germany and Italy

After being cast out of the German Reich the Hapsburgs turned their attention to the development and expansion of their holdings in the Balkan peninsula. Their control of Bosnia and Herzegovina acquired at the Congress of Berlin (1878) had only sharpened the antagonism, long latent, of Russia. We have seen how Bismarck, capitalizing the Austro-Russian antagonism to his own advantage, had brought about an alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary. (See p. 511.) It was agreed that in case either were attacked by Russia the other would come to her assistance. The terms of the Dual Alliance, signed October 7, 1879, further stipulated that if some other power attacked either of the signatories the other would remain neutral so long as Russia did. The menace of Russia was so constant and so real that Austria-Hungary was placed in a condition of abject dependence upon the good will of Germany. Bismarck was not minded to support further expansionist designs of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans or elsewhere. When Italy joined the German-Austrian bloc in 1882, for reasons of her own, her adherence brought it little reinforcement. Though now an ally, Italy did little or nothing to discourage anti-Austrian agitation among the Italian subjects of the Hapsburgs in South Tyrol, and by 1914 anti-Austrian conspiracies had reached such a pitch of danger that the Hapsburg chief of staff was urging a preventive war on Italy.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

### *Russia and the Balkans to 1914*

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE on the eve of the First World War covered an area of 8,600,000 square miles, about one sixth of the earth's land surface. The European area of Russia then included Finland, the Baltic provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, and the larger part of Poland, extending the Russian frontier considerably to the west of the River Vistula. On her southwestern frontier Russia touched the Danube, Bessarabia having been ceded to Russia by Turkey in 1812. The population of Russia was estimated to be 150,000,000, a very large proportion of which number lived in Europe. Siberia was, comparatively, an empty land.

#### Reaction in the Late Nineteenth Century

We have noted that under the "liberator tsar," Alexander II, Russia took a quarter-turn to the left. The serfs were emancipated, district and urban representative bodies were established, and the criminal code was reformed. The reform movement had come to an end, however, even before the death of Alexander in 1881. Under his successor, Alexander III (1881-1894) reaction set in strongly, and it continued, under Nicholas II, to the eve of the revolution of 1905. Alexander III was nicknamed "the Bullock," by his father, an epithet which well characterized both his physique and his temperament. Nicholas II, last of the Romanovs, was of a very different nature; he was, in fact, not far from being a weakling, despite his father's efforts to make a man of him.

A good deal of the unity of the period ending about 1905 was due to the personality and policies of the man who was the principal minister of both Alexander and Nicholas—Konstantin Pobedonostsev (1827-1907). This remarkable man had been Alexander's tutor. He became not only chief minister but head of the Orthodox Church, with the title of "Procurator of the Holy Synod." Pobedonostsev was wholly a reactionary, the "Metter-nich" of his age. He had nothing but contempt for legislative bodies; they served, he said, merely "the personal ambitions, vanity, and self-interest of their members." A free press was to him inconceivable.

Under the leadership of this minister Russia swung back once more to

religious intolerance. Many sects were suppressed; to attempt to convert a member of the Orthodox Church was a criminal offense. When the great Tolstoy died in 1910 he was refused burial rites. Priests were under orders to report to the police if they learned through the confessional or otherwise that any of their flock were politically untrustworthy. Every year thousands were exiled to Siberia or banished from Russia, often without trial. On one occasion after the police had flogged a few university students, many joined in a boycott of classes, and the government promptly drafted the lot of them into the army.

### Persecution of Minorities

A noteworthy example of the policy of reaction was the treatment of minorities. The Poles were inflicted with various new measures directed toward the suppression of their culture. Their language was prohibited in the schools, in universities, and in the courts of law. The activities of the Roman Catholic Church were hampered by vexatious restraints. The Finns, who had enjoyed a large measure of autonomy since their annexation to Russia, found that their autonomy was at an end. Administratively Finland became a part of Russia and it was ordered that all Finnish officials must know Russian.

Probably the principal sufferers from the renewed policy of Russification, however, were the Jews. Well over half of the Jews of Europe lived in Russia. The authorities had long since allocated certain areas, known collectively as "the Pale," for Jewish residence. Jews were excluded from the ownership or leasing of land; many occupations and professions were closed to them also, and only a small percentage were allowed to secure an education. The whole Jewish race was disenfranchised. Pobedonostsev stated his objectives as follows: one third of the Jews he would convert to Christianity; another third he would force to leave Russia; the rest he planned to starve. Anti-Semitism among the Russian people was kept at a boiling point by pogroms which the government systematically incited. Many thousands of Russian Jews emigrated to the United States, and it is partly as a result of Russian policy that New York City has the largest Jewish population of any city in the world.

### Advent of Industrialism

In the meantime the industrial revolution was making a belated appearance in Russia. Its forward movement may be said to have begun in 1893 when Count Serge Witte (1849-1915) became minister of finance. Witte was a Baltic nobleman of German descent. He sought in every way

to encourage the growth of capitalism, believing that by so doing he could assist Russia to become a great power. The adoption of the gold standard and the assurance of government subsidies and purchases encouraged foreign capitalists to pour their wealth into Russian enterprises. A good deal of private capital came from Germany; government loans, on the other hand, were subscribed to by French investors. One of the principal monuments to Count Witte was the Trans-Siberian railway, which stretched 5500 miles from St. Petersburg to Vladivostok. This was completed in 1905. Russian steel production soon surpassed that of France. The Russian production of petroleum, in 1914, was the largest in the world. On the eve of the First World War Russia had about forty thousand manufacturing plants employing 2,500,000 workers. Even so, however, industry had barely scratched the surface of Russian resources. All but 3 or 4 per cent of Russian workers were still engaged in agriculture. Furthermore, industrialism had brought little improvement as yet in the general standard of living.

### Liberalism, Nihilism, Socialism

Despite the most rigid censorship and the sleepless vigilance of the police, liberalism did not altogether die out in Russia even at the height of reaction. At first, of course, political parties, in the ordinary sense, could not exist. Even the usual forms of political violence were impossible. The police, backed by the army, broke up street riots before they were well started. Nor was there the possibility as yet of a widespread peasant revolt. Covetous of the estates of the landlords, the peasants were distrustful of leaders who counseled the use of force. For some years most of the blows struck for liberty in Russia were the work of terrorists. Their chief weapon was assassination and they had a long list of distinguished victims, at the head of which was Tsar Alexander II.

If the terrorists and their friends had a political philosophy it was apparently that of nihilism. Nihilists respected neither government nor God. If they had a faith it was apparently in science, the destroyer of superstition. Bakunin (1814-1876), a Russian of noble birth who spent much of his life in exile, a nihilist by philosophy, was an apostle of violence. The reorganization of society, he declared, was a matter for the future and would, of course, proceed from the people; but "our part," he said, "is destruction—terrible, total, inexorable and universal." A nihilist is the hero of Turgenev's famous novel, *Fathers and Sons*.

In the early years of the twentieth century the liberal movement attained such strength that political parties came into being. A party of moderates was founded by Paul Miliukov the historian in 1904. It was



called the Union of Liberators and included landowners, university professors, members of the professions, and men of letters. This group believed that Russia should undergo a gradual but steady liberalization after the fashion of western Europe. Many of its members had gained political experience in the district zemstvos and municipal dumas, though such bodies in this period had to confine their activities to economic improvements and social welfare. The Union of Liberators made no attempt to reach the masses but centered its attention upon the very limited middle class. In 1898 followers of Karl Marx organized among the workers of Russia's cities a Social Democratic party devoted to the realization of Marxist principles. This was much the largest party in Russia. Five years after its founding came the famous split in the party between a majority group called Bolsheviki and a minority group known as Mensheviki. The latter favored parliamentary methods and economic weapons, holding that ground thus gained, though slowly won, would not be easily lost. Their leader was G. V. Plekhanov. The Bolsheviki, on the other hand, were frankly revolutionary in their plans. Their leader was Nikolai Lenin. Yet another party, the Social Revolutionaries, was founded in 1901, its central purpose to advance the interests of the peasants. A specific project was the confiscation of the larger estates of Russia and their redistribution to peasant proprietors. The leaders of this party, of an anarchistic frame of mind, were eager to exploit the land-hunger of the peasants. The peasants, however, were slow to put their trust in leaders who came from without their own ranks.

### Russo-Japanese War and the Revolution of 1905

The great opportunity of the new parties, in fact, of all friends of liberty in Russia, came in the period of the Russo-Japanese War, which began in February, 1904. The war itself is a phase of Far Eastern history and is dealt with elsewhere. For Russia its course was marked by a succession of disastrous defeats. Port Arthur surrendered January 2, 1905, the Russian armies were defeated at Mukden in March of the same year, and the Russian fleet was destroyed in May. Finally, in August, 1905, came the Peace of Portsmouth. The succession of defeats laid bare the incompetence of the Russian regime as well as its corruption, and the terms of the treaty dealt a severe blow to its prestige.

The Russo-Japanese War had scarce begun when the reform parties sprang into action, each after its own fashion. The assassinations of high-placed officials gave vent to the feelings of the more violent. More moderate groups drafted petitions calling for civil liberty, religious toleration, and the setting up of a national parliament. On Sunday, January 22, 1905,

Father Gapon, a priest of moderate views, led a procession of several thousand, among whom were many women and children, to present to the tsar in person at the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg a request for economic and political changes. Though the procession was orderly, the imperial guard opened fire as the people drew near the palace. Hundreds were killed and thousands wounded. The news of "bloody Sunday" spread swiftly. Though the tsar was not personally responsible for this affair, it probably settled the final fate of his dynasty nonetheless.

As the tidings of recurrent disaster reached the Russian public during the course of 1905, an epidemic of strikes broke out. Newspapermen, restaurant waiters, chorus girls, and university professors and students joined in obstructive action. The Finns, the Poles, and the Jews began to stir restlessly. Bands of peasants roamed the countryside attacking the nobles and burning their barns. Here and there sailors of the imperial fleet mutinied. Finally came the "general strike" of October, 1905. Lasting nearly two weeks, it has been called "the most successful general strike in the history of the world." In St. Petersburg workers, led by a young Jew of Menshevik opinions named Trotsky, formed a soviet, or "council," of deputies. One member of this soviet, silent as yet, was the Bolshevik leader Lenin. Suddenly, the back of its resistance broken, the imperial government gave way to reform. The Finns were granted a constitution. The peasants of Russia were informed that their land payments for 1906 would be cut in half and that all payments would cease after 1907. All Russians were promised freedom of speech and of the press. Finally, the tsar agreed to establish a national legislature, or Duma, representative of all classes of the people and endowed with full powers.

### The Duma and Its Early History

The electoral basis of the new Duma was extremely broad, little short of manhood suffrage, the right to vote being more widely held in Russia in 1905 than in England. Before a Duma could be chosen, however, there was a measure of recession from the highest level of reform feeling. With the end of the war the Russian army returned from Manchuria, thus strengthening the hands of the tsar. The Duma was allowed to meet, but contrary to the tsar's promise an upper house was formed, coordinate with the lower. This second chamber, known as the Council of the Empire, was largely aristocratic, since half its members were named by the tsar directly and the other half were chosen by certain Russian institutions which were under imperial influence. It was further established by imperial decree that unless the budget for the year were enacted by May 1, the figures of the previous year's budget would hold. This vitally

weakened the Duma's control over finances. Authority over foreign affairs and the army and navy was expressly denied to the national legislature. It was also proclaimed that the tsar might issue decrees of a binding character when the Duma was not in session.

The first two Dumas showed majorities hostile to the autocratic regime. Both were dissolved shortly. Before the election of a third Duma in the autumn of 1907 the electoral basis was drastically altered. A system of indirect representation was established something like that of Prussia, which gave to the landlord class 60 per cent of the seats, 22 per cent being reserved for the peasants, 15 for the merchants, and 3 for industrial workers. Thus constituted, the third Duma was more satisfactory to the government and was permitted to live out its term. The fourth Duma, elected in 1912, was still in existence when Russia entered the First World War.

The tsar's leading minister during the period of the prewar Dumas was Stolypin, minister of the interior. Stolypin's slogan was "first order, then reform." It was he who advised the dissolution of the first two Dumas and the modification of the electoral law. Though a reactionary, Stolypin was also something of a realist, believing that reform should be introduced, but gradually and only when the need was plainly evident. Like all true conservatives he held that "when it is not necessary to do a thing it is necessary not to do it." Stolypin was responsible for an important land law under the terms of which any peasant might demand his own share of the village land and fence it in, thus doing away with the old communal ownership of the mir. By 1913 nearly one fourth of the peasants had taken advantage of this opportunity. Like many other leading Russian officials Stolypin met death by assassination.

### Russian Progress on the Eve of the War

Upon the whole there seemed good hope that Russia would walk slowly down the road toward liberalism and that the drastic reforms badly needed in every phase of the nation's life would be achieved in a parliamentary way. It was politically of ill omen, however, that the tsar came more and more under the influence of the tsarina, a strong-minded woman of German origin, and that she in turn was increasingly subject to the influence of an ill-smelling, evil-living monk named Rasputin. The poisonous fruits of this association were to be harvested in the future.

Culturally there was definite progress. By 1913, 150,000 elementary schools had been set up in Russia, and plans were under way for providing within the next decade an elementary education for every child. In Russia's universities nearly 150,000 students were enrolled. Russia's

contribution of great names in music, literature, and even science was scarcely inferior to that of any other country. It should be noted also that not only was religious toleration restored during the revolution of 1905 but that the next ten years witnessed hopeful changes in the Orthodox Church. The First World War then broke across all these pleasant prospects and slow and orderly reform gave place to changes of revolutionary swiftness and violence.

### The Balkans after the Congress of Berlin

At the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, it had finally been determined by the great powers, with not a little prior assistance from the Balkan peoples themselves, that there should be formed from the soil of European Turkey a number of independent Christian states. Greek independence had been recognized nearly half a century earlier. Serbia and Rumania, having enjoyed the status of autonomy for several decades, were now allowed to blossom forth as independent kingdoms. Bulgaria was awarded the preliminary status of autonomy. The independence of the tiny kingdom of Montenegro, which had never entirely succumbed to Turkish authority, was reaffirmed. Turkish territory in Europe was reduced to a corridor stretching across the peninsula from the Adriatic Sea to the Bosphorus, and was comprised of Albania, Macedonia, and Thrace.

During the three decades that followed, the Christian states of the Balkans, new and old, showed a commendable record of development. Institutions of self-government were established, public school systems inaugurated, highways and railways constructed, and measures undertaken energetically to provide for national defense. It was always apparent to the thoughtful observer, however, that the Balkan area was a trouble zone. Not one of the Balkan states was satisfied with its boundaries. Moreover, several of the powers were still seeking to exploit Balkan politics in their own interest. It will be well to survey the affairs of each of the Balkan states in turn, to the eve of the First World War, so that we may understand its part in that great conflict and in the years that followed.

#### Serbia

Serbia, in this period, was a small land-locked state of about twenty thousand square miles. Its population (1910) was three million. During five centuries of Turkish rule the landlord element among the Serbs had been destroyed and there remained a fairly homogeneous body of peasant proprietors, whose farms averaged about twenty acres. One of the principal products of these farms was corn, which the peasants fed to their hogs

and cattle. Serbian pigs were an important article of export, Austria-Hungary being the principal market. Serbia also had fine orchards and vineyards. It was essentially a land of village communities, and these communities exercised much local authority.

The Serbs, of course, are Slavs, of the Serbo-Croat branch. During centuries of Turkish rule, or misrule, they had developed an intense patriotism. Their history in the nineteenth century, however, was "written in blood"; for the dynasty of the Karageorgevich (see p. 473) was frequently opposed by the descendants of Black George's rival, Milosh Obrenovich, another popular leader of peasant stock. Obrenovich had obtained for his country an increased degree of autonomy in 1829, and had been installed as prince. When Serbia became a kingdom, her political annals were marred by the blood rivalry of the two dynasties. For a chapter of similar murderous ferocity in the history of Europe we must revert to the days of the Merovingian Franks. Each successive Serbian ruler was either deposed or assassinated.

In 1903 King Alexander Obrenovich, his queen, his prime minister, and his minister of war were "liquidated" in an especially efficient manner. The Karageorge faction installed Peter as king, and he promptly reversed his predecessor's policies by restoring democratic institutions and inaugurating a vigorous, not to say reckless, anti-Austrian policy, which contributed not a little to the outbreak of the First World War. To punish the Serbs for their hostile propaganda, Austria-Hungary prohibited the exportation of Serbian pigs through Hapsburg territory. In a prolonged tariff controversy, the so-called "Pig War," the "last shred of decent neighborly feeling" expired. For the future Serbia relied more than ever upon Russia. It was not long after, in 1908, that Austria-Hungary annexed the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (See p. 482.) Here lived about a million Serbs in a land always referred to by Serbs as the old home of their race. The frustration of their patriotic hopes was more than patriotic Serbs could accept in silence. The no-propaganda pledge of 1905 was repeatedly broken, and more than once the Hapsburg authorities considered the wisdom of silencing Serbian patriots by force.

### Montenegro, or "Black Mountain"

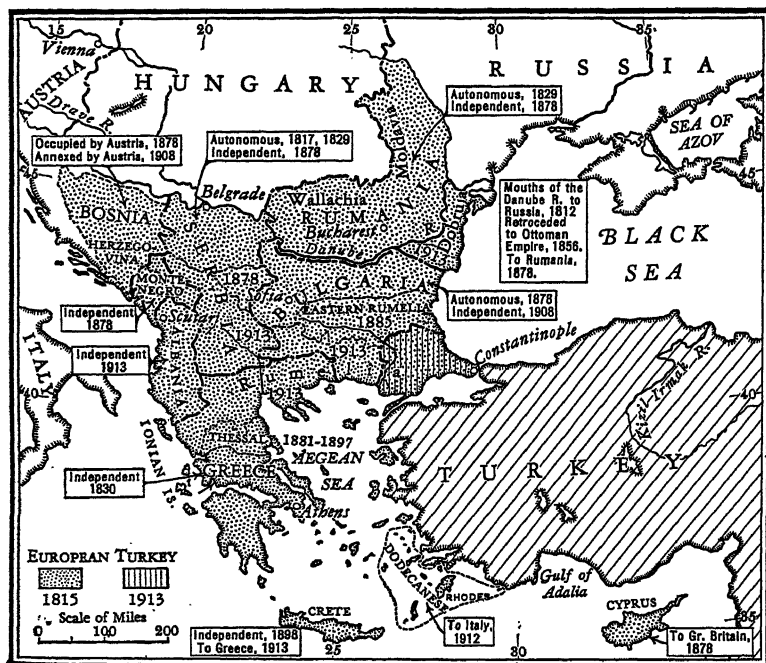
The tiny kingdom of Montenegro, of about three thousand square miles with a population of three hundred thousand, is so called because the forest-clad northern slopes of its principal mountain mass rest in shadow. The whole of this small area is a chaos of mountains, which served as a retreat for bands of Serbs during the centuries which followed the conquest of their nation by the Turks. The Montenegrins are a hardy race

of warriors. For food their principal reliance is upon cattle and the grain and fruits grown in the valleys of the mountain streams. They accepted as rulers a series of prince-bishops, each chosen in turn by the monks of the monastery at Cetinje, the Montenegrin capital. In 1851 the prince-bishop Danilo adopted the title of king, married, and founded a dynasty. In 1919 the kingdom of Montenegro was merged with that of Serbia.

### Bulgaria

Bulgaria, with boundaries as revised by the Congress of Berlin, contained about forty thousand square miles. Its population in 1910 was four million. Bulgaria lies on the southern bank of the Danube in its lower course, its eastern coast being washed by the Black Sea. The original people called Bulgars were fierce, hard-riding Turanian horsemen (akin to the Magyars) who overran the Slav peasants of this area and settled down among them as conquerors. The Bulgars were soon assimilated, however, by their much more numerous Slav subjects. The Bulgarian tongue is a Slavic dialect not unlike the Serbian. The early kingdom of Bulgaria was overthrown by the Turks in 1396, and the Turkish hold was not loosened until 1878. The Bulgarians, therefore, were the last of the Balkan peoples to be emancipated.

It will be recalled that the Bulgarian status of autonomy was achieved as a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1876, and it was generally assumed that Bulgaria would gratefully remain under the wing of Russia, while still technically under the sovereignty of Turkey. As their first ruler the Bulgarians chose a German prince named Alexander of Battenberg, a nephew of the tsar. All the higher offices of state were filled with Russians, and all army officers in Bulgaria above the rank of captain were Russians. Within a decade, however, the Bulgarians rejected the sponsorship of Russia. They were led by the Bulgarian patriot Stambulov, son of an inn-keeper. Democratic institutions were introduced and a legislative assembly established (the Sobranje). In 1886 Prince Alexander was dethroned and another German, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a relative of Queen Victoria, took his place as Bulgarian prince. Ferdinand was a prudent man and bided his time in patience while gradually gathering the reins of government into his own hands. After a few years he was able to dispense with his powerful minister, Stambulov. When political enemies brutally assassinated the great Bulgarian leader, Prince Ferdinand looked the other way. Playing his cards with skill, Ferdinand then managed to secure the diplomatic recognition of Russia which had previously been withheld. In 1908 he boldly renounced Turkish rule, exchanging the title of prince for that of tsar.



DISMEMBERMENT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Bulgarian people consist largely of peasants, three quarters of whom own the land they till. Their agricultural methods today are much as they were a thousand years ago; the village communities are largely self-governing as well as self-sufficing.

We should note that in 1885 Bulgaria increased her area and population by about 50 per cent through the annexation of eastern Rumelia directly to the south. The inhabitants of eastern Rumelia were so favorable to annexation that the Turkish authorities were content to allow the matter to pass without opposition. Serbia, however, was jealously opposed to this upsetting of the balance in the Balkans. In a brief war Serbia emerged a humiliated loser.

### Rumania

The kingdom of Rumania developed in the Roman province of Dacia, which lay on the north bank of the Danube near its mouth. Dacia was under Roman rule for about three hundred years, and the Rumanian people take pride in the Roman basis of their language and culture. After the fall of Rome came an inundation of Slav settlers, and the Rumanians of today are much more Slavic than Roman. Turkish rule came next.

Russia interested herself in the lot of the Christian population of Rumania at the close of the eighteenth century, and it was under her sponsorship that full autonomy was gained at the peace conference of 1856 following the Crimean War.

Ten years later the Rumanians installed as their prince Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a brother of the prince whose candidacy for the throne of Spain was a prelude to the Franco-Prussian War. Carol, who assumed the title of king in 1881, was still on the throne of Rumania in 1914. His wife was a German princess who attained world-wide reputation, under the pen name of "Carmen Silva," as a writer of poems and stories about the land of her adoption. Under Carol's rule Rumania's development was more economic than political. He introduced the French type of centralized government and the Prussian three-class vote, keeping the peasants disenfranchised. The natural resources of Rumania are probably the greatest of any Balkan state. Her wheat lands are extensive. Her oil fields have become world famous. King Carol and his advisers did much to develop Rumanian resources, but the standard of living remained low. Peasant proprietorship was not nearly so widespread as in Bulgaria.

The area embraced by Rumania in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was about fifty thousand square miles and its population was seven million. The country formed a blunted crescent opening toward the northwest, the northern arm of which was the province of Moldavia and the southern, Wallachia. At the base of the crescent, on the other side of the Danube, is the province of Dobrudja, of which Bulgaria claimed the southern part. Patriotic Rumanians longed for reunion with the three millions of their own people who lived in Transylvania, then firmly held by Hungary. They also regarded the possession of Bessarabia by Russia as a frustration of national hopes, but before 1914 there seemed to be extremely little that could be done about it.

### Greece

Greece was one of the smaller Balkan states with but twenty-five thousand square miles and a population of two and a half million. Only one fifth of the land is arable. It grows grain, tobacco, olives, and citrus fruits. The Greeks, as we have noted, have always been a sea-faring people; gulfs, inlets, and arms of the sea indent their coasts at intervals so close that few points of the interior are more than fifty miles from the sea. The surrounding waters are thickly sown with islands and in most of them the population is Greek.

Otto of Bavaria, who became king of Greece in 1832, was forced to abdicate in 1862. He was succeeded by a Danish prince who took the



title of George I. But seventeen at his accession, King George grew to be a skillful ruler, displaying liberal tendencies. The strongest political motive in Greek life was "irredentism." Greek leaders maintained that only about one quarter of the Greek people lived as yet under the Greek flag. The rest were in Macedonia, in Thrace, in the islands of the Aegean, and in the coastal cities of Asia Minor. The "Greater Greece" of their dreams should reunite them all. The island of Crete was a special object of Greek policy. The Cretans, almost wholly Greek, had suffered much at the hands of the Turks. In 1897 Greece went to war with Turkey in behalf of the Cretans but was badly beaten, and although the western powers intervened to prevent Turkey from exacting territorial compensations from Greece, a heavy indemnity was imposed which mortgaged her financial future. Under the sponsorship of the powers Crete then received the status of practical independence.

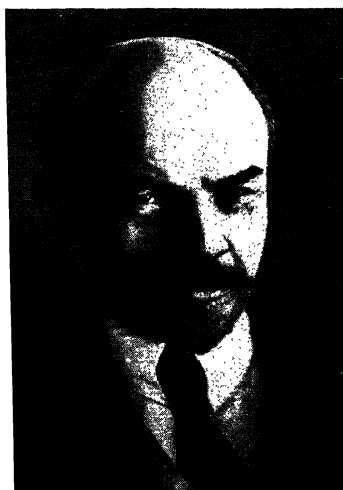
### Turkey

Turkey in Europe, after the Congress of Berlin, was reduced to a "corridor" some sixty-five thousand square miles in area with a population of about six million. Perhaps one and a half million were Turks. The sultan also ruled over lands in Asia and Africa totaling three quarters of a million square miles with a population of twenty million. Of the sultan's Asiatic and African subjects only about six million were Turks, living chiefly in Asia Minor. The rest were Arabs, other non-Turkish Mohammedans, and Christian peoples—Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks. The reign of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II, who came to the throne in 1876, was inaugurated by a calamitous war with Russia (see p. 481) resulting in the loss of Bulgaria, but the new sultan could hardly be blamed for that. Abdul-Hamid II was decidedly hostile to Western ideas and Western ways. His government continued to be, therefore, what Turkish government for the most part had always been, an Oriental despotism unrestrained. The sultan's political authority was enhanced by his authority, recognized by most of the Moslem world, as caliph, that is, successor to the Prophet and spiritual head of all Moslems. The ridiculous length to which the policy of reaction was carried under this sultan is illustrated by the oft-told tale of the instructor in an American mission school who, with no thought that he might be acting in a politically doubtful manner, sent for some elementary textbooks in chemistry. To his dismay, the volumes were seized by the customs officials of Turkey on the ground that the symbol " $H_2O$ " which they observed in the books was cryptic propaganda for the downfall of the sultan, since it might easily be interpreted to read, "Abdul-Hamid II equals nothing."



THE KAISER AND KING FERDINAND OF BULGARIA

For German policy in the Balkans before the First World War, see pp. 516-517.



NIKOLAI LENIN (*Sanfruto*)



BOLESLAW PRZEMISL



RED SQUARE, MOSCOW  
Lenin's tomb is on the right. (*Sovfoto*)



FUNERAL OF THE VICTIMS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1905,  
ST. PETERSBURG (*pp. 550-551*)

Completely stagnant as was Turkish domestic policy under this ruler, the period is made noteworthy by a new phase of foreign policy. To offset the restraining influences of Russia and Great Britain, Turkey struck up an alliance with Germany. Early in his reign William II of Germany made a visit of state to the sultan, and this was followed in due course by a second visit. To be accorded by the sovereign of a first-class European power the status of an honored host was a new experience for a Turkish sultan. The modernizing of the Turkish army under German direction and the famous project of a Berlin-Byzantium-Bagdad railway followed. (See p. 517.) Some have thought that the freedom of action which the friendship of Germany brought the sultan may be what encouraged him to sanction, in 1894, yet another outburst of Turkish fanaticism, this time at the expense of the Armenians of Asia Minor. Some fifty thousand perished in a series of massacres at which the Christian world shuddered.

The impulses of liberalism, like a beneficent virus, will finally penetrate the densest medium. All through the reign of Abdul-Hamid representatives of leading Turkish families kept up a steady agitation for the modernizing of the Turkish state and people. The sultan's policy of exile for all "trouble makers" proved to be his undoing, for these "Young Turks," as they called themselves, used their posts of exile, whether in Turkey or abroad, as so many centers of propaganda. Deciding that the time was ripe, the Young Turks struck in 1908. Their success was not long in doubt, for the army went over to revolution. The terrified sultan eagerly abdicated in favor of a younger brother, Mohammed V. A constitution was proclaimed, under which a legislative body was to be chosen by all male citizens without regard to religious differences. "There are no longer Bulgars, Greeks, Rumanians, Jews, Moslems; we are all brothers," declared one of the Turkish leaders. Censorship was abolished, religious tolerance proclaimed. The revolutionary movement thus far had been "the most fraternal in history."

After the first excess of emotion had subsided, it was revealed that the new Turkish leaders, though liberal in first intentions, were no less nationalistic than the old. The Young Turks did not, in practice, share their newly won authority with men of other races, even with Moslems of another race. In advance of elections, districts were shamelessly "gerrymandered" to assure to the Young Turks control of the assembly. In fact, it soon appeared that the Young Turks were fired by a fanatical zeal to roll back the tide of history and regain Turkey's lost provinces. The western powers were pressed for a restoration of Turkish rights in Crete. Notice was served on Italy that her peaceful penetration of Tripoli must be abandoned. New Turkish officials were dispatched to Tripoli, concessions were canceled, and it became clear that the Turks planned to

use force. Evidently the Near Eastern question had again entered upon an acute phase. Those who deemed themselves menaced by Turkish policy began preventive action. Bulgaria proclaimed its independence. Austria-Hungary announced its annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Venizelos, famous Cretan patriot, migrated to Greece, became prime minister, and swiftly reorganized Greek finances and rehabilitated the army. Italy, however, first took the momentous step of military intervention. The Italo-Turkish War (1911-1912), which followed, and the First and Second Balkan Wars were preliminary to the First World War and will be discussed in that connection.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### *Great Britain and Ireland to 1914*

THE TWENTY YEARS following the repeal of the Corn Laws was a period of quiet in British domestic politics. The most difficult of England's social and economic problems had been successfully dealt with, and the country enjoyed a term of almost unbroken prosperity. In this the laboring classes largely shared. Trade unions grew in numbers and in strength, and their leaders began that study of the political and social needs of the workers which has continued to our own day.

This mid-century period of England's history saw the transformation of her two great political parties. Whigs became Liberals, and Tories, Conservatives. But there was more than a change of name; important changes took place also in party make-up, ideology, and leadership. Peel had "wrecked" the Tory party, and those who had followed him into the division lobby for free trade never returned to the fold, though it was a decade or more before they became reconciled to sitting on the same side of the house as their former opponents. The new leader of the Tories was Benjamin Disraeli. That a man of Jewish parentage and without distinction of family, wealth, or education should become the idol of a party which drew its principal strength from landed wealth and social aristocracy must rank as one of the most remarkable facts in British political life.

#### Disraeli and Tory Democracy

Disraeli was largely self-educated. His father's modest competence made it unnecessary for his son to work for a living. Of wonderfully attractive manners and striking appearance, the youthful Disraeli was endowed with uncommonly brilliant gifts, which he himself fully appreciated. He was not sure how he would dazzle the British public, but there could be no doubt that he intended to do so. It was in the field of literature that he first attracted attention by writing a few novels which were to some extent vehicles for his political views. He then entered politics, and his superb self-confidence is revealed in his first contact with Sir Robert Peel, for whose leadership "Dizzy" had little respect. Being asked by the great man what he aimed to do, young Disraeli promptly replied, "I aim to

be prime minister." His dashing attire and theatrical manners did not sit well with the House of Commons, and his maiden speech was shouted down. With his customary skill, however, he soon learned to speak and dress in the "House of Commons manner." The debates over free trade gave Disraeli his opportunity, and his brilliant and pointed shafts of criticisms directed against Peel won him the leadership of the well-nigh leaderless Tories.

In a decade Disraeli consolidated his leadership by furnishing the Tories with a new program for action, stemming from a political philosophy which has come to be known as "Tory Democracy." In Disraeli's view, the *laissez faire* policy of British industrialism was rapidly transforming the English people into two nations, the "haves" and the "have nots." "Each," he said, "is as ignorant of the other's mode of life as if they were inhabitants of different planets." The pitiless exploitation of the working masses was, in his view, a more frightful exhibition of man's inhumanity to man than even slavery had produced. Disraeli was a close student of England's history, having read widely in the books which he found in his father's library. He called the attention of his fellow Tories to the good old days of pre-industrial England when landlord and peasant dwelt side by side in a happy relationship of mutual aid. Tory landlordism, to his way of thinking, had never deteriorated into mere profit hunting. There had always been a strong sympathy between hall and cottage, and the landowner felt responsible for the well-being of his tenants. Contrast this paternal relationship with the businesslike attitude of the soulless corporation! What England needed, said Disraeli, was a revival of the old Tory temper. England's privileged classes should once again take an interest in the welfare of the workers and so save England from the degrading vulgarity of her industrialists.

Tory democracy is "democratic because the welfare of the people is its supreme end. It is Tory because the institutions of the country are the means by which the end is to be attained." Monarchy, the church, Parliament, and the empire are to be continued, but they should serve the welfare of the people. Maintenance of existing institutions, development of the empire, and promotion of the welfare of the masses became and have since remained the fundamental policies of the Conservatives. To their strength is largely due the fact that England's traditional institutions have survived until now with so little organic change. That the empire, under the leadership of Disraeli and other conservative prime ministers, has been considerably enlarged is an outstanding fact, to be discussed in a later chapter. Conservative contributions to the welfare of the masses, more especially in recent years, have been considerable.

### Gladstonian Liberalism

If Disraeli was the creator of modern English Conservatism, his great political rival, William Gladstone, may with equal truth be set down as the creator of modern Liberalism. The son of a wealthy merchant, with a brilliant record at Eton and Oxford, Gladstone entered Parliament as a Tory of the Tories. Blessed with a sensitive conscience, as well as a fine intelligence, young Gladstone did not long remain an unrepentant Tory, however. He followed Peel in the famous vote for free trade and pressed forward to become a leader in the Whig party. He never stopped growing, and under his leadership the Whigs were transformed into Liberals. In the Liberal party the aristocratic element was less important than it had been in the Whig party, both numerically and in leadership. Thus the Liberals were closer to the masses. They branded the Tory democracy of the Conservatives as a patronizing superiority. The Liberals proposed to give to the workers not social relief but political power. Free trade they regarded as the best guarantee of the continued prosperity of all classes. Freedom of the individual to live his own life in his own way they regarded as the principal aim of government.

Gladstone's first important office was that of chancellor of the exchequer, a post he won by his brilliant criticism of the "financial juggling" of his predecessor in that office, Disraeli. Beginning where Peel left off, Gladstone reduced the number of articles taxed at the ports to less than fifty. His measures were so sound, and he was so fortunate also in conditions of the time, that he was able in 1865 to finance the government with the lightest taxation of the century, the income tax being set at 1.4 per cent.

Gladstone felt that it was now time to broaden the basis of English political authority. To the middle classes, enfranchised in 1832, Gladstone proposed to add some at least of the working classes. The Reform Bill of 1867 increased the number of voters by about a million, extending the franchise to one in twelve of the population. The new voters were drawn mostly from the urban workers. In 1884 Gladstone supplemented the earlier measure by extending the vote to the rural workers. Two million more voters were added to the list; one in six of the entire population was entitled to vote. Property qualifications were so small that England was practically on a manhood suffrage basis.

Gladstone became prime minister for the first time in 1868 and finally retired from political life in 1894 after four terms in that high office. There were many able Liberals in these years, but Gladstone dominated them, partly because his views were soundest and partly because he was his party's greatest electoral asset. Gladstone's popularity with the masses excited the envy of the queen, yet he was never a "rabble rouser." The



tone of his addresses was always elevated, his manner always dignified. He believed that though the masses might not grasp all the implications of a public question, they would understand and properly assess the moral issues involved.

### Education of the People

With his faith in the people, Gladstone quite naturally was concerned with their adequate education. We have seen that as the nineteenth century wore on, the view that education is a primary concern of the state gained on the earlier emphasis on family and church responsibility. (See p. 500.) Prior to 1870 the educational field had been held almost without dispute by private schools and churches. Private schools provided for the well-to-do; the churches, and especially the Church of England, undertook to provide at least an elementary education for the masses, though the emphasis of the church schools was on religious subjects. Less than half of the children of school age were served by the churches, however, and the widest variety of standards prevailed, low standards predominating.

By Gladstone's Education Act of 1870 the state formally recognized and partially assumed its responsibility for the education of the masses, without, however, displacing either private or church schools. In the words of its author, the statute aimed to "complete the voluntary system and fill up the gaps." Once the state had recognized its responsibility, however, there could be no going back. In 1880 attendance was made compulsory, and in 1891 free. More recent statutes have brought the English school system fully abreast of the best in Europe and America.

In 1870 Parliament also compelled Oxford and Cambridge to open their doors to all, irrespective of religious belief, and thus to become the national institutions which they are today. Formerly Oxford would admit only Anglicans, while at Cambridge, though non-Anglicans might pursue a course of study, they were not permitted to proceed to a degree. Professorships and fellowships formerly reserved for members of the Anglican Church were now thrown open to members of all faiths.

### Army Reform

Gladstone and his party also undertook to democratize the army. Ever since the founding of the modern British army, commissions in England's famous regiments had been open only to young men of wealth and social position. A youngster of good family could apply to the colonel of the regiment of his choice, and if he could measure up to the personal and social standards of the other officers, he would be allowed to purchase a commission made vacant by promotion, resignation, or other-

wise. The young officer would then become accustomed to military ways and military life in brief terms of active service. Many gentleman officers retired at an early age to take up the life of a country squire; in consequence, a comparatively large number of commissions were constantly available. This system, anomalous as it was, had not worked too badly, since the highest offices were customarily filled on a merit basis. Furthermore, a young man of talent might be able in this way to attain the rank of colonel at an early age. Arthur Wellesley, the future duke of Wellington, became a colonel at the age of twenty-three. The anomaly of the purchase plan, of course, lay in the fact that it was utterly undemocratic and so out of step with the times. "Army purchase" was abolished; commissions had to be earned. Another military reform of Gladstone's was to make the authority of the civilian minister of war paramount to that of the commander in chief of the army.

### Civil Service Reform

The belief that merit should prevail over social position found further recognition in civil service reform. All administrative posts in the English civil service except in the foreign office were placed upon a basis of competitive examination by the Civil Service Act of 1870. A change of so sweeping a character could not have been carried through with success had it not been for British experience in the government of India. As all the world knows, the civil service of England has attracted to its ranks year by year the best product of the English universities. This has been due partly to the fact that administrative positions in the civil service are not open to men over twenty-five; there is no place in it for those who fail in other professions. Furthermore, applicants are examined in the subjects in which they attained distinction at the university, not in the technical details of any particular field of future service. It has been stated, and probably with truth, that the British civil service constantly employs enough men of high intellectual distinction and attainments to staff a score of university faculties. Thus England has long had at her command a sort of "brain trust"; the fact is no longer an occasion for surprise or anxiety.

### The Land Problem in Ireland

By no means the least of the liberal trends of the times was the movement for the solution of the Irish problem. Upon learning that the queen had summoned him to form his first ministry, Gladstone said, "My mission is to pacify Ireland." Nearly thirty years later when the great Victorian statesman faced the House of Commons at the beginning of

his last prime ministership, the Irish problem was still the most important plank in his political platform. The Irish problem was essentially that of the liberalizing of the relations between the English and the Irish.

Inasmuch as Ireland was almost wholly agricultural and pastoral, the Irish problem in its economic aspect was a land problem. Nowhere in Europe was there a system of tenure so bad as that which prevailed throughout most of Ireland. About 90 per cent of the land was held in large estates by English landlords, a considerable proportion of them nonresident. An absentee landlord whose only contact with his estates was through an agent was not likely to have a paternal relationship with his tenants, and agents naturally enough looked after the interests of their employers. Absenteeism, in fact, meant absence of social conscience in the relation of landlord and tenant.

Irish landlords were in a particularly strong position. The little island, during the first half of the nineteenth century, had a population of eight and a half million, as compared with barely half that number at the present time. Overpopulation resulted in an excessive subdivision of the land; the average farm was five acres or less. Sometimes there were more families than farms. Peasants then bid against each other, and successful bidders found themselves pledged to the payment of a rent which it was impossible to meet save in a year of exceptional productivity.

Irish landlords, furthermore, would ordinarily grant no leases, preferring to retain their liberty of evicting tenants at will. This system introduced into the lives of hundreds of thousands of Irish peasants an element of insecurity that added greatly to their misery. Finally, only land was rented. Buildings or other improvements which a tenant might wish to erect for the comfort of his family or the shelter of his cattle were at his own expense. Upon eviction for any cause, or for no cause, the tenant would lose all he had invested. "Rack rent," tenure at will, and no compensation for improvements illustrate the powerful position of landlords.

Another bad feature of Irish agriculture was the too exclusive reliance upon the cultivation of the potato. Introduced into Ireland from the New World by Sir Walter Raleigh, the potato had become the principal food of the Irish peasants. For tens of thousands of them the potato was practically the sole article of diet from year's end to year's end. The importance of the potato derives partly from the fact that of all plants in the temperate zone it yields a maximum amount of food for a given amount of land. Further, it contains all the elements of food essential to maintain life on a high level of efficiency. Ireland's population was so large and the cultivation of the potato so prevalent that spade culture had displaced plow culture throughout large areas of the island. Unfortunately the potato is highly susceptible to disease. Again and again crop failure

was followed by famine. Particularly well known is the famine of 1846. This famine convinced certain landlords that Irish farms were too small, and they resolved to reduce the number of families on their estates through assisted immigration. The landlords chartered ships and in one way or another persuaded thousands of their poorest tenants to give up their homes and migrate. Within five years (1847-1852) well over one million persons left Ireland, nearly one seventh of the population. Nearly all of them went to America, where they and their descendants cherished in their hearts a long and bitter hatred for England.

The evil system of land tenure remained, however, and one of Gladstone's first steps in his attack on the Irish problem was to assure to the Irish tenant permanence of tenure and compensation for improvements. A decade later courts were set up whose business was to fix rentals by judicial process. Well intentioned as these acts were, both landlords and tenants frequently connived in avoiding them, and Gladstone came to the conclusion that the only way to cure the Irish rental system was to abolish it by assisting the peasants to purchase their farms.

### The Problem of Religion

During the Reformation the Anglican Church was established among the Irish people as the Church of Ireland, but fully six sevenths of them refused to become communicants of it. In hundreds of parishes the Anglicans were few in number, and in scores of parishes there were none at all. Even so, Anglican rectors were installed in all the Irish parishes. They became the beneficiaries of all endowments, and they were entitled to exact tithes from all the inhabitants, Anglican or not. The Catholics continued to support their priests by voluntary contributions, and they built rude structures, sometimes mere sheds to keep out wind and weather, in which to worship God in their own fashion. Discriminatory legislation excluded Catholics from all political and many civil rights and closed against them the doors of practically all professions. This situation had come down to the nineteenth century unchanged.

In 1829 Irish Catholics were endowed with political rights. A few years later came the commutation of tithes, though this was a change of form rather than of substance. Not infrequently the Protestant minister had had to resort to collecting his tithe of eggs, milk, and other produce from the Catholic peasants through bailiffs at the point of a pistol, and the recurrent "tithe wars" were a disgrace to a Christian community. An estimate was then made of the average value of the tithe, year by year, and, in 1837, this sum was added to the annual rent of a farm.

In 1869 Gladstone proposed as his first contribution to the peace of

Ireland a divorce of the Anglican Church of Ireland from all connection with the state. The church would remain in Ireland as a voluntary religious body, but its bishops would no longer sit in the House of Lords. The statute of disestablishment provided that the Anglicans of Ireland should retain possession of all the church buildings they then held, the historic ecclesiastical structures of the country, together with half of all endowments. The Catholics of course were far from satisfied with the provisions of this statute, but it represents the utmost that Gladstone could get through Parliament at the time. Gladstone's further purpose was to make use of that half of the endowments taken over by the state to establish a national university, but this statesmanlike purpose was thwarted. No compromise was possible between the Protestants and the Catholics of Ireland on the subjects of university control and religious teaching.

### Home Rule for Ireland

Irish patriots maintained, and with reason, that their nationality was one of the oldest in Europe. They pointed with pride to the high character of Irish civilization. Seven centuries of British rule, however, had severely damaged the fabric of Irish culture and made its very survival problematical. For example, the Irish language was well-nigh extinct, and a nation that loses its tongue is apt to lose its memory. Irish patriots of the nineteenth century were convinced that Ireland must have a parliament of her own to satisfy the national aspirations and rehabilitate Irish culture. This would mean, in a parliamentary sense, the repeal of the Act of Union of 1801. Of the 101 members from Ireland at Westminster the total for "home rule" was more than four fifths of the whole number. The remnant, loyal to "Union," represented constituencies in Ulster.

Charles Stewart Parnell was a landlord and a Protestant, though Irish born. His mother was an American. This may seem to be an unlikely background for an Irish leader, but Parnell was one of the greatest patriots in Irish history. He entered the House of Commons in 1875. For two years he sat watching the tactics of the courteous mild-mannered gentleman who led the eighty-odd Irish members pledged to home rule. Parnell decided that their methods were futile. "It is not by smooth speeches that we can get anything done in the House of Commons. We must show that we mean business. They are a great deal too comfortable in this house, and the English are a great deal too comfortable everywhere." Parnell resolved upon a policy of parliamentary obstruction. Swiftly he rose to leadership, and seldom has a leader been more slavishly obeyed by his followers. For years the principal preoccupation of the House of Commons was to defend its dignity and sustain its orderly procedure.

The wheel of political fortune turned in the Irish favor at the election of 1885 when neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals could command a majority without Irish votes. Parnell undoubtedly aimed at the status of independent republic for Ireland, but he was willing to accept as a first instalment the repeal of the Act of Union, though Ireland with her own parliament would still remain under the British flag. He cared not a straw which party won his alliance and he negotiated with both. Gladstone, so long interested in the Irish question, now introduced the first home rule bill. Practically every leader of thought in England was against it. Huxley the scientist, Tennyson and Browning, Lecky the historian, Herbert Spencer, Jowett the famous Oxford don, all opposed home rule. They were convinced that the Irish were not fit to govern themselves and as proof of this they pointed to Ireland's long record of "land crimes" and political assassinations. Then there was the matter of English security. In the past Ireland had been used repeatedly as a base for attack on England. What was more likely, said the opponents of home rule, than that an independent Ireland would open its ports to the enemies of England? Many Englishmen, furthermore, were fearful of a Catholic revenge upon the Protestant minority in Ulster. "Home rule," they said, "means Rome rule." When ninety-three of Gladstone's own followers voted against home rule in the British House of Commons, the bill was defeated.

The Conservatives then came into power, and except for one brief period they held office for twenty years. The Irish policy of the Conservatives was to "kill home rule with kindness." The reference, presumably, is to their many land-purchase acts. The British treasury loaned the Irish peasants about \$500,000,000 to enable them to buy six million acres, or more than one third of the land of Ireland. As a result Ireland became a land of peasant proprietors, like Denmark, and had a system of tenure far superior to that of England.

Home rule sentiment lived on in Ireland, however, and in England too. Gladstone came back with a second bill in 1894 only to incur defeat again, this time in the House of Lords. Nearly twenty years later home rule won, the wings of the Lords having been clipped. The perverse fate which had clung to the Irish problem so long clung to it still, and this third home rule bill, having passed through its final stages during July, 1914, was suspended for the duration of the war which broke out in August.

### The British Empire in 1870

We have noted the lull in British overseas enterprises following the Peace of Versailles in 1783. Despite the prevailing indifference, however, there continued to be a considerable growth within limits previously

marked out. Seven and a half million people left the British Isles in search of homes overseas between 1815 and 1870, the greatest outpouring of population in British history. A million and a half of these emigrants settled in Canada, contributing notably to her westward expansion. New provinces were organized; provinces old and new demanded and got powers of self-government even more extensive than those Gladstone had sought to secure for Ireland. In 1867 the self-governing provinces of Canada joined in a federal union known as the Dominion of Canada, a most important stage in the historical development of Canada as a nation. The population of the dominion in the year of federation was three and a half million. Today it exceeds eleven million, and among powers of the second rank Canada is of first-rate importance.

Before 1870 about a million free settlers had made their homes in Australia. Sheep raising had interested some, and many more came during the gold rush which began in 1851. Shortly thereafter the transportation of convicts was discontinued by the British government, partly because the free settlers of Australia objected, but also because the British public demanded that reformatory treatment rather than mere punishment be dealt out to those who had broken the law. The continent of Australia is as large as the United States of America. Half a dozen self-governing states developed in the wide stretches of the land "down under," uniting in 1900 to form the Commonwealth of Australia. Lack of sufficient rainfall in about three fifths of the continent will probably limit the Australian population to twenty or thirty million. Its present somewhat restricted total owes something to the Australian determination to safeguard a standard of living which they deem to be the highest in the world. Asia's teeming millions have been, therefore, and are, rigidly excluded.

Twelve hundred miles to the east of Australia, and that much further removed, heretofore, from the beaten track of world trade, lie the islands of New Zealand. There the first boatload of English settlers landed in 1839. The growth of the new colony was slow at first, a fact which the presence of a formidable body of natives, the Maori, went far to explain. Since 1890, however, New Zealand has grown steadily. Its economic ties with England have always been close. A very important fact about this fully self-governing nation is that it has succeeded not only in democratizing its political institutions, but to a remarkable degree its economic life and social order as well. New Zealand's population at present is about two million.

In India the first part of the nineteenth century saw an enormous increase in the territory directly under the authority of the British East India Company. The princely families thus displaced devoted themselves to anti-British agitation, and the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was a result of

their activity, coupled with a policy of too rapid Westernization on the part of the officials of the East India Company. (See pp. 578 ff.)

Another area in which a considerable expansion of British interests took place was Africa. Cape Colony, a settlement of Boer farmers awarded to England at the Congress of Vienna, became an invaluable port of call for British shipping to India and the Far East. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Boer farmers began to trek northward; British settlers came to South Africa in considerable numbers also. Despite the absence of deliberate policy, therefore, the British Empire underwent steady growth during the century following 1783.

### Renewed Expansion of the Empire

Indifference was shaken off and a forward movement launched in the days of Disraeli. In 1875 the Conservative leader made his famous purchase of the Suez Canal shares. In 1876 he transformed the government of India into an empire, and his beloved Queen Victoria into Empress of India. In 1878 the British took over Cyprus; in 1881 they occupied Egypt. This forward movement of the empire was part of the new imperialism which swept over western Europe about the same time. British merchants and manufacturers were looking for sources of raw material and fresh markets for their products, and what is perhaps not so frequently emphasized, British investors were looking for better opportunities for investment. The mood of the new imperialism was well expressed by Rudyard Kipling. His popularity was enormous, especially among Englishmen who did not appreciate Tennyson and could not understand Browning. As someone has said, Kipling expressed the feeling of the young Englishman who "longed to go out and shoot something he could understand."

Between 1880 and 1914 three and a half million square miles of territory were added to the British Empire, about a quarter of its entire area. Most of the new land lay in South Africa, and the man chiefly responsible for its annexation was Cecil Rhodes. Having gone to South Africa for his health in 1879, Rhodes plunged into the exciting game of gold and diamond mining, which was just opening up, and acquired a fortune. In fact, he was probably the richest man in the world. But Rhodes was more than a moneymaker. He dreamed of federating the various settlements in South Africa, Boer and British, into one political unit and then expanding British rule northward as far as the lakes of central Africa and the headwaters of the Nile. The Boers resented and resisted this project, for their treks northward had been partly for the purpose of escaping British rule. Rhodes pressed his plan with imprudent haste, and there followed the Boer War, 1899-1902.



Despite their small numbers the Boers made a gallant fight. When they surrendered there were more British soldiers in South Africa than there were men, women, and children of the Boer nation. In 1906 a political turnover in England brought the grant of self-government to the various colonies in South Africa, both Boer and British, and in 1910 the four principal ones united to form the Union of South Africa, one of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire.

Britain had been slow to appreciate the value of the Suez Canal and therefore of Egypt. Tsar Nicholas I had repeatedly suggested that in his proposed liquidation of Turkey England should take Egypt, but the British were not interested at that time. When the French promoter Ferdinand de Lesseps was raising funds for the digging of the Suez Canal, he got not a penny from any English source. In 1869 when the canal was opened, however, British shipping supplied three quarters of the tonnage which passed through it, and the importance of the canal as a link in the communication system of the empire was thus made plain. Since the canal passes wholly through Egyptian territory, it became a matter of British policy not to allow Egypt to fall into hands hostile to Britain. This will help to explain the British occupation of Egypt which began in 1881.

To the south of Egypt, in the middle and upper valley of the Nile and stretching far into the interior of Africa, lies the Sudan. This great area is almost uninhabitable by the white man, but its economic value is considerable as a source of cotton. The Sudan had always been under Egyptian sovereignty, or so Egypt claimed. In 1885 a revolt occurred, and Egyptian rule was brought to an end. This, at least, was the British view. In 1898 a joint expedition of British and Egyptian forces led by Lord Kitchener effected a thorough reconquest of the Sudan. Britain claimed, and still claims, the Sudan as a condominium, with Egypt as cosovereign.

We may conclude our survey of the British interests in Africa with a glance at the east coast of the continent. Since early colonial times the Portuguese claimed and had more or less effectively occupied the south-east coast of Africa on both sides of the Zambesi River, which empties into the Indian Ocean opposite the great island of Madagascar. To the north of the Portuguese colony lay a thousand miles of coastal territory, with hinterland stretching indefinitely into the interior, which as yet belonged to no one—that is, to no European power. From his island home off the coast the sultan of Zanzibar exercised an ineffective control over the whole area, but recognizing the weakness of his position, he had repeatedly sought to induce some European power to be his protector. During the 1880's England, Germany, and France all laid claim to this particular part of east Africa, and in 1886 they agreed upon a com-

promise. France declared herself content with a confirmation of her exclusive rights in Madagascar. Germany and England divided the coastal area between them, Germany being awarded the six hundred miles to the north and Britain the four hundred miles to the south. The line of demarcation of their interests was drawn inland to Lake Victoria. A few years later Germany waived her claim to the province of Uganda in central Africa in return for the cession to her of the island of Helgoland in the North Sea. As a glance at the map of Africa will reveal, Rhodes's dream of an all-red route from the Cape to Cairo had thus been realized.

### **Triumph of the "New Liberals"**

After twenty years of almost uninterrupted tenure of office, 1886-1906, the Conservative party finally lost its hold on the public. The British had been by no means unanimous in their support of the Boer War, a powerful minority deeming it a war of ruthless aggrandizement. There was also a growing feeling that the Church of England should now relax its grip on the school system. Religious tests were still imposed on teachers, although a majority of school children came from the homes of dissenters. Then, too, the Conservatives were out of step with democracy. Under the law of 1884 the property qualification for the franchise was so low that any workingman could meet it. The law provided, however, that a man was entitled to vote in each constituency where he owned or rented any property. A man of means, therefore, with a factory, a town house, and a country home would have three votes. Many had more. There was a growing feeling that this was unfair, but the Conservatives, principal beneficiaries of the system, remained deaf to all demands for a change.

Most important of all, the Conservatives remained too long complacent in the face of incontrovertible evidence of poverty and human degradation. Despite Victorian prosperity there remained a considerable number of workers to whom this prosperity did not penetrate. Many students of society were convinced that a certain proportion of workers, unfortunately rather large, would never be able adequately to provide for themselves and their families in a strictly individualist society and that for all such persons social security must be compulsorily provided, though on a contributory basis, by the state.

After the retirement and death of Gladstone a group of younger Liberal leaders came forward to whom the social problem was of primary importance. One of their number, who had started out as a Conservative, put the program of the "new Liberalism" as follows: "More for the state, less for the individual; more for the tenant, less for the landlord; more for the dissenter, less for the Anglican; more voting power for the man

without property, less voting power for the man with property." The name of this "social radical," then in his thirties, was Winston Churchill. Still more prominent in the leadership of the Liberals was David Lloyd George, who had the political advantage over Churchill of a lack of aristocratic lineage. In the election of 1906 the Liberals were precipitated into office by a political landslide. Theirs was the largest majority in parliamentary history.

In proceeding with their program, the Liberals found to their annoyance that measure after measure which the House of Commons had accepted by decisive majorities was turned down by the Lords, where the Conservatives, as always, were solidly entrenched. Such was the fate of a bill to abolish plural voting and of a bill to abolish religious tests for teachers. "The House of Lords," said Lloyd George, "is Mr. Balfour's poodle [Balfour being the Conservative leader]. It barks for him; it fetches and carries for him; it bites anyone that he sets it onto." As chancellor of the exchequer Lloyd George managed to concoct a budget so unpalatable to their lordships that they were provoked into the unprecedented act of rejecting it. Features of this "People's Budget," as its sponsor christened it, were sharp increases in the higher brackets of the income tax and the levying of a heavy tax on all increment of land values which could be classed as "unearned." The great landlords felt especially aggrieved over the latter tax, calling it "socialistic." Seizing upon their rejection of the budget as the climax of the Lords' long record of opposition to the will of the people, the Liberals took the issue to the voters in two successive elections within a single year. The result was the Parliament Bill (1911), which provided that the Lords must accept all budgets as drawn and that in all other legislation the utmost they might accomplish was a delay of two years.

In the meantime the Liberals were drafting a program of social insurance. Sickness insurance was provided for manual workers and others of limited remuneration, the employed person himself bearing a part of the cost. Medical attendance, hospitalization, and drugs were free to the beneficiaries. Eighteen million persons are now included under this scheme, and the death rate has fallen from 21.4 per thousand to 12. Unemployment insurance was also provided for, though it was limited at first to certain trades especially liable to fluctuation. Here again beneficiaries were to pay a part of the cost. Finally, the government undertook to pay on its own account old age pensions to those no longer able to work and whose income was insufficient to provide for a minimum standard of living. The British Liberals of 1906-1914 gave the world the best illustration that had yet been seen of government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

## CHAPTER XXXV

### *European Imperialism in India and the Far East*

THE CONTINENT of Asia comprises about one third of the entire land surface of the globe. Within its area have developed some of the earliest and greatest civilizations known to man. Asia has also been the birthplace of the world's greatest religions. Some of the civilizations of Asia, and at least one of its religions, have been formative factors in the life of Europe. The modern Asiatic, however, is usually looked upon by Europeans as a person of a different species, culturally speaking, whose motivation is an enigma and whose course of action is therefore unpredictable. "If you want to know what an Oriental will do," remarked a British statesman of long experience, "ask yourself three questions: (1) What would you do under the circumstances? (2) What would the wisest man you know do? (3) What do you think the Oriental will do? When you have the answers to those three questions," he continued, "you will know three things the Oriental certainly will not do; nearer you cannot come."

With the areas of Asia which border upon the Mediterranean, Europeans had long been in contact. It was there that Western civilization passed its period of incubation. Much of southwestern Asia had been included within the confines of the Roman Empire and its immediate successor, the Byzantine Empire. The Moslems, starting in the same region, extended their empire over a considerable part of Europe. All through the middle ages Europe's contact with the southwestern portion of the continent, the "Near East," as Europeans call it, remained fairly close; in modern times it became closer still. Repeated comment upon the nature and importance of this contact has been made in the pages of this book.

India and the Far East, however, were almost as unknown to medieval man as the lands of a distant planet. The fame of the occasional traveler to those parts was like that of a man from Mars. In early modern times the enterprise and daring of Western sailors carried them to the fabled lands and islands of the East, whether southward and eastward around Africa or westward around the world. Trading posts were established and colonies of exploration organized by the merchant-adventurers

of the West, first in the rich Spice Islands and then on the mainland of India. We have seen how, after a long conflict in which no quarter was asked or given, the Dutch finally established themselves as masters of the islands, the British of the mainland.

### The Dutch East Indies

In 1870 the kingdom of the Netherlands was still entrenched in the southern sector of that remarkable fringe of islands that skirts the eastern shore of Asia. The most important of the Dutch East Indies were Sumatra, Java, Celebes, and Borneo, the last shared with the British. These islands are all large; indeed, the total area in Dutch hands was not far from three quarters of a million square miles. This empire had been acquired in the early part of the seventeenth century (see Chapter X) and had varied but little in extent since that time. The inhabitants of the Dutch islands are Malaysian, a linguistic classification, which means that they speak a language similar to that of the other natives of the southwest Pacific. Their culture is Indonesian, which means that it has been strongly influenced by the culture of India. Their religion is for the most part Mohammedanism; this is about as far east as the missionaries of that faith ever went. Dutch rule, whether under the Dutch East India Company (until 1798) or the Dutch state, was exploitive. The natives were compelled to set apart portions of their land for the cultivation of crops suitable for export, and there was no native representation in the governing bodies of the islands. The native culture was not encouraged, although, on the other hand, the Dutch made no efforts to replace it with their own. That Dutch rule was not too severely oppressive may be argued from the fact that in the course of the nineteenth century the population of Java, for example, increased from four and a half to thirty-four and a half million. Java is one of the world's richest islands, some 80 per cent of the soil being under cultivation.

The economic importance of the Dutch East Indies to the outside world became great in the period of revived imperialism after 1870. The islands supplied a third of the world's rubber, 85 per cent of its pepper, and 90 per cent of its quinine. Still more important, perhaps, was their output of petroleum, most of which came from the rich oil fields of Sumatra. It is somewhat remarkable that so rich a prize remained so long in the hands of a small state. No doubt the "open door" policy of the Dutch had something to do with this. The merchants of any country were as free to buy the produce of the islands as the Dutch themselves, who retained, in fact, less than a quarter of the total trade. Under these conditions an attempted conquest of the islands by one great power would have

met with instant opposition from one or more of the others. Furthermore, Great Britain, from her base at Singapore, stood guard over the Dutch Empire, a guardianship which the kingdom of the Netherlands tacitly acknowledged.

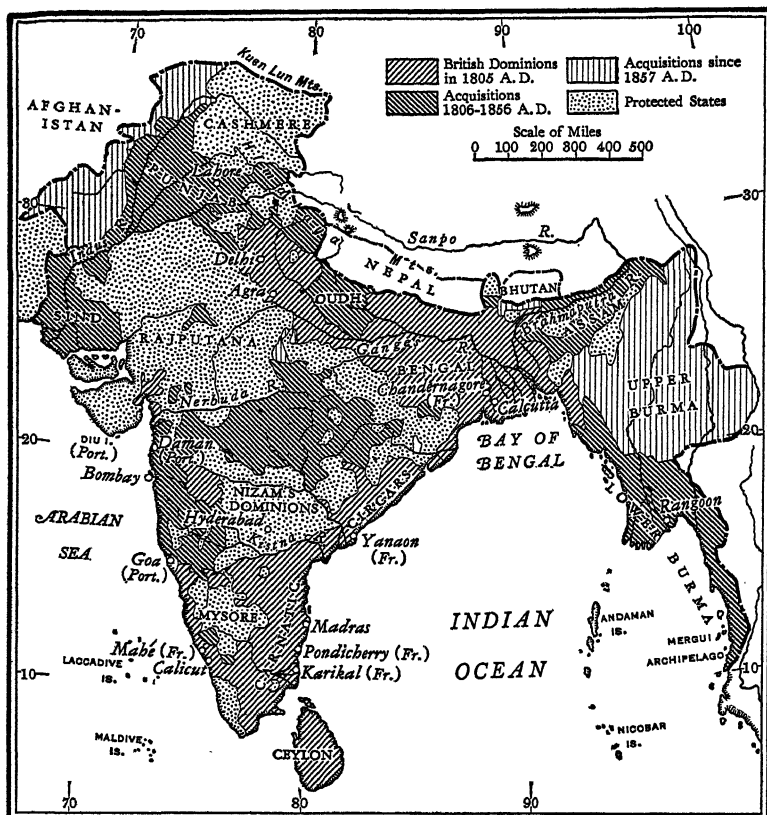
### British India

The average person tends to oversimplify the Indian problem. He is apt to look upon India as another America belatedly struggling to be free. In reality, India resembles Europe much more closely than she does America. There is as little cultural uniformity in India as in Europe, and there are more religions and many more languages. The problem of uniting Europe is admittedly a complex one; that of uniting India is not simple.

British India today has an area of just over one and a half million square miles, half the size of the United States. Its population is about 390,000,000, which is one fifth of the world's total. The people of India are a mixture of dark-skinned aborigines, known as Dravidians, most numerous now in the south, and lighter-complexioned Indo-Aryans, a conquering race which entered India by way of the northwestern frontier. Of lesser importance are the descendants of other conquering stocks, Afghan, Persian, and Arab. The predominant religion is Hinduism, a composite modern product of Buddhism and Brahmanism. About one quarter of the entire population, however, is Mohammedan. The Hindus are subdivided into many castes, including more than fifty million outcastes. The Moslems have no castes but are made up of two principal sects. There are also a few million Christians. Religion is a very important matter in India. Social position, economic status, and political enfranchisement are apt to be determined by it.

### The "Fighting Period"

When Britain worsted France in the eighteenth century struggle for empire (see Chapter XV), her control in India was limited to a few coastal areas. In the century that followed the Peace of Paris the British gradually extended their authority throughout the subcontinent. This is sometimes called the "fighting period," and many an Indian principality was brought under British rule by force of arms. At the close of the period two thirds of India was ruled directly by Britain. The other third remained and still remains in the hands of native princes, of whom there are about five hundred. These princes usually govern their subjects in the fashion of Oriental despots, but they have all given over the control of their external policy to the British crown. The native principalities are of varying



EXTENSION OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

sizes, Rajputana, for example, being larger than France, and they are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land. The princes are traditionally loyal to the British crown and take little interest, except adversely, in the modern nationalist movement. Indian nationalists label the princes "Britain's Fifth Column."

### The Mutiny; Control Passes to Parliament

The fighting period came to a blazing finish in the famous Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. This was not a national uprising; India has never been sufficiently united for that; it was a revolt of sepoys, or native soldiers in British service. Sepoys outnumbered British soldiers by some four to one, and dispossessed princes had spread disaffection among them.

Rumors had been rife that a new cartridge, just issued, was prepared with the fat of the pig and the cow, which made it unacceptable, to put

it mildly, to both Hindus and Moslems, though for different reasons. To offend thus the religious susceptibilities of the natives was an act of stupidity on the part of the British authorities. More basic as a disturbing influence was the policy of Westernization which different governors had pursued. Telegraph wires and railway lines brought it home to the native's consciousness that his age-old ways, sanctified by religion, were being borne down by the material civilization of the West. One British governor, for example, had abolished the suttee or widow-burning, a practice offensive in the highest degree to Westerners but of religious significance in India.

The Mutiny was suppressed after a sharp struggle during which the princes and many native regiments remained loyal to the British. Atrocities were committed on both sides, in which women and children were not spared, and the result of this blood lust was a poisoning of the relations of the two races. The attention of the British public was sharply fixed upon the problem of India by the Mutiny, however, and in 1858 the rule of the East India Company was terminated. For it was substituted the direct authority of the British Parliament, and twenty years later the importance of India received formal recognition in the bestowal upon Queen Victoria of the title "Empress of India."

### "Benevolent Despotism"

From 1858 until just after the close of the First World War British rule in India was a complete despotism. The British authorities intended their despotism to be just, even benevolent. Nearly all the highest posts in the civil service were filled by young Britishers who felt a deep sense of responsibility to the millions in their charge. These officials, however, tended to hold themselves aloof from the natives and thus added one more to India's innumerable castes, that of the "White Brahmins."

India was internally at peace, during this long period, and externally secure. As Winston Churchill has pointed out, "The fact should sometimes be noted that under British rule in the last eighty years incomparably fewer people have perished by steel or firearms than in any similar area or community throughout the globe." The older "assimilative" policy was gradually set aside, and British officials became increasingly careful to respect native law, religion, and culture. A beginning was made in elementary education, and really outstanding progress was achieved on the university level, educators expecting that there would be a filtering down of benign influences from the few well-educated to the myriads without instruction, an expectation which did not materialize to any extent. A postal system was established with regular deliveries in each of India's thousands of villages, the volume of letters and cards mounting



to over a billion a year. The bullock cart, which had served the people of India for many centuries, gave place to the railway, of which more than forty thousand miles were constructed before 1914. Railway fares were the lowest in the world. Recurrent famines were lessened in severity now that food could be shipped rapidly and in bulk from one part of the country to another. Even more important in the war on famine were the irrigation works which added seventy million to the hundred and eighty million acres in cultivation throughout India. With famine a rare phenomenon and measures of public health making their appearance, India's population doubled in the course of a century. Indian nationalists recognize that Britain brought Western science and industry to India but affirm that they would have come anyway. They call attention to Britain's failure to permit the establishment in India of any heavy industry, without whose products effective armed resistance is impossible. British rule, says Nehru, was "concentration on everything that went to strengthen their political and economic hold on the country."

Indian nationalism, whose goal is a "united, free, democratic India," was born thirty years or more before the First World War. It was a movement not of "sepoys concerned about greased cartridges, but of educated men armed with modern ideas." Many hundreds of young Indians were graduates of Western universities; others had received a first-class Western education in the universities of India. The most important channel of expression for their nationalist feeling was the Congress party, which first met in 1885. The party's annual sessions were, and are, attended by thousands of delegates from all parts of India. Congress represented a majority of high caste Hindus, many Moslems, and some at least of the "untouchables." Its most famous leader has been Gandhi.

### Gandhi's Program

Gandhi's authority has been mostly religious, and all the more compelling for that. His method with the multitude is simple and direct. "Here is my hand. Here are the five fingers. Here is the wrist. Now, then, let us get the program." Point one is "Hindu-Moslem unity." The two religious communities clash frequently. For example, each observes a different calendar, so that in the same village a day of ceremonious mourning for those of one faith is bound, sooner or later, to coincide with a festal occasion for those of the other. Violence follows and fatalities are not uncommon. Many Moslems fear that were it not for British rule, the Hindu majority would take action unfavorable to the Moslem faith and culture, and most politically minded Moslems belong to the "All Moslem League," founded in 1906.

The second point in Gandhi's program is "Prohibition of all drinks and drugs from the sacred soil of India." Opium and its derivatives are especially deleterious when consumed in quantity, and Gandhi feels that there is no hope of stamping out this national vice until the British government, which gets a large part of the Indian revenue from the opium monopoly, is brought to an end.

The third point is "Woman's equality with man." Half the girls of India are married before they are fifteen, two million before they are ten. Only one in six of the children in the elementary schools is a girl. In his own home Gandhi sees to it that the womenfolk enjoy equal standing with the menfolk and that they have equal rights in every respect.

Gandhi's fourth point is "Removal of untouchability." A caste is "a group of families internally united by peculiar rules of ceremonial purity, especially in regard to diet and marriage." Conquerors of times past established the castes, probably as a means of segregating themselves from the subject peoples whose customs and religions they despised. About a third of the Hindu population is classed by the higher castes as "untouchable." To them are allotted all unclean and degrading occupations. They are the street sweepers, the scavengers, whose very shadow is contaminating and from whose hands not even water may be accepted. How a democratic India can come into being until untouchability is removed is difficult for Westerners to understand. Gandhi appealed to his own people to blot it out, and to set an example, he took a "pariah" girl into his own family to bring up alongside his four sons. The outcastes of India, nearly sixty million of them, have nowadays an organization and a leadership of their own.

Gandhi's last point is "Khaddar," a word meaning home spinning and home weaving. Four fifths of India's teeming millions live on the land. The agricultural season alternates between months which are comparatively dry, when cultivation proceeds, and months of wet, when farming ceases. Khaddar was formerly the occupation of the villagers during the wet months, when cotton, which is grown in every part of India, was spun and woven into the fabrics with which the masses clothe themselves. British rule killed this home industry by giving entrance to the machine-made textiles of Lancashire. The ending of British rule, Gandhi argues, would revive an occupation which would redound to the economic and moral benefit of India's millions.

The wrist, which binds all the points of Gandhi's program together, stands for "Ahimsa," meaning nonviolence. "We must get the whole of our program by moral means, not by violent means; we must get it all through soul force, not by violence." Gandhi has steadfastly eschewed all violence for himself, as well as enjoining nonviolence on his followers.

His fasts are famous. Upon the whole, his disciples have managed to keep popular emotions under good control. Now and again violence has broken out, and when it has, the British authorities have dealt with it promptly and with firmness. The most striking instance was the Amritsar affair of 1919.

### Northwestern Frontier; Afghanistan

Internal unrest was one problem for the British in India; external security was another. So long as Britain ruled the waves, as she surely did throughout the nineteenth century, attack could not come by sea. Nor was it likely to come from the north or northeast. There the world's highest mountains towered against the sky, and beyond them lay peaceful China. The northwestern frontier was a different matter. There the Khyber Pass gives entrance to the upper valley of the Indus, one of India's greatest rivers. Through this pass have come India's historic conquerors—Aryans, Greeks, and Moslems. Beyond the Khyber, in the nineteenth century, dwelt the Afghans, warlike mountaineers whose primitive way of life remained fixed by a harsh environment. It is a remarkable fact that India is the one great civilized country of the world which still has on its frontier a primitive people capable of conquest.

Afghanistan lies high up on the backbone of Asia, the average elevation being over 4000 feet. Its economic resources are slight and it has no modern means of communication. Its ten million inhabitants are of mixed stock, nomadic or seminomadic in their way of life, Mohammedan in religion. Raids across the border were an almost annual event in the nineteenth century. In 1842 a punitive force from British India, six thousand strong, was annihilated by the wild tribesmen, only one man being left alive. This sharp reverse lowered Britain's prestige throughout India and helps to explain the Mutiny. A generation later, after another setback, the British government ordered Lord Roberts to march his forces through the heart of Afghanistan. This he did, completely re-establishing British prestige. Disraeli planned to establish a buffer province on the Afghan side of the Khyber Pass. Gladstone, who replaced him (1881), demurred, and the Northwest Frontier Province of India was subsequently organized (1901) as a military bulwark. Many a young British officer has seen active service there. One fruit of Lord Roberts' famous march was the installation in Afghanistan of an amir friendly to British rule, Abd-er Rahman Khan (1880-1901). In return for an annual subsidy of \$600,000 Abd-er Rahman undertook to conduct whatever relations his government might have with foreign countries through the viceroy of India.

### Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Persia

It was not only the Afghans against whom the British were on guard on India's northwestern frontier but the Russians as well. Russia was then busily "planting her power" in central Asia. Expansion to the southeast, on both sides of the Caspian Sea, would bring Russia vastly richer prizes than an eastward march through Siberia, and the distances were shorter. Time after time did Russia advance her boundaries at the expense of Afghanistan, until only a few hundred miles separated the Russian Empire from the British. Next-door neighbor to Afghanistan and India on the west is Persia. Once the seat of a great empire and the home of an advanced civilization, Persia, which had defied Rome, had been overrun by Arab, Mongol, and Turkish conquerors. In modern times, however, Persia had gradually recovered her political independence and much of the old homeland. This covered, in the nineteenth century, three quarters of a million square miles and supported a population of about twelve million. Though half the land is desert waste, there is considerable soil of high fertility, especially to the north and west in the coastal areas of the Caspian Sea. Persian fruits are famous; so also are Persian rugs, shawls, and carpets. Of more interest to an industrial civilization was the discovery of an oil field, one of the world's richest, in southwestern Persia.

Russian penetration of Persia in the nineteenth century was both political and economic. Several provinces along the western shore of the Caspian were lopped off altogether; other provinces fell under Russian control. Tabriz and Teheran, Persia's only important cities, passed under Russian influence. The Russian government saw to it that the Persian government was constantly in its debt and exploited to the limit Persia's dependence upon her exports to Russia. It is worthy of mention, perhaps, that one Persian article of export was caviar from the sturgeon fisheries of the Caspian. It was Russia's ambition to build a railway across Persia, through Tabriz and Teheran and southward to a point on the Persian Gulf.

On Russia's Persian policy Britain kept an ever watchful eye. From Persia as a base it would be easy for Russia to press upon India, either overland through Afghanistan, at Herat, or by water through the Arabian Sea. "We desire above all things," said Lord Salisbury in 1889, "that Persia shall not only be prosperous but be strong." When the Russians began to construct a coaling station at Bandar Abbas at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, a logical terminus of their proposed trans-Persian railway, the British sent a warship to ensure the discontinuance of the project. In 1901 the Anglo-Indian Telegraph Company extended its lines right across Persia, and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was organized to develop leases in southwestern Persia. Finally, as a part of the

readjustment of the diplomatic balance in Europe and throughout the world, ominous prelude to war, Russia and Britain agreed upon a truce in the Middle East, the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. To Russia was assigned the northern half of Persia as an exclusive zone of exploitation; to England, the southeastern fifth. Oil excepted, Russia had the best of the deal economically, but Britain was well content to have blocked Russian access to the frontier of India. Not much was left to the shah of Persia in exclusive possession; even so it was stipulated that his rule must be in accord with the provisions of the convention. Of course the two powers did not fail to affirm, formally, their adherence to the principle of the "independence and integrity" of Persia.

### China, the Land and the People

China is the heart of the Far East, and the exploitation of that great land with its enormous population and fascinating civilization has been the greatest project of Western imperialism in modern times. China proper has an area about half that of the United States of America, with a population three times as large. Its Pacific coast line is two thousand miles long from north to south; from the coast, China extends about fourteen hundred miles into the interior of Asia. Bordering on China proper is a fringe of outlying provinces—Tibet, Sinkiang, Mongolia, and Manchuria—all under Chinese sovereignty in modern times but not so closely administered from Peking as the eighteen provinces. The area of the outlying provinces is twice that of the central core, but their total population is only one tenth as great. Still more loosely held were Burma, Indo-China, and Korea, all destined to pass entirely from Chinese control.

The soil of the eighteen provinces is drained by three great rivers, the Hwang, the Yangtze, and the Hsi, which take their rise in the great mountain mass of Tibet and flow generally from west to east. The height of land separating the valley of the Hwang River on the north from the Yangtze, its neighbor on the south, is China's Mason and Dixon Line. It follows roughly the thirty-fourth parallel of north latitude. Differences of language, of economy, and even of physical type of the inhabitants are marked, and a true political sectionalism has developed which has had important consequences, not the least being weakness in the face of foreign danger.

The valley of the Yangtze alone provides for half of China's population. At its mouth is Asia's largest city, Shanghai, through which passes half of China's foreign trade. In the upper valley of the Yangtze, a thousand miles to the west, lies the province of Sze-Chuan, the most densely populated farm area in the world. British Burma and French Indo-China both seek to tap the rich trade of this region with overland routes. The capital of

this province of fifty million inhabitants is Chungking. Huge aggregations of population, however, are something of a commonplace in China, where childless families are practically unknown. Houseboats cover the streams from bank to bank, in places, supplying homes for families crowded off the land. Even in the best of years there is no food to spare, and in lean years thousands starve. Human labor is so cheap that mechanization has been very slow. From whatever direction one approaches the enigma of China, the problem of population is soon encountered.

As a single political unit China has had a continuous existence of over three thousand years. Twenty-two dynasties have ruled her people, of which the last three were the Mongol, 1260-1368, the Ming, 1368-1644, and the Manchu, 1644-1912. The civilization of China, until the nineteenth century entirely non-European, is very old and the Chinese are justly proud of it. Although the Chinese anticipated many of Europe's greatest inventions, their accomplishments remained almost as unknown to Europe as though the country were on a different planet. During the Mongol period, when China's governmental authority reached as far west as the border of Poland, a few European travelers, like Marco Polo, penetrated to the heart of China, but the stories of what they saw in far off "Cathay" seemed as unreal to their contemporaries as imaginative works of fiction.

### First Contacts with the West

The Chinese were quite content to keep Europeans and their ways and wares at a distance. For centuries Chinese contacts had been with weaker peoples and inferior civilizations; as a result they were satisfied that their own culture was the highest and that their own institutions were the best in the world. Europeans they looked upon as barbarians. Portuguese, Dutch, and English merchants had long knocked at the door of China, however, and the Portuguese had actually possessed themselves of a small island off the city of Canton. Finally the Chinese government allowed a guild of merchants in Canton to exchange commodities with the foreigners for a limited period each year, great care being taken that the foreigners remain at all times within their compound. Under these circumstances the people of Europe and America first became acquainted with Chinese tea and silks. Meanwhile the Chinese government steadfastly refused to have any dealings with European governments. Diplomatic representatives it neither sent nor received.

### The Opium Wars

China's "gates of brass" were suddenly broken down, or partially so, as a result of what is known as the First Opium War. The evil effects of

opium smoking had led the Chinese government to forbid the importation or sale of opium, a prohibition of long standing. Efficiency in customs administration was not one of the merits of the Chinese government, however, and a scandalously large amount of opium slipped by the inspectors in Canton. Most of it came from British India, the English merchants trading it for the tea and silks which had such a wide use in the West. A renewed attempt at enforcement on the part of Chinese officials led to an affray in which a few Chinese were killed. When the British authorities declined satisfaction, declaring that they were unable to discover the culprits, the Chinese endeavored to set fire to their ships. British warships then sailed up the Yangtze River and trained their guns upon the capital city of Nanking. Chinese officials hastened to sign a treaty with Britain (1842). This treaty, with others entered into with France and the United States, did much to bring Chinese exclusiveness to an end. Foreign merchants were to be tolerated in five of China's ports. They might have their own resident consuls, who would not only extend to them the aid and protection of their home governments but also administer justice, in accordance with western law. This is the so-called "right of extraterritoriality," which the Chinese long regarded as a breach of their sovereign rights. It is interesting to note that the practice arose in Moslem lands of the Near East after local rulers had contemptuously refused to have anything to do with the lives or the laws of the hated infidels who had taken up residence amongst them.

A Second Opium War was followed by a second sheaf of treaties (1858-1860), which opened five more Chinese ports to trade. The Chinese government also agreed to levy a uniformly low tariff on imports from Western countries. In addition, China now consented to send and receive ambassadors and otherwise carry on diplomatic relations with foreign powers. All states having diplomatic relations with China were equally entitled to take advantage of the new trading concessions.

### Thirty Years of Peaceful Trade

There ensued thirty years of comparatively peaceful exploitation of China by the Western powers. China did not fall a victim to any one of them, nor was her territory divided up among several powers, as was the continent of Africa in the same period. The reason for China's escape was that the principal interest of Europeans was still trade, not territory. This was a period in China's history comparable to the seventeenth-century history of India, when French and British trading companies limited themselves to commercial activities.

By 1898 China's foreign trade was in excess of half a billion dollars.

Great Britain, Russia, and Japan were the leading participants, with France and the United States much farther down the list. In thirty-two Chinese cities foreigners were now permitted to reside and carry on business. Tea and silk no longer dominated the scene; opium had practically vanished. Kerosene, soap, clocks, and steel products were imported by the Chinese in quantity; exports consisted of the produce of farms and mines. Though not a colony, China had become a "quasi-colony." Not a mile of her customs frontier was under her exclusive control. Customs administration was in the hands of an Englishman; postal facilities were administered by a Frenchman. At the same time, China managed to present an outward appearance of stability and unity. Li Hung-chang, chief minister of the empress dowager, had considerable success in persuading the powers of Europe that China's administration was progressive and her defenses in good order.

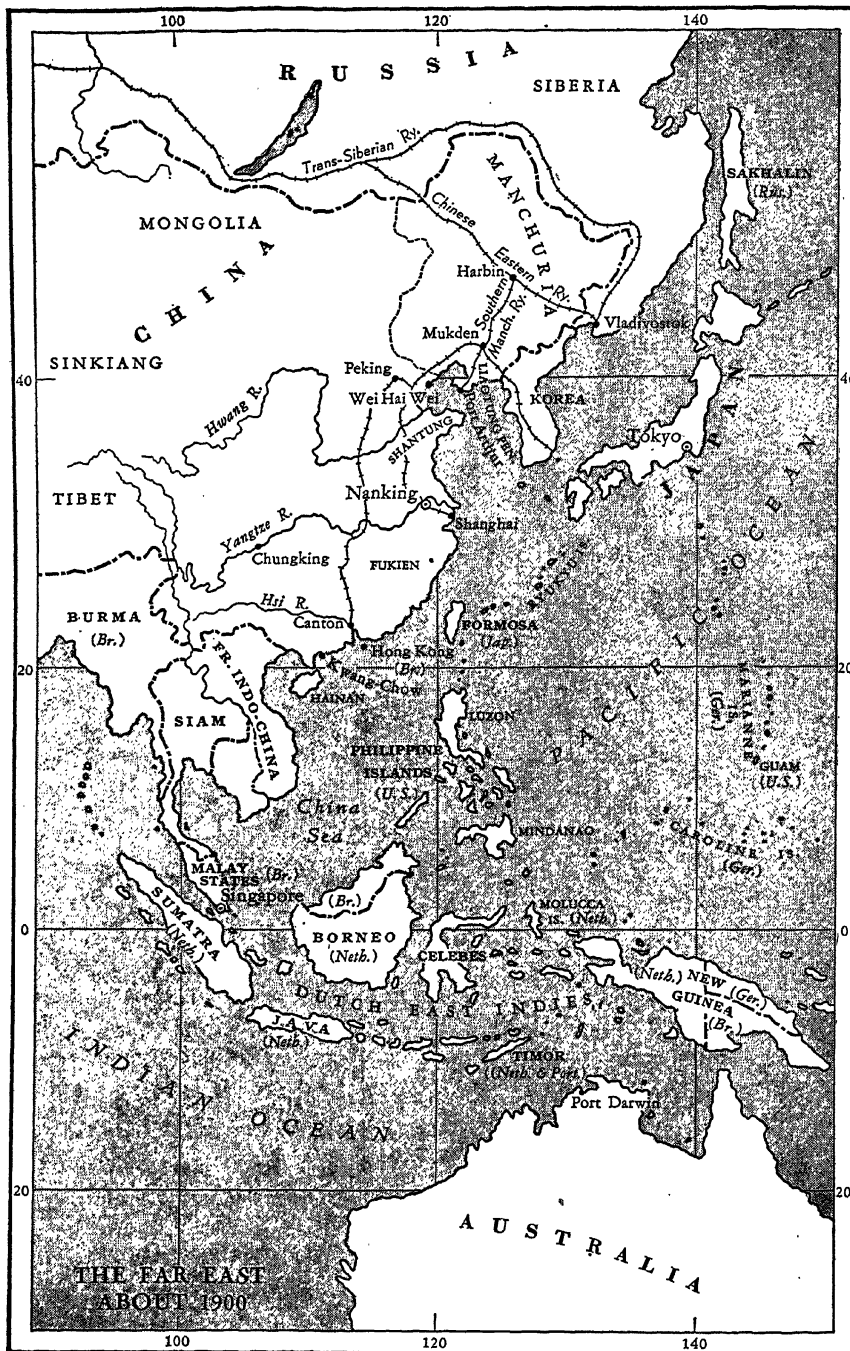
### China Defeated by Japan

In 1894 a war with Japan brought abrupt disillusion. The Chinese had never taken the Japanese seriously, and they looked with contempt upon the civilization and institutions of the "black dwarfs," as they called them. Japan's rapid Westernization, especially in the arts of war, had escaped Chinese notice. The war was over Korea, which China regarded as an outlying province of Chinese culture, a convenient buffer state between her and the hated Japanese. The latter had lately sought to extend their own influence in the affairs of Korea by supporting an anti-Chinese administration. After a preliminary clash in 1884, from which the Japanese withdrew, battle was joined between Chinese and Japanese forces in Korea in 1894. Defeat for China was swift and complete. Her own larger naval and military forces crumbled to dust under the shock of Japan's hard efficiency. China's principal commander had advanced into battle fan in hand! Her chief admiral, seeing his ships sunk like paper toys by the heavy guns of the Japanese, descended to his cabin and committed suicide. The Peace of Shimonoseki provided that China should cede to Japan Formosa and a group of islands lying to the westward (the Pescadores), pay a large indemnity, and recognize the independence of Korea.

### The Powers Scramble for Chinese Territory

The astounding defeat of vast China by little Japan startled the world. It was soon followed by a scramble among European powers for Chinese coastal territory as bases for trade and as centers from which their interests might radiate. Russia's advance in Manchuria was particularly





noteworthy. This land, known to the Chinese as the "Three Eastern Provinces," has an area of about 400,000 square miles. Always under full Chinese sovereignty, it had remained somewhat undeveloped even by Chinese standards. The soil is generally fertile and capable of supporting a large population. The region contains much coal, as well as other minerals, and, it is believed, important oil deposits. Russia regarded Manchuria as her own special field of exploitation. When Japan demanded the Liaotung peninsula, at the close of the Sino-Japanese war, Russia, with some support from Germany and France, caused the demand to be withdrawn. In return for this service to China, Russia secured the right to continue the Trans-Siberian Railway directly east to Vladivostok across the plain of northern Manchuria, instead of making a long detour to the north. This link was known as the Chinese Eastern Railway. Port Arthur, at the tip of the Liaotung peninsula, was then leased by Russia, and from Harbin in northern Manchuria the Southern Manchurian Railway was built to link the Chinese Eastern with Port Arthur. Concessions along the right of way of the two Manchurian railways plus the maintenance of armed forces for their security seemed to ensure that Russia would be able to press her assimilation of Manchuria as far and as fast as she pleased.

Russia was not alone in sensing opportunity. Germany established herself at the tip of the Shantung peninsula. Great Britain leased Wei Hai Wei across the bay from Port Arthur, and enlarged her bases both in Shanghai and on the mainland opposite Hong Kong. Shanghai, particularly, appeared to give Britain a firm foothold for the exploitation of the trade of the Yangtze valley. Japan allowed it to be known that she would press her interests in the province of Fukien opposite her newly acquired base of Formosa. France secured a ninety-nine-year lease of coastal territory on the bay of Kwáng-Chow adjacent to French Indo-China, thus earmarking southwest China as her sphere of exploitation. Even Italy asked for a base, but China, though tragically weakened, peremptorily refused. Along with bases on China's soil Great Britain secured the right to build 2800 miles of railway. Russia was given similar rights for 1530 miles of railway, Germany for 720, and France for 420.

### The Boxer Rebellion

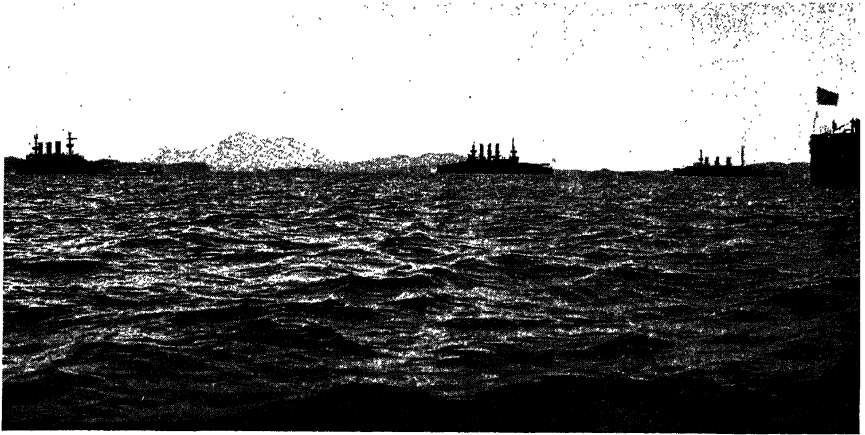
The five-year scramble brought to a head the smoldering resentment of many Chinese at the Westernizing processes to which China had been for some decades exposed. This anti-foreign feeling boiled over in 1900 in a fanatical outburst of violence, during which 223 Christian missionaries were killed and the entire personnel of foreign embassies was held for some months under siege at Peking. The rioting and murders were

incited by an organization called "the Righteous Harmony Fists Association," or more popularly "the Boxers." High government officials secretly encouraged the Boxer Rebellion while disavowing all responsibility. To rescue the legations and assist in restoring order, the powers organized an international force which marched to Peking. A heavy indemnity was then levied upon the Chinese government, and by way of further security for China's good behavior, an international loan was arranged, which mortgaged China's future indefinitely.

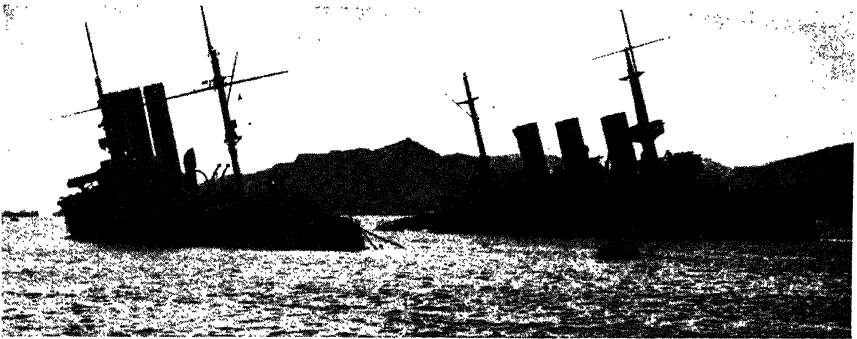
Why was China able to preserve her independence and what remained of her territorial integrity during the decade that followed the Boxer Rebellion? The most important reason, without doubt, was that the powers were mutually jealous, and that they were apprehensive lest a clash of imperialist interests in the Far East should precipitate a world war. Indeed, a salutary self-restraint was observed more than once in international affairs; there was even at times a disposition to employ the method of cooperation. Without doubt, however, the preservation of China owed something also to the policy of the United States.

### America in the Far East; the Philippines

In 1940, our last full year of peace, America's trade with Asia was incomparably the greatest of any Western power's. It was not far short of equaling our trade with the whole of Europe, including Britain; it was twice that of our trade with South America. At the close of the nineteenth century, by contrast, our trade with the Orient was in its early stages. Even then, however, its future importance was clearly recognized. Certainly its importance was not forgotten when the fortunes of war brought us, in 1898, the Philippines, centrally located in the fringe of islands that shelters the eastern coast of Asia. There are more than seven thousand islands in the Philippine Archipelago, with a total area of 114,000 square miles, equal to that of New Zealand. Luzon, on which the capital city of Manila stands, and Mindanao are the two largest islands, their area approximating two thirds of the whole. The population of the Philippines, about 16,000,000, is Malaysian in language. Before the Spanish occupation it had been Mohammedan in religion, but three hundred years of Spanish rule left most Filipinos Catholic. Rice, sugar cane, and other tropical products abound, and the islands contain rich forests. Americans were by no means united on the question of whether or not to keep the Philippines. To many such a policy looked like the beginning of imperialism, and they doubted whether America could long remain both imperialist and democratic. Others regarded the Philippines as a wonderfully opportune base for our Oriental trade. As President McKinley said,



RUSSIAN FLEET ENTERING PORT ARTHUR



RUSSIAN FLEET AFTER THE JAPANESE ATTACK

In a "sneak attack" before a declaration of war, this fleet was seriously damaged by the Japanese, February 8-9, 1904.



"JAP THE GIANT KILLER" (p. 587)

From *Punch, or the London Charivari*,  
September 29, 1894



MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

(pp. 580-582)



A CRACK INDIAN REGIMENT

A formal "march past" at a presentation of Victoria Crosses, November, 1944. (*Press Association, Inc.*)



IRRIGATION METHODS IN CHINA

The supply of unskilled labor is so large that mechanization advances slowly.

in 1899, "Incidental to our tenure of the Philippines is the commercial opportunity to which American statesmanship cannot be indifferent."

### Open Door Policy

On September 6, 1899, McKinley's secretary of state, John Hay, sent to England, Russia, and Germany—and later to France, Italy, and Japan—a note asking each power not to close to others the ports of China which they held under lease, and asking them also to enforce only the recognized Chinese tariff. This "Open Door Policy" was aimed at preventing the establishment of monopolistic spheres of interest in China from which the outside world would be excluded. We, of course, were the principal outside power, and Secretary Hay's request was undoubtedly in the interest of our Asiatic trade. It was a landmark in the history of China because it helped powerfully to preserve her territorial integrity. Chinese appreciation of American policy was increased by our action in setting aside our share of the Boxer indemnity as a fund for the education of Chinese youth. The Open Door Policy we have steadfastly adhered to, but in the retention of the Philippines we have more than once wavered. We never formally retracted the pledge given at the start; that the Filipinos should have their liberty when fit for it, but it was 1934 when we finally gave them a timetable of freedom, the last step to come in 1946.

### The Chinese Revolution; Founding of the Republic

The defeat by Japan and the spoliation of China by the powers were lessons which continued to agitate the minds of Chinese statesmen and patriots. The imperial government sent a commission to the West to study its political institutions, and it encouraged young Chinese students by the thousands to enter the universities of Japan, Europe, and the United States. In 1906 the use of opium was prohibited, the edict to go into full effect ten years later. These moves were too partial and too halting to satisfy the more ardent Chinese reformers. One such was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a physician who had spent many years in the cities of Europe and America. At Canton, a city with many Western contacts, Dr. Sun began to gather followers into a party, the Kuomintang, and to indoctrinate them with his famous principles of nationalism, democracy, and the welfare of the masses.

In 1911 Sun's party turned to revolutionary agitation. The movement spread like wildfire, and in January, 1912, Dr. Sun was installed at Nanking as president of the Chinese Republic. The Chinese people were by no means prepared for Dr. Sun's principles; even he recognized that,

Nationalism and democracy were unknown. Chinese loyalty was to the family; their world was the village. In the north of China the imperial troops remained loyal to their commander, Yuan Shih-kai, and after four years of civil war Dr. Sun retired from the presidency in Yuan's favor. The latter, no friend of democracy, soon established a dictatorship over such provinces as he could control; other "war lords" set themselves up here and there. All in all, China's territorial integrity suffered more from the collapse of her dynasty than from the depredations of the powers.

### Japan, the Land and the People

Greatest menace to the integrity of China was not any one of the Western powers nor revolution from within, but the rising power of Japan. This island empire has a homeland smaller than the state of California. Its total area, 147,000 square miles, is spread over a few large islands and thousands of small ones. The land is very mountainous, several volcanoes being still active; less than one sixth of the land is arable. The swarming population lives mainly on rice, fish, and soybeans.

Japan's civilization is to a great extent borrowed from China. The Japanese have always been an imitative people with a knack of adopting other people's ways. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the Christian era, however, Japanese scholars and men of letters began a renaissance directed toward the accentuation of native elements of Japanese culture. One important result of this movement was the decline of Confucianism and Buddhism and the elevation of Shintoism to the status of an official religion. Shintoism is "almost synonymous with chauvinistic patriotism." Emperor worship, state worship, and ancestor worship are some of its constituents. The more important shrines of this faith passed under the control of the government, and its priests became members of the civil service. In the nineteenth century the fruits of the cultural renaissance became the substance of national education. Prescribed textbooks incubated an intense loyalty to the nation, "the mightiest nation in the world," as they called it, and one that, by a palpable modification of history, had never been beaten in battle.

The center of Shinto is the emperor. The progenitor of the imperial line was the Sun Goddess, the first human representative being Jimmu Tenno (660 B.C.). The line has continued "unbroken for ages eternal" to Hirohito, the present ruler. Doubts as to biological continuity may be ignored because the Japanese hold that adoption is the full equivalent of blood relationship. Modern Japanese regarded their emperor as a living god. No coin might bear his features, and tissue paper must protect all photographs of him exposed to sale. When he passed through the streets,

none might gaze upon him from above. Strangely enough, however, the godlike emperors of Japan have seldom exercised godlike authority; real power has nearly always been in the hands of others.

European students of Japanese history find something familiar in the feudalism which prevailed in the Land of the Rising Sun for centuries prior to the famous visit of Commodore Perry. The feudal barons were called daimios; their armed retainers, samurai. Private war among the barons was intense, and shattering in its effect on orderly government. In the twelfth century of our era, the Shogun, or military governor of the Mikado, had reduced the barons to a measure of subservience, and Shoguns subsequently ruled over them in the Mikado's name somewhat after the fashion of the mayors of the palace of the early Frankish kings. In 1867 the series of hereditary Shoguns was brought to an end by a revolt of the barons and their retainers. The office of Shogun was abolished, and the powers of the Japanese emperor were restored. The first of the restored emperors was Mutsuhito or Meiji, a man of some force, who reigned from 1867 to 1912.

### Japan Open to Western Trade

The revolt and brief civil war of 1867-1868 was caused by the resentment of the feudal barons at the opening of Japan to foreign influences. Portuguese traders had secured a foothold in Japanese ports in the sixteenth century and Christian missionaries had followed, the most notable being Francis Xavier. Thousands of converts had been made by 1612, when the Shogun wiped out the movement and, along with the missionaries, expelled the merchants as well.

Japan again surrounded herself with a "Chinese wall" of isolation and nonintercourse, which stood firm for more than two centuries. Western whalers and fishing boats, sometimes cast upon her shores, were seized and their crews made prisoners. Then in 1853 Commodore Perry with a squadron of four ships sailed into a Japanese harbor and delivered a message from the American government requesting the right of shelter for our fishing craft and, if possible, the privilege of trade for our merchants. The impact of this visit upon the nerves of Japanese high officials was most efficacious. After some panicky thoughts of setting their defenses in order, they sagely perceived that Japan had nothing with which to oppose the naval guns of the West, and in the following year the Shogun's government signed a treaty with the United States opening certain ports to our merchants and granting to American citizens resident in Japan rights of extraterritoriality. Similar treaties were signed with Russia, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands.



### Japan Westernizes

This yielding to the West and the concession of unequal treaties on the part of the Shogun were followed by the revolt of the feudal barons and the "restoration" of the emperor (1868). The next quarter of a century constitutes one of the most remarkable chapters in modern history. Japan Westernized herself. Telegraph lines were strung, railways built, postal and national banking systems established. Japan adopted the Gregorian calendar and Western codes of law. Education was made compulsory; Western textbooks were introduced. Soon great factories sprang up, as the Japanese initiated Western industrial enterprise. Not the least remarkable thing about this modernizing process was that it was the work of aristocratic rather than of bourgeois leaders. Soon after the restoration of 1868 feudalism in an economic sense was abolished, the barons surrendering their estates to the emperor. The feudal lords retained their titles and their social prestige, and had the sagacity to recognize that if Japan were to survive the exploitive enterprise of Western powers it must become strong after their fashion. Taking charge of the modernizing processes, the aristocracy secured for themselves positions of power in the new regime. When the Mikado's administration was departmentalized, they became heads of departments; when great industries were founded, it was to them that ownership belonged. Above all, the new army, Western in its weapons and tactics, was headed by representatives of the samurai class.

### Feudal Aristocracy and Industrial Oligarchy

Among the innovations appropriated by Japan was a modern constitution, proclaimed in 1889. This was of the Prussian type. It provided for a House of Representatives elected by the taxpayers and a Chamber of Peers nominated by the emperor. There was an executive cabinet, but full responsibility to the lower house of the national Parliament was lacking. Nor was the emperor obliged to accept the advice of his ministers on all occasions; he could turn from them to a group called the "elder statesmen," who were responsible only to himself. Furthermore, the departments of war and the navy, never headed by civilians, were expressly reserved from the control of Parliament. Some elements of a liberal parliamentary government were to be found in the constitution of 1889, however, and with the growth of industry and the rapid increase of a bourgeois class there appeared to be some prospect, up to 1914, that genuine political parties would be established and responsible government assured. As yet, however, an aristocracy of civil and military bureau-

crats in alliance with an oligarchy of industrial magnates dominated all Japanese policy both domestic and foreign. For once a feudal aristocracy had known how to survive an industrial age.

### War with China

The ruling caste of Japan, always militantly nationalistic, was now armed with modern military and naval weapons. Shintoism teaches that the Japanese are a master race, foreordained to bring other peoples into subjection to their god-emperor. Industrialization and increase of population in their tight little empire brought home the need for areas of expansion, for sources of raw materials, especially coal and iron, and for markets where the products of Japanese factories might be sold. Korea had long been looked upon with covetous eyes, but the Chinese government had countered all moves directed toward Japanese control of the Korean government. Finally in July, 1894, the Japanese seized the Korean king at Seoul. China declared war. Japan's forces seized the Liaotung peninsula and stormed Port Arthur; landing on the Shantung peninsula across the bay, they took the road to Peking. Employing their new weapons for the first time, the Japanese, as we have seen, won the war before China could fully mobilize. China gave way, signing the Treaty of Shimonoseki. (See p. 587.) The independence of Korea was recognized by Japan as well as by China, but this was only because the former did not feel strong enough as yet to defy the mandate of the Western powers.

### War with Russia

The one outside power most interested in the fate of Korea was Russia. Seemingly insatiable in her lust for territory and never ceasing in her search for warm-water ports, Russia in the next decade extended and consolidated her interests in Manchuria, north and south, until the Russian Resident at Mukden virtually ruled the entire region. To the dismay of Japanese leaders, Russia seemed to regard the Korean peninsula as a natural appendage of Manchuria. Russian financial and military officials gradually displaced the Japanese in the land which Japan had long marked for her own. The ruling caste in Japan was of two minds, one group thinking it would be best to come to terms with mighty Russia, the other resolved to strengthen Japan's armament against the time of a showdown. To narrow the issue, Japan signed a treaty with Great Britain in 1902 which assured that in the event of war the one would come to the aid of the other if a third party joined the attack. Great Britain had been impressed by Japanese efficiency and was glad to see Russia preoccupied

in the Far East; it might mean a decrease of Russian influence in the Middle East.

Continuing to demand some assurance of a lessening of pressure in southern Manchuria and Korea and getting nowhere, the Japanese attacked the Russian fleet without warning at Port Arthur in February, 1904. Russia completely underestimated her small but lithe and hard-hitting opponent, whose soldiers and sailors fought with suicidal frenzy. Three Russian fleets were destroyed. In the land battle of Mukden, where 600,000 men were locked in combat for a fortnight, the Japanese again triumphed. Port Arthur was taken after a seven-month siege. By the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905) Japan's paramount interests in Korea were fully recognized, and five years later the "Land of the Morning Calm" was annexed to Japan. Russia agreed to withdraw all her troops from Manchuria, as did Japan. Russia's lease on Port Arthur, together with certain railway and mining concessions in southern Manchuria, were transferred to Japan. During the next decade the Japanese proceeded, not too scrupulously, to exploit their gains, and southern Manchuria became practically a province of Japan.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

### *The First World War*

THE WAR which began in August, 1914, was not caused by the wickedness, or madness, of one man or one nation. It was rather the outgrowth of the special type of nationalism and national imperialism which had developed in Europe, especially in the period since 1870. One can understand and sympathize with the preoccupation of any nation with its own economic welfare and security. Such matters are usually susceptible of adjustment or compromise. When pride and prestige are paramount, however, no compromise is possible. With the spread of democracy national touchiness was accentuated; the feelings of each citizen were disturbed when the prestige of his country was threatened. Moreover, trouble zones were multiplied as the states of Europe extended their sovereignty over the backward peoples of the world. If it had been a matter of economic interest only, colonial questions could have been adjusted peaceably; it had long been clear that, granted reasonable freedom of trade, there was no advantage in owning colonies. It was considerations of prestige which moved the peoples of Europe to hang on grimly to all they had or press forward without rest for more.

#### The Problem of Security

The problem of security was more difficult than ever before. Military and naval establishments must be large enough not only to secure the homeland but in many cases to defend an empire. Moreover, with the spread of literacy and the right to vote the attitude of the general public became a day-by-day factor in the conduct of foreign relations. Faced with the momentous problems of security for the first time, the masses, highly susceptible and emotionally unstable, were filled with nervous apprehension. Each nation sought allies, but alliances brought no special feeling of security. Where self-interest was invariably the highest law, no ally could trust another very far. In the last analysis each power had to depend upon armament for the sense of security which its nationals demanded. Anxiously preoccupied with the problem of national defense, a statesman might decide upon some small increase in armament. To a

rival power, watching his every move, this defensive gesture would inevitably be interpreted as aggressive. Not wishing to be handed down to posterity as criminally negligent of his own country's security, the leader of this rival power would increase its armament, in a purely defensive way. Thus would begin an armament race. "The conduct of each power appears devilish to its enemies, yet in each case it is precisely what you might expect."

As the race proceeds, a condition of nervous tension and excitability begins to prevail in the countries concerned. Certain newspapers make it their business to exploit crime and other sensational matters. War is more sensational than anything else, so the "yellow" press pounces upon every hint of the mere possibility of war. Every untoward incident is magnified, if not manufactured; "every irresponsible speech or silly book is given the widest publicity, even though it may have passed unnoticed in the country of its origin." The pressure of public opinion obliges the leaders of rival countries to arm still more rapidly, and soon a state of excitement prevails in which truth cannot get a hearing and nothing but lies are believed. "Great armaments lead inevitably to war," said Viscount Grey, writing long after the First World War. "The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made the war inevitable. This, it seems to me is the truest reading of history, and the lesson that the present should be learning from the past." George Santayana's word to the present generation is, "Peoples who cannot remember history are compelled to repeat it."

### Three Antagonisms

Proud, self-conscious, and highly sensitive, the leading nationalities of Europe had attained such a degree of expansion in Europe and in the world early in the twentieth century that collisions were unavoidable. It will simplify our task in comprehending the background of the First World War if we fix our attention on the three principal antagonisms.\* First, there was the Franco-German. This was of long standing, but it was revived and intensified in the twenty-five years preceding the outbreak of war. The French, or the chauvinists among them at any rate, had never become reconciled to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, nor to the blow to national prestige received in the Franco-Prussian War. By 1900 France was well armed once more, maintaining in active service an army actually larger than the German and possibly better equipped. Further, she was allied to Russia, that vast reservoir of man power on Germany's eastern frontier. Germany kept close watch on her neighbor's

\* See R. J. Sontag, *European Diplomatic History, 1871-1932*.

armament moves and sought to take all proper precautions. The latent hostility between French and Germans was fanned to flame during a series of diplomatic crises.

A second antagonism was the Austro-Russian. This also was of long standing. Russia posed as the special friend and protector of the Slav peoples of the Balkan peninsula and was not averse to using this friendship to gain an outlet to the Mediterranean. Austria had important holdings of Balkan territory and, in order to control what she had, felt obliged to gain more. Here again a series of diplomatic crises made the antagonism acute. It was Russia's refusal to allow Austria to "devour" Serbia which led directly to war.

The third antagonism was the Anglo-German. This was of more recent development, and it is connected with German emergence, after 1890, as a world power with a world policy. For Germany it was a matter of prestige, and to some extent of economic interest also, to have colonies. As the world's greatest holder of colonies Britain would sooner or later feel German pressure. The competition of German manufactures in the markets of the world was also felt by the British, but this would hardly have developed into a cause of war. More to the point was the naval rivalry which soon sprang up between the two countries.

Sea power was essential to the life of the British Empire. Since the Napoleonic wars Britain had had the only large navy in the world. In 1889 she decided that there was no point in maintaining a navy indefinitely large, and therefore set for herself the maintenance of a fleet which would be merely equal to that of any two other powers. Germany had no navy at that time, and the navies against which England matched hers were those of her principal imperial rivals, Russia and France. Ten years later, however, Germany decided to build a navy. "The trident must be in our hands," said the kaiser; "our future lies on the water." There can be no doubt that the factor of prestige weighed heavily with him. Other great powers had great navies; so should Germany. Neither the kaiser nor von Tirpitz, his minister of marine, sensed the effect that their action was likely to have upon international relations.

Germany had certain natural advantages in the building of ships, since her costs were low and her personnel was conscripted, and also since she was able to begin with the latest types of craft. Her naval building program made rapid progress. It was not long before English calculations were based not upon what France and Russia were doing but upon what Germany was doing, or was likely to do. It was the pressure from this source, in part, which induced England to make friends with France in 1904. Not long thereafter the British fleets were reorganized. The Far Eastern fleet was called home, dependence being placed upon Britain's

ally, Japan, who had recently dealt with the Russian menace in that quarter. The Mediterranean fleet was also practically stripped of first class ships, dependence for the defense of the British lifeline in that sea being placed upon France, England's new friend. Two new fleets were then formed, one the Atlantic, with its base at Gibraltar, the other a home fleet, with its base at Rosyth in the North Sea. In October, 1905, England began the construction of her first dreadnought, the largest and most heavily armed vessel in the world, and a program of at least four such capital ships per annum was inaugurated.

### The First Moroccan Crisis

Meanwhile the first of the series of diplomatic crises had been precipitated in 1905 when the kaiser, who had been cruising on his yacht in the Mediterranean, landed at Tangier in Morocco. The Germans had been particularly displeased by the lofty way in which France and England had dealt with Morocco as one of the items in their Entente of the previous year. The sultan of Morocco was presumably an independent sovereign. If he acknowledged any superior it was the sultan of Turkey. Nevertheless, France had Moroccan interests, and the British had undertaken to support them in return for French support in Egypt. It was further stipulated that should France make additional gains in Morocco, Spain would be entitled to certain annexations also, for England did not want to see France take up a post on the north African coast opposite Gibraltar. It was further understood that any extension of French and Spanish interests would be matched by Italy in her chosen field of Tripoli. Germany had expected to share in this parceling out of African territory as she had in previous ones, and her wishes were well known. To be left out in the cold was more than German leaders felt they could accept without a heavy loss of national prestige. It was the chancellor, von Bülow, and his associates who asked the kaiser to stop at Tangier as a means of calling the attention of the world to the fact that Germany did not intend to be ignored.

The kaiser went unwillingly, for he scented trouble. Characteristically he made trouble certain by an unscheduled speech in which he assured the Moroccans that Germany proposed to support them in their efforts to preserve their territorial integrity. Taking a realistic view of the incident, the French premier inquired of von Bülow what territorial compensation Germany desired. Bülow's reply was that no definite compensation was wanted; Germany simply wanted to make it clear that the status of Morocco as well as other colonial problems should be settled by general international agreement and not by a deal between a few powers. France gave way before this demand and agreed to an inter-

national conference. The conference was held at Algeciras in Spain early in 1906, and Moroccan independence was affirmed as a matter of course. Since the sultan was perpetually in financial difficulties and was unable to enforce order, the powers established an international bank and a police force, the thin edge of intervention.

It was here that Germany met with defeat. With the help of her friends France gained a controlling position in both the financial and policing arrangements. Germany found herself practically alone, only Austria voting on her side, while France was supported by Great Britain, Russia, Spain, Italy, and even the United States of America. The French public was persuaded by the press that the Germans had meant to challenge French authority and break up the Anglo-French Entente. Thus the hostility between France and Germany was roused once more. A diplomatic consequence of the Moroccan crisis was that England was induced to end her quarrels with Russia, France's ally. Accordingly in 1907, as we have seen, the Triple Entente emerged.

### The Balkan Crisis of 1908

Austro-Russian antagonism was brought to the boiling point by the Balkan crisis of 1908. Fearful of a check from the Young Turks and believing that the European situation was opportune, Austria proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (See p. 554.) The Serbs, stirred to frenzy, proposed to go to war and sought Russia's aid. That Russian sentiment favored war cannot be doubted. Military recovery from the war with Japan was not complete, however. Furthermore, Britain and France, though they opposed the Austrian action vigorously, were evidently not of a mind to make it an issue of war. They demanded instead that this violation by Austria of the terms of the Congress of Berlin be brought before an international conference. The government of Austria-Hungary finally agreed to the summoning of a conference provided her annexation of the disputed province was recognized in advance. Germany indicated its approval of the Austrian stand. Recognition of Austria's action in advance would make holding the conference superfluous, and as it appeared that no great power of western Europe was willing, or ready, to go to war over the issue, no conference was held, and Germany and Austria-Hungary were permitted to chalk up for themselves a resounding diplomatic triumph. This triumph was particularly galling to Russia. She had hoped to secure as compensation the right of passage for her ships of war through the Dardanelles, but the Turkish attitude, and even that of her new friend England, was not encouraging. Thus was the feud between Austria and Russia revived and intensified.



### Anglo-German Naval Race

Following this crisis there was an accentuation of the naval race between Germany and Britain. A first-class scare gripped the British public during the naval debates of 1909. A Liberal cabinet was in power, preoccupied with a program of social security, and the struggle with the Lords was about to begin. Opposition leaders accused the Liberal government of not being sufficiently alert to the menace of German naval construction. Not content with such facts as they could get with respect to Germany's building program, they announced their belief in its "stealthy acceleration." They balanced German dreadnoughts present and possible against those of the British in the near future. Germany might have thirteen to England's sixteen by 1911, the Conservatives said, or under certain circumstances she might have, in 1912, seventeen to England's sixteen. In vain did Prime Minister Asquith rebuke the opposition for its "artificial and manufactured anxiety"; the public had been stirred by the noisy clamor of "We want eight and we won't wait." So large a factor in the international situation had Anglo-German antagonism now become that England's first lord of the admiralty gave it as his considered opinion that "the one thing which would most reassure Europe with regard to the prospects of peace would be that the naval expenditure in Germany would be diminished and that ours was following suit."

To his credit, be it said, the German chancellor undertook on his own responsibility to decrease the German program for the next few years as a contribution to peace. He asked in return that England should promise not to attack Germany and that she should engage to remain neutral in case Germany was attacked by a third power. So inflamed was public opinion in both countries by this time that the proposal came to nothing. English leaders saw in it an attempt to break up the Triple Entente. Eloquent of the uneasiness of the British public was the growing opinion that the navy was not enough; England must also have a great army. The greatest living military hero of Great Britain, Lord Roberts, summed up this view in the following words: "It is my absolute belief that without a military organization more adequate to the certain perils of the future, our empire will fall from us and our power will pass away." Thus began the drive for a greater army.

### The Second Moroccan Crisis

Revived animosities were further intensified and armaments increased as a result of yet another crisis. Inability to put down a political rival led the sultan of Morocco to invite French troops to come to his aid, and

early in 1911 detachments of French soldiers entered Fez, the Moroccan capital. France had clearly gone beyond her rights under the Treaty of Algeciras by this action; indeed, more than once France had without invitation, sent troops across the border between Morocco and Algeria "to restore order." Other signatories of the pact became uneasy as week followed upon week with no withdrawal. To all inquiries the French reply was that they really couldn't say when they would withdraw, but it would not be until order was restored. German leaders came to the conclusion that the French meant to stay in Morocco permanently. Since this would upset the colonial balance in Africa, Germany must have compensation. When the French proved to be unresponsive to this suggestion, the German government, alleging that the lives and property of German merchants were in danger, sent a warship to the Moroccan port of Agadir. The French saw the point, and after much haggling over details ceded to Germany 100,000 square miles of the French Congo of no great value. The German foreign secretary had demanded merely "a decent mouthful," however, and this was it.

France took the Agadir matter more calmly than England. Agadir is on the Atlantic. The presence there of a German battleship was in the eyes of the British a flagrant violation of the balance of power in the Atlantic and a menace to the security of the British Empire. The two English parties were at the moment at each other's throats, but it was the "pacifist" English chancellor of the exchequer, Lloyd George, who was put up to speak England's mind. His speech was not at all diplomatic. There can be no doubt that it definitely heightened German animosity. French willingness to compromise ended the crisis. There followed the naval agreement obliging France to concentrate her warships in the Mediterranean while England withdrew all her large ships from that area and placed them in the Channel and the North Sea. Each country, by implication, was to guard the other's interests; in case an unprovoked attack was suspected by a third power, the two countries were to consult together. Both Germany and France now increased the peacetime strength of their armies, and the French raised the term of compulsory service from two years to three, at the same time extending the recruiting age downward to twenty and upward to forty-eight years. Each country strove also to increase its speed of mobilization.

In January, 1912, Raymond Poincaré, a native of Lorraine, became prime minister of France. Poincaré was a man with a "heart of cold stone," whose icy intellectual power reminds one of Richelieu. In one of his early speeches as premier he said, referring to the international situation, "We must maintain all of the patience, all of the energy, all of the pride of a people which does not desire war but which nevertheless does not

fear it." This is hardly the speech of a pacifically minded man. Indeed, there is little evidence at any time during these years of the well-nigh universal dread of war which was so widespread during the brief years of "appeasement" which preceded the outbreak of the Second World War. For one thing, both sides, then, were well armed.

### Italo-Turkish War

A more serious consequence of the second Moroccan crisis was Italy's determination to resort to force in her dealings with Turkey. The Italians had become convinced by the French advance into Morocco that only quick action on their part could save Tripoli from the French, and they suddenly called upon Turkey to recognize an Italian protectorate over that region. When this was refused, Italy declared war in September, 1911. Seizure of the coastal towns was easy, but progress inland proved to be slow and expensive. Italy had assured her ally, Austria-Hungary, that she would not attack Turkey in Europe, which would be sure to precipitate a new Balkan crisis. The delay and expense of the war, however, induced Italy to change her plans. Sending her navy into the Aegean Sea, she seized the island of Rhodes and the Dodecanese archipelago. The Turks now sued for peace. In the Treaty of Lausanne Tripoli was ceded to Italy and was at once organized as an Italian colony named Libya. The Italians agreed, for their part, to restore the captured islands of the Aegean to Turkey the moment Tripoli was completely pacified. That moment never came.

### The Balkan Wars

On the very day that this treaty was signed, October 15, 1912, an alliance of Balkan states, including Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro, declared war on Turkey. Italy's easy and quick defeat of Turkey laid bare the unsuspected military weakness of the new regime in the latter country. Even so, Europe was surprised at the swift success of the Balkan allies. In six weeks their forces were within twenty-five miles of Constantinople. Moreover, the Turkish province of Albania, with its Adriatic coast line, was lost, chiefly to the forces of Serbia.

At this point Italy and Austria intervened. They had no intention of allowing Serbia to establish itself as an Adriatic state, thus menacing their own security. They demanded that the fighting stop and that a new Balkan settlement be made at an international conference. The London conference followed. Serbia and Greece, deprived of their Albanian gains, demanded compensation in Macedonia and Thrace. Since such compensation would be at Bulgaria's expense, that country decided upon an "act

of insane folly" and suddenly attacked her recent allies. Turkish forces joined in, and Rumania, which had stood aside from the First Balkan War, now plunged into the Second to "rectify" her Bulgarian frontier. Bulgaria was overwhelmed. By the Treaty of Bucharest, August 10, 1913, Bulgaria's dream of grandeur was rudely shattered and the spoils of Turkey were divided principally between Serbia and Greece, with small allotments to Rumania. Albania was set up as an independent state. Thus Italy's attack on Turkey in 1911 had been followed by two wars in the Balkan peninsula in 1912 and 1913.

Luckily the three wars had all been local in character, though the great powers had had many anxious moments. The leaders of Germany and Austria-Hungary were highly disgruntled since they had backed Turkey to win the First Balkan War and Bulgaria the Second. The Russians had been given the cold shoulder all around. During the winter of 1913-1914 Russia's foreign minister traveled through the Balkans trying to build up another alliance with a promise of Austrian territory. Early in 1914 Russian leaders debated whether or not this was the time to seize the Straits. Evidently the peace of Europe was "at the mercy of an accident."

### The Assassination in Sarajevo

The crisis of 1914 was precipitated by the assassination in Sarajevo, Bosnian capital, of the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and his wife. Bad feeling between Serbia and Austria had been steadily on the increase of late. (See p. 554.) The Pig War had effected the complete extinction of all Austrophil sentiments among the Serbs, peasants included. There followed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, and anti-Austrian propaganda, merely driven underground, flamed up again, higher than before. Under Austrian pressure the Serbian government was again compelled to take an express pledge "to live in future on terms of good neighborliness." Patriotic and national societies continued to flourish, however. Then followed Serbia's participation in the two Balkan Wars, the result of which was practically to double Serbian territory.

Serbia's official attitude became so insolent that Austria seriously considered attacking her in the fall of 1913. Hardly a month went by without an attempt on the life of an Austrian official by Bosnian or Serbian students. These plots were chiefly the work of the Black Hand Society, the members of which, about five hundred in all, were known by numbers. The society included two of the Serbian general staff. Passports into Bosnia were forged by Serbian government officials and would-be assassins were fitted out with revolvers and bombs from the

government arsenal. The assassination plan of June, 1914, was complete a month in advance, and three would-be assassins were already on the spot. The responsibility of the Serbian government for the crime which followed is therefore inescapable. Anti-Austrian agitation had not been suppressed as promised; members of the Serbian high command were actually implicated in some of the plots; and the Serbian cabinet, which knew all about the plan of June, 1914, took no effective measures to suppress it. Doubtless the members of the cabinet themselves lived in terror of the Black Hand.

On the other hand, Austria's responsibility for the catastrophe is just as clear. The whole situation was the direct outgrowth of her suppressive policy. Furthermore, the appearance of the archduke and his wife on the streets of Sarajevo, conditions being what they were, was reckless to the point of folly, and it is clear that Austrian authorities were criminally negligent in their arrangements for the safety of the pair. As they were proceeding through the streets of Sarajevo in the morning, a bomb was thrown which failed to explode. With nerves shaken but courage seemingly undiminished, the archduke and his wife made a second appearance in the afternoon. Mistaking the route, the chauffeur entered the wrong street, discovered his error, and backed slowly, offering a perfect target. This time the assassins did not fail, and the archduke and his wife died uttering words of tender affection for their children.

### The Austrian Ultimatum

On July 23, nearly four weeks later, the government of Austria-Hungary delivered an ultimatum to the government of Serbia requiring an answer within forty-eight hours. This demanded that the Serbian government suppress all publications which incited hatred of Austria, eliminate from the schools all teaching of a similar character, discharge from the army certain officers whom Austria-Hungary would name, and allow the cooperation on Serbian soil of Austrian officials in the carrying out of the provisions. The demands went far beyond the limits of what may be permitted in dealings between sovereign states. Indeed, the last demand was inconsistent with Serbia's independence. Sir Edward Grey said, "I have never seen one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character." Within twelve days, five great states and two small ones were plunged into war. Austria declared war on Serbia on July 28. Russia ordered general mobilization, admittedly the prelude to war, on July 29. Germany declared war on Russia on August 1, and began her invasion of France on August 2. On August 3, Germany demanded free passage for her troops through Belgium and

was refused. On the following day England demanded that Germany respect the neutrality of Belgium, and when no reply was forthcoming declared war.

### Responsibility for the War

Responsibility for this terrible catastrophe cannot be laid upon any one nation. The war had been long in the making, and once the crisis of 1914 was at hand, it was no longer possible to halt on the rim of the abyss. To permit a lapse of four weeks between the assassination of the archduke and the launching of the ultimatum was undoubtedly a mistake. The wave of horror and indignation and of sympathy for Austria which followed the assassination had sensibly receded. Consideration was being given to the provocation which the Serbians had suffered and to the value of a free Serbia to Russia and France. The delay of Austria was due to a disagreement between Tisza, Hungarian prime minister, and Berchtold, foreign minister of Austria, as to the proper course of action. When this had been settled, it was still necessary to secure Germany's approval of Austria-Hungary's proposed course of action. There can be no doubt that the Hapsburg government did not intend that its ultimatum be accepted; Austria meant to deal with Serbia once and for all. Serbian officials realized this, and they finally agreed to all of the demands of the ultimatum except the last one, and did not flatly reject even that.

Germany made the mistake of signing a "blank check" authorizing Austria to go ahead. It is clear that the kaiser and his chancellor thought that the war would be a local one. "Seize Belgrade and stop there," was their idea. It is clear also that they did not believe that Russia would intervene in Serbia's behalf, still less that on behalf of Serbia France would enter a general war. It would seem that the possibility of England's intervention did not even cross their minds. England had long displayed her indifference toward the Balkans, and besides, English leaders were at the moment deeply involved in an Irish crisis. We may say, then, that the kaiser and his minister in backing Austria against Serbia were not seeking deliberately to involve all Europe in a general war. To be sure, they guessed wrong. When the situation became more critical, they could have said "Stop," but they did not wish to lose their one friend in Europe. And what of their own prestige if they drew back?

The next step was the mobilization of the Russian army. Russia was the first great power to order general mobilization. All responsible officials, civil and military, understood that general mobilization was the full equivalent of a declaration of war. Germany's attitude in the face of Russian mobilization was not in doubt. To offset the overwhelmingly superior man power of France and Russia, Germany had only her own

speed of mobilization on which to rely. The Germans knew that they would have to declare war on Russia instantly if Russia mobilized, and both French and Russian officials accepted this as a fact. Who, then, was responsible for Russian mobilization? Russian officials, of course, especially a military clique which hurried the tsar along. And what of Russia's ally, meanwhile? France, it is clear, did not do all in her power to restrain Russia's action. French archives remain closed, but it is altogether possible, according to circumstantial evidence, that French officials even encouraged Russia to mobilize. Upon Russia's failure to cancel her mobilization plans, therefore, Germany declared war and promptly invaded France, as was to be expected.

English officials had not been idle during the days of crisis. More than any other of the statesmen of Europe, Sir Edward Grey, English foreign minister, had been engaged in frantic efforts to localize the area of conflict and bring the matters at issue before an international conference. French officials felt from the beginning that something very much more than this would be necessary were war to be averted. England was informed by the French that if she would "announce that in the event of conflict between Germany and France, England would come to the aid of France, there would be no war." This may or may not be true, but in any event the English government was not in a position to make such a pronouncement. Prime Minister Asquith and his foreign secretary wanted to do so, but at least fifteen of the cabinet of twenty members felt that this was "an affair that does not concern us." British Liberals were socially minded and pacific, and for them this was just another Balkan flare-up. As a leading journal put it, "England has no interests vitally endangered." Backing the noninterventionists in the cabinet were London's great financial houses.

While the storm of war grew darker hourly, the cabinet remained deadlocked. Finally a decision was forced by the action of the Conservative leaders. Well aware of what was going on behind closed doors at 10 Downing Street, they offered to Asquith and Grey the full support of their party. The prime minister was thus enabled to force a decision. Suppose England remained outside the war, argued Asquith, and suppose Germany emerged the winner, as seemed likely, it would merely mean that Germany could then come to close grips with the British Empire. If, on the other hand, Russia and France won, England's situation would be no better. There was, to be sure, a truce between the British Empire and the French and Russians, but it was a truce which merely postponed strife. With Germany no longer to be feared, France and Russia could resume their aggressive ways.

There remained the matter of Belgian neutrality. No nation goes to

war, or should do so, unless her statesmen are persuaded that her vital interests are at stake. England was pledged to respect the neutrality of Belgium, as were other European states, but she was not pledged to make war on those who violated it. Germany's plan to enter France through Belgium had long been known to English authorities, but they had not felt, heretofore, that England was under any particular obligation to come, single-handed, to Belgium's assistance. It was fortunate for the British leaders, however, that their decision to enter the war could be made to hinge upon the defense of Belgium, since it brought a great surge of popular feeling to their support. This surge of feeling was accentuated by the famous "scrap of paper" phrase of the German chancellor. When the British foreign minister paid his farewell visit to the chancellor, he found Bethmann-Hollweg in a high state of excitement over Britain's ultimatum, demanding Germany's withdrawal from Belgian soil. "Just for a word," he exclaimed, "'neutrality,' a word which in war-time has so often been disregarded, just for a scrap of paper Great Britain is going to make war upon a kindred nation who desires nothing better than to be friends with her."

### Cost of the War

The principal battlefields of the war were in Europe, but there were important campaigns in Asia and there was considerable fighting in Africa. Inasmuch as the United States, Canada, and half a dozen other states of the Western Hemisphere were active participants, it is evident that the four-year conflict may well be called a World War. It was the costliest war thus far in human history, whether in blood or in treasure. About eight million men were killed or died of wounds. The cost of the war to all belligerents, measured in terms of money, was 200,000 million dollars. This war saw the use of heavy artillery and high explosive shells on a scale never known before. The machine gun became an indispensable adjunct of the rifle. Barbed wire, so useful in restraining cattle, proved its usefulness in holding soldiers in check also; indeed, it may be said that trench warfare would have been impossible without it. The airplane was much used for scouting and reconnaissance, but only a little for bombing or strafing. Automobiles and auto trucks were much used in the transportation of personnel and supplies. Midway in the war appeared the armed and armored car or "tank," but comparatively little use was made of it. The submarine came into its own. Still something of a "dangerous toy" when the war broke out, it was perfected in German hands, and though battle fleets soon learned to defend themselves against it, merchant ships did not. So successful were its forays on commerce that it

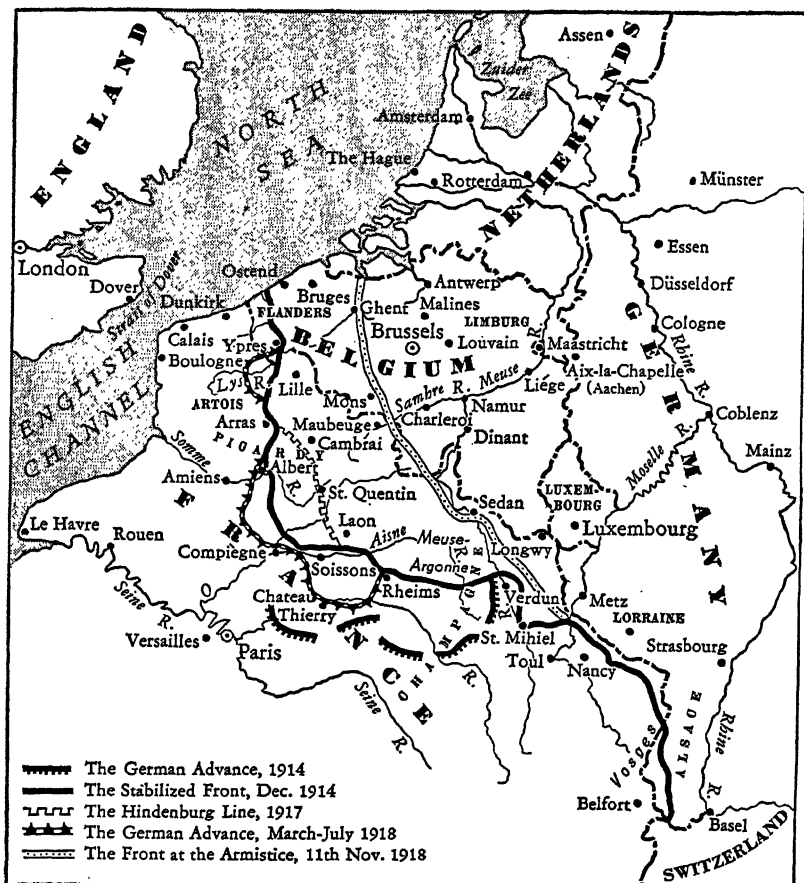


seemed possible at one time that this weapon alone would win the war for Germany.

### German Campaign in the West, 1914

Once the issue was joined, Germany swiftly took the initiative. Her plan of campaign had long been perfected. In maneuvers involving millions of men every detail must be thought out, the timetable completely drawn, and the entire plan unchangeably fixed months in advance. The German plan called for a heavy onslaught on France while Russian advance was restrained by defensive action. The attack on France required a heavy concentration of German forces on the right wing, making possible a swift advance upon Paris through Belgium. Count Schlieffen, author of the plan, had perfected it as early as 1905. "Keep the right strong," were his dying words, or so it was reported. The northeast frontier of France, from the Swiss border to Luxembourg, was heavily fortified, and there are natural obstacles to swift advance. Advance through Belgium and northern France would be much easier, for the country is open and the French defenses were not so formidable. Halted at the border of Belgium, the Germans brought up mobile howitzers and in five days blasted the Belgian fortresses to powder, the first of many military triumphs.

Thereafter German advance was swift. By September 5 German forces were within fourteen miles of Paris, whence the French government fled to Bordeaux. The French, with their Belgian and British allies, had thus far been able to retreat in good order without allowing their forces to be enveloped, as had happened with such catastrophic results in the Franco-Prussian War; and Joffre, the French commander, deemed the moment decisive for a counterattack. This was delivered in such strength and with such effectiveness that the German armies were forced to retire across the Aisne and there entrench themselves. A race to the sea began with the Germans trying to seize the French Channel ports, while the Allies sought to cut off the German right wing from the sea and save Belgium. Neither side was successful; Ostend and Antwerp fell into German hands, but not Dunkirk or Calais. By early November a dual line of trenches separated by a thin strip of "no man's land" extended all the way from the English Channel southward and eastward to the Swiss border, a distance of six hundred miles. Nearly all of Belgium was within the German lines, together with a substantial portion of northeastern France. The territory thus lost to France included her richest industrial region, with 90 per cent of her iron and half her coal. Indeed, the Germans had made it all but impossible for France to continue the war; "it was as though a foreign enemy were in occupation of the whole industrial area of the United States north and east of Pittsburgh." The western front



### THE WESTERN FRONT, 1914-1918

now became deadlocked, and though there was terrific fighting, with an expenditure of material and loss of life on a scale unparalleled in previous history, no important change took place on this front until early in 1918.

To the repulse of the German armies almost at the gates of Paris is given the name of the battle of the Marne, frequently acclaimed as one of the decisive battles of history. The German high command had not kept the right strong enough. Instead of having seven times as many divisions on that wing as on their left, as Count Schlieffen had advised, they had cut the proportion to three to one. The Russian menace loomed large in the German imagination, and many divisions were despatched from the west to that front. The French also had made mistakes. Dazzled by a dream of aggressive action, they had ordered a general advance on

the northeast frontier and had succeeded in capturing half a dozen border cities. But this action, "like pressure on a revolving door," merely impelled the German right wing to swifter action. Further, the French preference for aggressive action cost them heavily in lives, and French man power was limited. In eight days of fighting, during August and September of the first year, France suffered 10 per cent of her total casualties of more than four years of fighting. During the winter of 1914-1915 the French forces found it hard to settle down to defensive fighting, and their casualties were consistently three times as heavy as those of their opponents.

### Japan, Turkey and Italy Enter the War

Japan was the next major power to enter the war, which she did on August 23, 1914. To be sure, Japan was bound to England in alliance, but there can be little doubt that it was the opportunity to reduce by one the number of their competitors in the Far East that influenced the Japanese in their decision to join the Allies. The siege of the German port of Kiaochau promptly followed, and though the kaiser telegraphed to the German commander that "it would shame me more to surrender Kiaochau to the Japanese than Berlin to the Russians," the port fell by the middle of November.

Turkey followed, on the other side, on November 3. This was a disaster to the Allies and somewhat of a surprise as well, though it should not have been. The Turks had decided early in 1914 that they must accept German aid in blocking Russian ambitions, and a secret treaty made Turkey a member of the Triple Alliance. Turkey's entrance into the war extended the theater of action through Asia Minor into Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. The security of the British Empire was seriously threatened when the sultan called upon all Mohammedans—including, of course, those of India—to rally to the Turkish side. Men and supplies badly needed in the west had to be diverted to the east. Furthermore, the Allies were now cut off from Russia. Inexhaustible in man power, the industrial development of Russia was slight and she desperately needed the munitions which her western allies had in abundance. This lack proved to be very serious. By 1915 Russia had but one rifle available for every twenty-five recruits.

During the winter months of 1914-1915 a diplomatic battle was waged over Italy. With the outbreak of war Italy had notified her allies that she was not bound by the Triple Alliance, since under Article VII of that document Austria had undertaken to compensate Italy with Balkan territory whenever she disturbed the balance in the Balkan peninsula. Of course there were other factors in the Italian decision. Much of the territory Italy hoped to gain was in the hands of Austria-Hungary. Italy

hesitated to go to war against England and France, moreover, because a British or French fleet in the Adriatic could do Italy incalculable harm. Furthermore, the Italian army and navy had not yet recovered from the expensive war with Turkey. In the diplomatic battle it was simply a question of which side could offer the Italians the most, and since a large part of what she was being offered was territory belonging to Austria-Hungary, the Allies were obviously in the better position. Accepting the Allied bid, Italy signed the Treaty of London, April 26, 1915, a treaty which listed detail by detail the exact territories and other concessions which Italy was promised. Among the items specified were Upper Tyrol, the city of Trieste, a large section of Dalmatia, and the Albanian city of Avlona. These possessions would have assured to Italy the mastery of the Adriatic which she so greatly desired. Italy was also to keep the Turkish islands she had seized in 1911; and it was agreed that if England and France enlarged their African holdings as a result of the war Italy was to do likewise. Was Woodrow Wilson right when he told the Italian people, later on, that they "had gone into this war for the same exalted principle of right and justice that moved our own people?"

### Gallipoli

Early in 1915 the Allies began a determined effort to cut through the barrier between themselves and their Russian ally. It was a principle of naval warfare not to attempt to reduce land fortifications by naval bombardment. The Turkish batteries at the Dardanelles were thought to be weak, however, and the British naval guns were known to be very strong. Winston Churchill, civilian head of the British navy, bore down his technical advisers and ordered an attack. It was very effective; Turkish heavy ammunition was all but exhausted, and Turkish garrisons were beginning to withdraw. British naval losses had been heavy, however, and the commanders on the spot, ignorant of their enemy's weakness, declined to press home the attack. There followed the disheartening story of the attempt to reduce the Turkish forts by land, the Gallipoli campaign, of which the phrase "too little and too late" is a just though melancholy summary. The temptation is strong to speculate on the effects of a breakthrough had it succeeded, as it very nearly did. Russia might have been spared the horrors of a communist revolution; the war might have been so shortened that the United States would never have entered it.

### Russia Defeated

While the Allies were failing at the Dardanelles and Gallipoli, Russia was undergoing a crushing defeat. In the first few months of the war,

the autumn of 1914, the Russians had advanced swiftly westward, the Germans being well occupied with their dash on Paris. Russian advance was checked at last (battle of Tannenberg) by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, a specialist in the area of Europe involved, who had been living in retirement. During the spring and summer of 1915 a huge army of German and Austrian troops, over a million in all, commanded by Marshals Hindenburg and Mackensen, inflicted upon Russia a terrific defeat, an estimated 1,200,000 Russians being killed or wounded, besides a million taken prisoner. Vast provinces were lost to Russian rule, including Russian Poland, Lithuania, and Courland. Russia never recovered from this defeat and was of no further military use in the war. Furthermore defeat was followed, and partly caused, by the collapse of the home front. The Russian premier, Boris Stürmer, was of German descent and suspected of pro-German sympathies. The Russian court was defiled by the presence of the charlatan Rasputin, also thought to be pro-German. Russians of all classes are intensely patriotic, and such suspicions gradually destroyed their loyalty to their rulers. Moreover, under the crushing weight of war Russia's economic system collapsed. An acute shortage of coal led to the closing of munitions factories. Shortage of labor on the farms, together with inflation and the failure of the railroads, led to a serious food shortage in Russian cities, and the masses began to cry for bread. To add to the disorder, millions of peasants moved eastward to escape the armies of invasion. All parties, however moderate or radical, were convinced by the autumn of 1916 that revolutionary changes could not much longer be delayed.

### The "Lusitania." German Propaganda Fails

The year 1915 was also made memorable by the sinking of the "Lusitania." The German fleet had been bottled up by the British quite promptly when the war broke out, and such detached portions of it as remained at large were quickly hunted down and interned or destroyed. There remained to Germany, then, as a naval weapon of offense only her submarines, a weapon which she brought to a high point of perfection. This weapon the Germans began to use freely during the early months of 1915. It was their reply to the stringent blockade which the Allies were maintaining, the purpose of which was to extinguish Germany's overseas trade and then prevent Germany, so far as possible, from getting food or other supplies from abroad.

Blockade was a policy only too familiar in wartime. The warring states with the greatest navies seek to cut off their enemies from access to the trade of the world. In so doing they inflict a maximum of restraint upon

the trade of such states as may remain neutral. As war succeeded war in modern times, certain usages and conventions developed with respect to the rights of neutrals, which were sanctified in the codes of international law. For example, there was a definite list of goods which were considered contraband of war, the implication being that all other goods might flow freely. But in this war, as in previous wars, blockading states took the liberty of adding to the list certain articles which had more recently become necessary in making war.

This one-sided alteration of international law was naturally resisted by those whom it injured, whether they were belligerents or neutrals. America was of course the one great carrying nation remaining outside the theater of strife. Our rights as a neutral were freely violated by both sides—with a difference of method, however. The British or the French seized our ships and convoyed them to port and there dealt with cargoes and crews in a judicial manner, albeit the code enforced was not one with which we fully agreed. The Germans, however, had to adopt an entirely different method, since the submarine was their only effective weapon. They could not convoy a captured merchantman to a German port. They were obliged, they maintained, to sink her on the spot without judicial inquiry. Furthermore, they could not make provision for the safety of the crew since there was small room for passengers in a submarine. The crews of captured merchantmen were therefore given only a few minutes to take to their boats, sometimes on the high seas. Indeed, even a few minutes' grace was a dangerous allowance for a German submarine to make, since it was known that merchantmen were armed and a well-placed shell from even a small gun would prove fatal. Some of the German submarines therefore took to sinking at sight and without warning, holding that a merchantman when armed is a ship of war.

The "Lusitania" was unarmed. She carried munitions as a part of her cargo, but according to international law she was not subject to being sunk without warning. It is clear that the Germans did not mean deliberately to sink this particular ship. The U-boat happened to be on the spot, having turned back from its regular voyage in the vicinity of Liverpool because of a shortage of fuel oil, and it had only one torpedo left. The captain of the "Lusitania" was careless. He had reduced speed, was not in midchannel, and was sailing a straight course instead of zigzagging. The great ship sank in eighteen minutes. Of the 1959 persons on board, 1198 were drowned, including 270 women and 94 children. Of those drowned 128 were American citizens. The sinking of this ship sent a horrified shudder through America. The promising pro-German propaganda that had been carried on theretofore promptly collapsed and was

never renewed, and American opinion gradually became more and more hostile to the German cause.

### The Verdun Campaign, 1916

German and Austrian leaders gave repeated consideration to the plan of campaign for 1916. The Austrians pressed for an attack in overwhelming strength upon Italy, arguing that just as Russia had been eliminated so now it might be possible to deal with the Italians once for all. The Germans, however, held out for a break-through on the western front. Withdrawing most of her troops from the east, in the confident belief that Russia could not recover from the blows dealt out to her, Germany gathered the greatest force she had ever assembled for an attack on Verdun. As a fortress this famous city was not excessively important, but as a symbol its importance was great. To have lost it would have been a shock to French morale from which recovery would not have been easy. The preparatory barrage of German artillery was easily the greatest of the war. Not only were the French lines blasted from the soil; the very contour of the hills was changed. But though the French lines were broken, they reformed quickly, and they held, though the pounding begun on the 21st of February was continued with brief intermissions well into October.

To relieve the pressure upon the French, the British launched a heavy attack on the sector of the German line well to the west, the so-called battle of the Somme. Only a hundred and twenty square miles of territory were taken, but the relief afforded Verdun was considerable. In this British drive the armored tank was first used. Fortunately for the Allied cause, the English had at last adopted conscription and were thus able to assume responsibility for a substantial part of the western front.

The year 1916 also saw the only considerable naval engagement of the war. British superiority in the North Sea was so manifest that the German fleet was under orders never to engage the enemy in force. British commanders also proceeded with caution, under the sobering reflection that they and they alone could "lose the war in an afternoon." On May 31, 1916, however, a portion of the German fleet endeavored to decoy a detachment of the British and lead them into close quarters with the main German fleet. The total design was a failure, but in the fighting which followed, known as the battle of Jutland, substantial numbers of ships were engaged on both sides. Naval tacticians still argue who won the battle. The British losses of men and ships exceeded by a little that of the Germans, but at the end of the affair the German fleet remained bottled up and the blockade was as tight as before. It may be

added that the German fleet never again ventured into the open but was surrendered and then scuttled at the close of the war.

### Why America Entered the War

During 1916 also the German submarine campaign, which had sensibly diminished following the sinking of the "*Lusitania*," was renewed on a very much greater scale and with remarkable success. For a time German submarines were sinking Allied shipping much faster than the Allies could build replacements, and a serious crisis seemed imminent. The Allies were utterly dependent upon seaborne transportation of troops, munitions, and supplies for the conduct of the war. In their determination to strike a really effective blow, the German commanders no longer distinguished between Allied ships and American ships. As ship after ship of American register was sunk, President Wilson's notes became more frequent and more peremptory. The German replies when not exculpatory were evasive, and the sinkings continued. Early in 1917 the German government announced that it proposed to wage submarine warfare on an unrestricted basis, allowing the United States to send into European waters only one ship a week and that under rigorous regulations of Germany's devising. This rude challenge to our rights as a neutral was followed, on our part, by the severance of diplomatic relations in February and by a declaration of war on April 6.

That America should so far have abandoned her traditional policy of aloofness from the affairs of Europe as to have joined in a European war as a major partner was a decision which even now seems breathtaking. It was the fruit of long consideration on the part of the American people. American opinion had gradually enlisted itself on the side of the Allies. Both sides had sought our favorable opinion in the beginning, but German propaganda soon lost the battle. The Allies then endeavored with considerable success to stir American hearts with well-documented stories of German atrocities in Belgium. Stress was also laid upon the sacrifices made by France in the interest of America at the time of our Revolution. There can be no doubt, of course, that a good deal of the Allied propaganda was false, and deliberately so. Today everyone recognizes that propaganda is an effective weapon of war; in those days we were less familiar with its nature. Conscious of what was being done, President Wilson urged the American people to refrain from indulging in hatred of the German people. In addressing the Congress on April 2, 1917, he said, "We have no quarrel with the German people. It was not upon their impulse that the government acted in entering this war." Steadfastly the president strove in successive pronouncements to keep



this distinction clear. It must be confessed, however, that the American people quickly succumbed to war psychology and "saw all Germans through a mist of hatred."

The American decision to enter the war was influenced, in the second place, by realistic considerations of our sovereign rights. There was unimpeachable evidence that Germany had plotted on American soil a breach of our friendship with both Mexico and Japan, and that bombings of our industrial plants had been organized in the German and Austrian embassies in Washington. Then came the ruthless, not to say insolent violations of our rights on the sea. It was our steadfast belief that the cause of democracy was at stake, that the "Potsdam gang" of autocrats and militarists must be broken up if the world were to be made "safe for democracy."

The American declaration of war in 1917 was followed by similar action on the part of Cuba, Panama, and Brazil. Several other Central American republics broke off diplomatic relations with the Central Powers. A further widening of the theater of war took place when Siam, Liberia, and China joined the Allied states. Our entrance into the war made the flow of money and munitions easier and more ample but it was a full year before an American army proportioned to our size and strength could take its place on the western front.

### The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

Meanwhile the revolution in Russia, foreshadowed by the defeat of 1915, had come to pass, and in November of 1917, with Russia in the hands of the Bolsheviks, peace negotiations were opened with Germany. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk was finally signed in March, 1918. Under its terms Russia surrendered territory twice the size of Germany with a population of sixty-five million. The Russian frontier in Europe was thrust back to where it had been about two centuries before. Approximately three quarters of her coal and iron were in the territory now ceded to Germany, the greatest surrender of territory recorded in modern history. The Central Powers were also by this time in possession of the timber, wheat, and oil of Rumania. On the western front, during 1917, the Germans made a strategic retirement to strongly fortified lines which they had long had under construction and from which they believed they could never be expelled. Approximately one thousand square miles of French territory were thus released, but it was valueless to the Allies since the three hundred villages with their population, live stock, and farming establishments had been blasted from the soil.

The year 1917 also witnessed a disastrous collapse on the Italian front

when German and Austrian forces, released from other sectors of the eastern front, broke through. It was feared for a time that not only Venice but the whole Lombard plain might be lost and Italy eliminated from the war. Reforming their lines, however, with some help from French and British troops, the Italians held on the Piave, and once again the Central Powers failed of their objective.

### The War in the Near East

From the military point of view the events of greatest decisiveness in this critical year took place not in Europe but in Asia. There the Turkish threat to the British Empire was met, at last, and both in Mesopotamia and in Syria very definite, in fact decisive, gains were made. On Christmas Day, 1917, the British General Allenby entered the city of Jerusalem, reviving memories of the Crusades seven centuries before.

### German Western Offensive, 1918

An unusually prolonged debate preceded Germany's campaign of 1918. Some members of her general staff proposed that the Central Powers clear the Balkan peninsula of Allied troops, relieve the pressure upon Turkey, and annihilate the armies of Italy; after this, they argued, Germany could hold on in the west indefinitely, or until the Allies grew weary. The popular von Hindenburg was still chief of staff, but the more brilliant Ludendorff was at this time in active command of the German armies. This great organizer had indeed become practically dictator of the German nation. His mind looked in a different direction. For the first time, because of the collapse of Russia and the comparative harmlessness of Italy, German troops were in a decisive majority on the western front, and it was there, according to Ludendorff, that the war could be won. His plan was to drive a wedge between the British and French forces and then, having outflanked the British, roll them back to the Channel and eliminate them from the war. The French could then be dealt with at leisure. If his plan were to have any chance of success, it must be acted upon early in 1918, for American troops would be crossing the seas in large numbers by midsummer and the numerical superiority which the Germans enjoyed would vanish. Ludendorff's confidence that he could break the deadlock in trench warfare was based on a new type of offensive. This consisted, first, of a "creeping barrage," in which the advance of infantry was closely synchronized with artillery fire. Having driven the enemy to cover by accurate shell fire, German forces, keeping closely behind the shells of their own guns, would rush the enemy's trenches

before their defenders were able to emerge. With the creeping barrage was coupled the technique of "infiltration." Weak spots in the enemy's lines would be attacked with full vigor, leaving more strongly held positions to be reduced later by means of a squeezing process.

### German Defeat in the West

The German offensive, greatest of the war, began on March 21. Five successive drives were made between that date and the 18th of July following, during which the Germans inflicted nearly a million casualties upon their foes. Their own losses while considerably less were very large. A very considerable success was attained, and the Germans found themselves again on the Marne as in September, 1914, with the French government preparing to leave Paris once more. Nevertheless, Ludendorff's plan failed. He had pressed far forward but not far enough. He himself had recognized the failure of his plan, and after the middle of April was striking blindly, hoping only to do as much damage as possible. Needless to say, the effect of this break-through upon the Allies was profound. Under its impact, and by the agreement of the authorities concerned, the Allied armies were placed under the unified command of a "generalissimo." This was a step that had long been needed, but mutual jealousies had barred the way. The commander in chief of the Allied forces was Ferdinand Foch. In the pre-war years Foch's reputation as a brilliant theorizer upon and teacher of military tactics had been high. His thesis can be suggested by the familiar phrase, "the best defense is an offense." Unfortunately, when Foch had put his theories to the test early in the war, his losses were so terrific that he was relieved of his command. Later he found his way back into the higher circles of command, and in July, 1918, his hour had come.

With American troops coming over in large numbers, Foch was in a position to make a favorable trial of his plan of unrelenting offensive, for it was evident that the German push had spent its force. He took the initiative and with a comprehensive strategy that embraced the whole western front, and with British, French, American, and even Portuguese forces under his command, he launched attack after attack, steadily and unhurriedly. On August 8, led by 456 tanks, British forces broke through the German lines near Amiens and pressed forward fourteen miles into open country. Ludendorff later called this the "black day" of the German army; it convinced him that Germany could not win the war. There followed within the next few weeks successful offensives by the Americans and the French. By September 1 the Germans were back on the Hindenburg line once more, but no longer in a position to hold

it, since their morale was shattered and their supply organization disrupted. A gradual retirement took place and by the 1st of November the Germans had lost most of Belgium and three quarters of the territory they once held in France, although at no point had the Allies reached German territory.

### Allied Success in the East

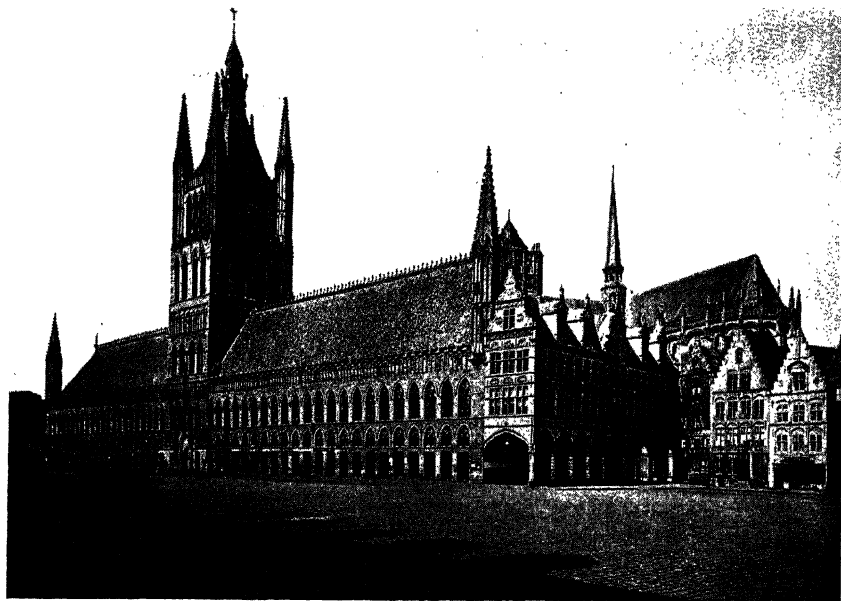
Meanwhile even greater successes were being won by the Allies on other fronts. A force which had landed at Salonica early in the war seized a favorable opportunity, and on September 15, after careful preparation, delivered an attack upon Bulgaria which put that country out of the war. On the 29th of September an armistice was signed; King Ferdinand then abdicated and a republic was proclaimed. Farther to the east General Allenby entered Damascus on October 1, and on the 26th he reached Aleppo, an advance of three hundred and fifty miles in less than a month, during which enormous losses were inflicted upon the Turks. Turkey had had enough, and on October 30 signed an armistice which stipulated that she must demobilize her army, surrender her navy, open the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and renounce her alliance with the Central Powers. These events, together with the success of the Allies in France, completely demoralized the Austrians. The Italians resumed their offensive, and Austria soon asked for an armistice. This was signed on November 3. These events, of course, were not without their effect on the Germans. Indeed, Ludendorff lost his nerve completely and fled in disguise to Sweden, leaving the conduct of affairs to others.

### The Fourteen Points

The German government's first approach to peace was made on the 5th of October in a message to President Woodrow Wilson. The American leader had long since made himself the spokesman of the Allies. In the autumn of 1917 he had set up a committee of inquiry of American scholars, commissioning them to formulate the principles upon which a durable peace might be based. The suggestions of this committee were worked over by the president and his confidential adviser, Colonel House, and the result was the famous "Fourteen Points," a series of proposals announced to Congress in a speech made by the president on January 8, 1918. The Fourteen Points were announced as a program of peace, a program which the president thought should take the place not only of the German treaties with Russia and Rumania, the terms of which were public property, but also of the treaties the Allies had made with each other, the provisions of which were unknown to the public.

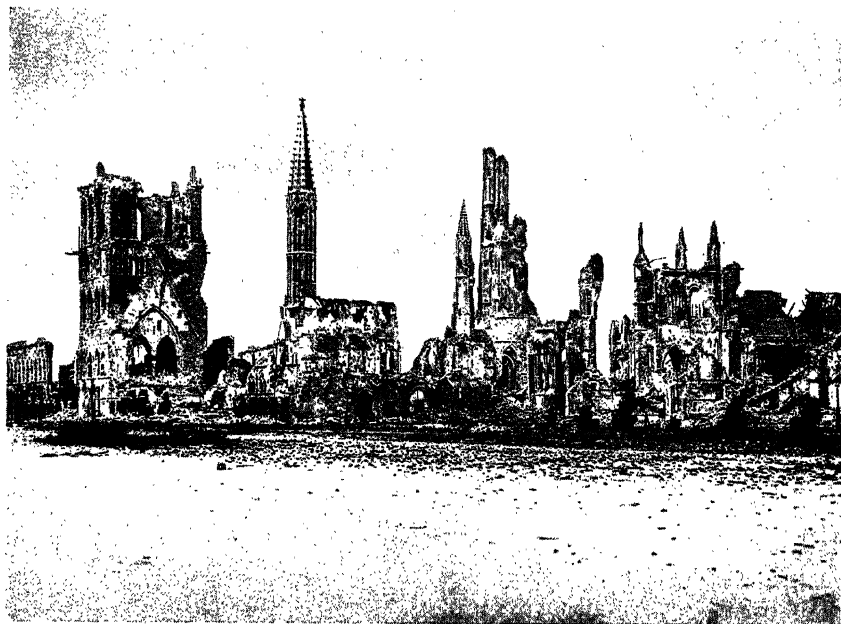
What were the president's principles? First, there were to be no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages. Second, the map of Europe and indeed of the world was to be reconstructed upon the basis of the self-determination of peoples. Third, all barriers to world trade were to be broken down and selfish exploitive economic policies abandoned. Fourth, a league of nations was to be organized to secure permanent peace, and a world court established for the settlement of disputes among the nations. Finally, armaments were to be drastically reduced. Point IX, for example, stated that Italy's frontiers should be readjusted "along clearly recognizable lines of nationality." Seemingly Wilson failed to recognize such lines in some of the provisions of the secret Treaty of London, and no wonder, since blocks of German and Slavic lands had been promised to Italy in that document. Point X, with its advocacy of the freest opportunity for autonomous development for the peoples of Austria-Hungary within that empire ran directly counter to the agreements between the Allies and the Rumanians, Czechs, and Yugoslavs, who had been promised substantial segments of the territory of the Hapsburgs in full sovereignty. Point XII, dealing with Turkey, was in reply to the secret treaties whereby Turkish territory had been divided up among the Allies in advance. On the other hand, Point VI called for the German evacuation of Russian territory and the fair treatment of Russia by all; Point XIII provided for an independent Poland, including all territory "indisputably Polish" and with access to the sea; and Point XI demanded the evacuation and restoration of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro. Neither the German nor the Allied peace plans, so far as the president may have known them, were calculated, in his opinion, to lay the foundations of permanent peace.

The Fourteen Points were fully elaborated in later speeches of President Wilson, and they became well known to the whole world. There can be no doubt that the president thus made a very considerable contribution to the winning of the war. The secret treaties, embodying Allied war aims, were known to but few. German war aims, however, were brazenly proclaimed to the world in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Russia, signed on March 3, 1918, and in the scarcely less crushing peace forced by Germany upon Rumania in the Treaty of Bucharest, May 8, 1918. Thus through the spring and summer of 1918 the peoples of Allied countries, of neutral countries, and finally of the Central Powers themselves could contrast the president's program, now become the war aims of the Allies, a program which might lead to a peace of justice and a warless world, with the ruthless aggrandizement which was the program of the Central Powers as revealed in their treaties with Russia and Rumania.



CLOTH HALL, YPRES, 1914

Built in the thirteenth century, this was one of the finest civic structures in Europe. On the upper floor was a hall 435 feet long.



CLOTH HALL, YPRES, 1918

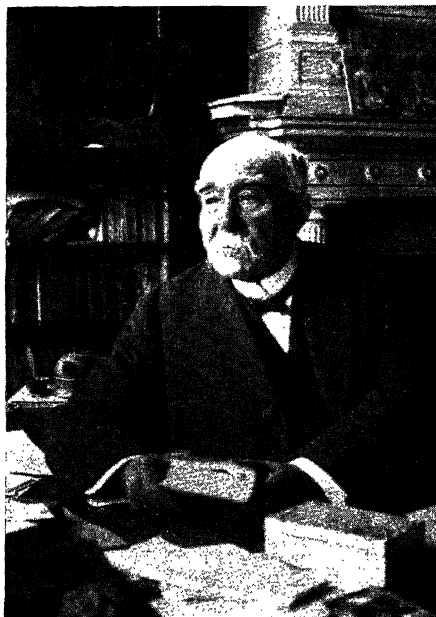
In Belgium, near the French border, Ypres was in the battle zone for four years.



WOODROW WILSON (*Harris and Ewing*)



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE



GEORGES CLEMENCEAU  
(*Underwood and Underwood*)

### Armistice Signed

When the German government addressed to the president the inquiry of the 5th of October, he had his answer ready: peace can be had if the Central Powers accept the principles of the Fourteen Points. However, Wilson added, he was not satisfied that the present government of Germany was representative of the German people and a guarantee must be made upon that point. Moreover, the Germans must evacuate all invaded territory and agree to accept such military and naval safeguards as would make it impossible for them to renew hostilities. Acceptance of the Fourteen Points was in the nature of a contract between the Allied Powers and the Central Powers by virtue of which the Central Powers agreed to be disarmed. For military and naval safeguards Wilson referred the Germans to Foch. Needless to say, Foch's requirements were formidable. During the month of feverish negotiations which followed, the imperial government was overthrown by the German people and a republic set up. Finally on November 11 German authorities signed the armistice and firing ceased on the western front shortly before 11:00 A.M.



## CHAPTER XXXVII

### *The Versailles Settlement*

AFTER THE ARMISTICE the Allies proceeded to draft treaties with each of their former enemies—Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. These treaties take their names from various palaces and towns near Paris in which they were signed—Versailles, Germain, Trianon, Neuilly, and Sèvres. The first of the several treaties was that signed with Germany at Versailles, and the whole series of treaties is often referred to, quite erroneously, as the Versailles Settlement. President Wilson went to Europe a month after the armistice but found that the Allied statesmen, preoccupied with urgent domestic matters, were not yet ready to set to work. For some weeks the American president toured the Allied capitals. He was everywhere received by welcoming throngs as a sort of savior of mankind.

#### The Big Four

The first session of the peace conference was held in Paris on January 18, 1919, with representatives of each of the Allied and Associated Powers in attendance. It was quickly decided that it would be quite impossible to bring before so large a gathering every matter to be considered, and the full conference accordingly delegated the task of preparing a draft treaty to a group consisting of the prime minister (or of the president) and the foreign minister of each of the five leading powers, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. This Council of Ten, as it was called, was superseded in its turn, and all major decisions were finally made by the president of the United States and the prime ministers of Britain, France, and Italy; that is, by Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando. It should be added that the Italian premier was absent much of the time. This procedure was scarcely in harmony with the first of Wilson's points, namely, "Open covenants of peace openly arrived at."

But if the decisions of the conference were arrived at in this somewhat arbitrary fashion and in secret, they were nonetheless carefully studied. Most of the official delegations were supported by battalions of experts. These experts were organized into numerous committees which held

innumerable meetings. The findings of the technicians were presented through their chairmen to the Council of Four. By no means all of the hundreds of specialists were really experts. Many had never visited the countries upon whose fate they were pronouncing; others owed their selection to the extreme nationalist views which they were known to advocate. No previous peace conference in modern history, however, had the benefit of so much expert knowledge. The conference worked hard and upon the whole rapidly. It had taken eighteen months for the Congress of Vienna to do its work, and no less than five years had been required to arrive at the terms of the Peace of Westphalia. The treaty with Germany, however, a document of 440 articles, covering 230 printed pages, was completed in six months.

President Wilson had warned the world against a peace based upon a victor's terms, a peace "forced upon the loser." It would be accepted, he said, "in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand." Wilson had also laid down the principles in accordance with which a just and lasting peace could be framed. He secured their acceptance beforehand, first by the Allied Powers and then by Germany. At Versailles he fought for a treaty that would redeem these pledges. If it must be said that he did not altogether succeed, it can also be said that he did not entirely fail.

The atmosphere of Paris was unfavorable to Wilson's point of view. Everyone there was inclined to lean over backward lest he be thought to be pro-German. It was unfortunate, too, for Wilson that the principal representative of the French was Clemenceau. The latter was an extreme nationalist and was bent on crippling Germany as much as possible. He was an old man whom many political battles had left disillusioned and pessimistic. To him the war but lately ended was much like other wars, a contest for power in which one country had come off the winner and another the loser. Before 1870 France had been the dominant power of Europe, but in the Franco-Prussian War she had been dealt a knockdown blow; since then she had had to yield precedence to Germany. It was now Germany's turn to lose. Her predominance, based upon both population and economic resources, must be thoroughly undermined. The treaty must so diminish Germany's population and reduce her resources as to secure for France a new period of predominance. Clemenceau felt himself under no obligation to defer to Wilson's views. To America he said, later on, "You came too late; you left too soon."

Nor could the American president count upon much assistance in the realization of his program from Lloyd George. If Clemenceau was a

realist, the British prime minister was an opportunist. Not devoid of idealism, Lloyd George was apt to seek, for each problem as it presented itself, the best practicable balance of forces. It is only fair to say that after the armistice the people of Britain gave free rein to their feelings of hatred for Germany and the Germans, and their agile prime minister soon trimmed his sails to catch the breeze. In the day-by-day work of the conference Lloyd George seldom took the long view; he had "a constitutional dislike for complicated problems." Wilson's personal qualities were remarkable, but they were not all of the kind that win friends. His strong points were idealism, a grasp of the fundamental laws of human society, and the power of putting his thoughts into winning words. Weak points were his sensitiveness, his inability to work with others, and his lack of diplomatic experience.

### Self-determination

It is in its territorial provisions that the Peace of Versailles and the other treaties associated with it realized most fully the Wilsonian principles. "Peoples must not be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty," Wilson had said; "every territorial settlement must be in the interests of the populations concerned." Accordingly, six new states were established at Versailles, and some three thousand miles of international frontier were thus added to the many thousands of miles already existing in the small continent of Europe. In one of his Fourteen Points, Wilson had spoken of "clearly recognizable lines of nationality," as a principle of self-determination. What then is nationality? Lord Bryce defines it as "a population held together by certain ties, as for example, language and literature, ideas, customs and traditions, in such wise as to feel itself a coherent unity." A nation, he continues, "is a nationality or a subdivision of a nationality which has organized itself into a political body, either independent or desiring to be independent." Scarcely any fair-minded person will quarrel with the principle laid down by Wilson or differ from the definition propounded by Bryce. Practical application is another matter.

Nationality has had a long growth in Europe and may be traced back to early modern times. The nineteenth century, as we have seen, brought release to nation after nation. During the First World War many nationalities still lacking their independence wholly or in part were quick to realize that in the travail of empires lay their hoped-for opportunity. During the first two years of the war it was the subject nationalities of the British empire which gave the most trouble to their rulers. Later on, particularly as the war drew to its close, the national minorities of Ger-

many, Russia, Austria, Hungary, and Turkey were the most active. As an aid to winning the war, the Allies were quick to encourage such movements in every possible way. A rough approximation was thus achieved between Allied war aims and the Wilsonian principles of peace. During the six months of the peace conference no problems received more prolonged or more expert attention than those of nationality.

Though difficult, it is not impossible to determine with reasonable accuracy the boundaries of a particular nationality; doubtful details can often be resolved by plebiscite, that is, by a vote of the population concerned. But Europe, particularly central Europe, has a swarm of nationalities. Must each one of them, however microscopic, be established as a fully sovereign state? Many of the smaller groups could not possibly survive for long as states with their inevitable lack of essential economic resources. Their collapse, one by one or in groups, would disturb and perhaps wreck the peace structure of Versailles.

Nationality is not enough, said the Allies at Versailles. Each state must have, so far as possible, the means of survival, that is, a sufficiency of economic resources and good strategic boundaries. Another consideration which weighed heavily with the Allied leaders was the necessity of interposing a barrier to German eastward expansion. The *Drang nach Osten*, so glaringly apparent in the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, must be checkmated once and for all. Of the new states in central Europe the Allies' friends, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Greece must be made strong. For the new states of Austria and Hungary and the older powers of Bulgaria and Turkey there was no such solicitude. A barrier to German eastward expansion might also serve as a dike against the westward flow of Russian communism. Accordingly, France signed an alliance with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, in 1919; Poland and Rumania made a treaty of their own; Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia joined in a "Little Entente." Thus was the barrier of central European states friendly to the Allies cemented together.

### German Territorial Losses

More can be learned about the nature of the treaties from an examination of some of their territorial provisions. Germany lost about one tenth of her European territory and population. Alsace-Lorraine was handed back to France without debate; not even a plebiscite was provided for. The closely contiguous but much smaller area known as the Saar valley was given special consideration. It was deemed desirable to recoup the French for the loss and damage inflicted by the Germans in French coal fields during the war, and it was decided to award the rich coal mines of



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## *The Versailles Settlement*

the Saar to France in perpetuity. The principle of self-determination would decisively preclude the cession of the Saar to France, for of 1 hundred thousand inhabitants fewer than one hundred thousand French. It was decided, therefore, to place the inhabitants for 15 years under the rule of a commission of the League of Nations and allow them to choose whether they would join with France or return to Germany. It may be added that this plebiscite was duly taken and the inhabitants voted overwhelmingly to revert to German rule.

It will be remembered that Schleswig-Holstein had passed to Germany in 1866 as a result of a war with Denmark. At Versailles it was decided in view of the mixed Danish and German nationality of the population to hold a plebiscite "by compartments." As a result Denmark secured the northern third of this area.

### A New Poland

It was on her eastern frontier that Germany lost most heavily in population and territory. One of the Fourteen Points declared that an independent Polish state should be erected, to include territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations and "with a free and secure access to the sea." The resurrection of Poland had long been thought an impossibility. Even with the outbreak of the First World War patriotic Poles could see little hope for their nation. Since Poland's former territories were held by Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, it seemed that both sides would have to lose. And that is what happened. Having beaten Russia in the first year of war, Germany and her allies were defeated three years later. In the meantime Polish leaders, among whom Paderewski was prominent, set up a provisional government, and in 1918 President Wilson and the Allies extended their recognition to the new state. When the armistice was signed, thus assuring Poland of a seat at the conference. A conscientious effort was made to fulfill Wilson's condition. In the drawing of Poland's boundaries, however, no attention was paid to strategic considerations. The Allies even based their findings on language statistics drawn up by the German government before the war. During the course of her long history Poland's boundaries had fluctuated widely. Her territories had at one time extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The Poland set up at Versailles was a very much more national affair. Even so, it became the sixth state in Europe in area, being larger than Italy; its population of thirty million was larger than that of France.

Particularly galling to the Germans was the fact that a strip of land now stretched two hundred and fifty miles northward along the Vistula River to the Baltic Sea, thus severing the province of East Prussia completely from the rest of Germany. This "corridor" was about 100 miles wide at its widest point.

miles wide on the average, and the majority of its inhabitants were Poles. At the Vistula's mouth stood the city of Danzig, seemingly destined by nature to be Poland's port. Unfortunately the city's three hundred thousand inhabitants were German. At Versailles Poland was given port facilities in Danzig, but the city itself was set up as an independent sovereignty with the League of Nations as its guardian.

Unable to reach a verdict on all points, the experts on Poland recommended in several instances that plebiscites be taken. The most important of these was in Upper Silesia, a region rich in coal and other minerals, and industrially the "Lancashire" of Germany. Precautions were taken to ensure a free vote, and the inhabitants of this province voted three to two to be under Polish rule. Poland was therefore awarded one third of the province, a settlement which would seem to be eminently fair to Germany. A critic could point out, however, that Poland got nearly all of the coal and most of the industrial plants. Moreover, the economic life of the region was wrecked. No fewer than nine railways were cut across by the new frontier. The road system of the area was likewise mutilated. Even individual farms were divided, with the farm buildings in one country and the fields in the other. Upper Silesia is a good illustration of the practical difficulties confronting those who seek to realize in full the principle of self-determination.

There remained in the lands of the new Poland a minority of some two million Germans. The Polish government made a determined effort to reduce this number by persuading them to migrate. Laws were enacted which discriminated against the German minority in regard to education and the ownership of property. Polish officials sometimes tried the effects of physical violence. Twice the League of Nations reprimanded Poland for her anti-German policy. Nor were relations between Poland and Danzig happy. Indeed, Poland finally built a port of her own at Gdynia, on the other side of the Vistula's mouth, which threatened the Danzigers with economic ruin.

### The Fate of Austria-Hungary

Germany's territorial losses were slight in comparison with those of Austria-Hungary. In fact, many authorities consider that the decisions embodied in the Peace of St. Germain were far more disturbing in their consequences than those of the Peace of Versailles. Inevitably the principle of nationality would result in the dissolution of the Hapsburg empire. The Allies had thought, at first, that it would be well to retain the advantages of economic unity which the old empire provided by extending to its subject peoples the status of autonomy rather than sovereign

independence; the tenth of Wilson's Fourteen Points makes this specific recommendation. Upon the whole, it is to be regretted that this principle was not adhered to. Instead, Austria-Hungary was cut to pieces. German Austria was set up as a republic with a population of six and a half million, of which a third lived in the city of Vienna. As the capital of a small peasant republic this city, which had been the economic center of an empire of sixty million people, was now threatened with ruin. If she did not expire during the next two decades, it is because she was kept alive by artificial respiration.

The most important of the new states set up amid the ruins of the Hapsburg empire was the republic of Czechoslovakia, formerly known as Bohemia. Although this homeland of the Czechs had been a political entity from medieval times, it had been ruled for centuries by the Hapsburgs. The Czechs, however, had never abandoned their national aspirations. On Bohemia's western frontier, in a region which now became part of Czechoslovakia, dwelt a German population of three million, the descendants of foresters settled there by the Bohemian princes of the fourteenth century. The Sudeten mountains, where this German minority lived, had become the greatest industrial region of the Hapsburg empire. There can be no doubt that this Sudeten area belonged by historic right to Bohemia, but there can be no less doubt that the Germans who lived there preferred not to be ruled by Czechs. They made this abundantly clear both before and after Versailles.

Other beneficiaries of the bankrupt empire of the Hapsburgs were Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Italy. Far too many German Austrians, far too many Magyars, were included in the areas so disposed of. But nationalities are so intermingled in that part of Europe that it is impossible to avoid minority problems altogether, and certainly far fewer people were placed under governments not of their choice than was the case before the war.

Italy had looked forward with especial avidity to the carving up of Austria-Hungary, and had made her arrangements with the Allies before coming into the war. At Versailles Italy was awarded Upper Tyrol, home of 250,000 German Austrians, whose names, and even the names of whose ancestors, were soon Italianized. Italy also got the Istrian peninsula, a clear majority of the population of which was non-Italian. These bits of territory were small, to be sure, in comparison with what Italy had been promised, but they were directly in violation of Wilsonian principles. Italy had also laid claim to Fiume, a port on the eastern Adriatic which had been earmarked as Yugoslavia's access to the sea. Though the suburbs and the whole hinterland of Fiume were solidly Slavic, the population of the city itself was Italian, and Italy brought to the support of this claim



the principle of self-determination! This exhibition of "eat your cake and have it too" was too much for the American president and he put his foot down, with the result that Italy withdrew temporarily from the conference. After it had disturbed the peace of Europe off and on for another five years, the issue of Fiume was settled by Italy and Yugoslavia, the former getting the city, the latter the hinterland.

### Balkan Boundaries

A word will be in order here regarding new boundaries in the Balkans. Serbia, whose proposed liquidation at the hands of Austria-Hungary had been the immediate cause of the war, was given full scope to realize her most optimistic national desires. Her territories were doubled at the expense of Austria-Hungary, the new state taking the name of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later Yugoslavia. Rumania fared well also, receiving Bukovina from Austria, Transylvania from Hungary, and Bessarabia from Russia. Greece shared Macedonia with Serbia, and was also awarded southern Thrace along the Aegean. This last arrangement cut Bulgaria off from access to the sea, a matter which caused President Wilson much concern. With a population of but four million, mostly agrarian, Bulgaria had now become one of the smaller Balkan states. Yugoslavia had a population of twelve million and Rumania of sixteen. Moreover, Bulgaria was disarmed while her neighbors were armed to the teeth.

In still worse plight was Hungary. Barely one quarter of her former territory remained to her. Perhaps 90 per cent of her population was now pure Magyar; on the other hand, about one third of the Magyar people now lived under other flags, principally in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Patriotic Hungarians protested that Hungary was the chief victim of the war. They published maps of Hungary with the lost provinces in black and the whole surrounded by a crown of thorns, and they printed on stamps, postcards, buttons, and badges the words "*Nem! Nem! Soha!*" (No! No! Never!)

As for Turkey, her loss of European territory was slight, but her control over Constantinople and the Straits was reduced to a shadow by the Treaty of Sèvres (August, 1920), and her Asiatic empire was practically all lost. Turkey's reaction and renaissance following this catastrophe form a new chapter of her history.

### The Minority Treaties

After all the treaties had been signed, there remained some thirty million Europeans living under regimes dominated by nationalities not

their own. In order "to protect the interests of inhabitants of a state who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion," the Allied statesmen provided carefully drafted guarantees. Not only Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, but Poland, Rumania, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia were each obliged to sign a minorities treaty. These treaties safeguarded subject nationalities with respect to freedom of religion, equality before the law, civil and political rights, use of their mother tongue, and many other aspects of their culture and way of life. The enforcement of the provisions of the minorities treaties was vested in the League of Nations. For twenty years this arrangement continued, but the conclusion is inescapable that the minorities treaties failed to secure their objectives. Newly liberated peoples, like the Poles and the Czechs, sometimes yielded to the temptation to pay off old scores against the Germans who had been on top so long. They did not, perhaps could not, display the good sportsmanship and "effortless superiority" of long-established rulers. Nor were the subject peoples for the most part any better disposed. Seldom if ever did they accept the settlement as final. They continued their national societies and kept up a noisy din of propaganda, biding their time.

### Economic Clauses of the Peace of Versailles

If it can be said that the territorial arrangements of Versailles followed more or less closely the principles of the Fourteen Points, this was scarcely true of the economic clauses. Germany lost a third of her coal. Out of what was left she was obliged to supply France, Belgium, and Italy a combined total of twenty-five million tons a year so that the industries of those countries would not have to curtail their customary output. As for Germany's shipping, it was practically all signed over to the Allies. All vessels of more than 1600 tons burden were taken, and half of those between 1000 and 1600 tons. Included in this transfer were all vessels under construction. Germany was further obligated to build and hand over to the Allies 200,000 tons of shipping a year for five years. These are examples taken from a list of economic clauses the length of which makes this treaty unique among the peace settlements of modern times.

### Reparations

The most famous economic section of the Treaty of Versailles, however, was that which dealt with reparations. It begins as follows: "The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage

to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies." The view here expressed, that Germany and her allies were solely responsible for the war, was probably not meant to be taken as a statement of historic fact but rather as a reasoned justification for making the loser pay. The clause is technically in harmony with the Wilsonian principle that Germany should make good the damage to invaded territories but was not to be made to pay the cost of the war. The British had made it clear before the armistice was signed that they understood restoration of invaded territory to mean that "compensation will be made by Germany for all damages done to the civilian population of the Allies by land, by sea, and from the air." Though Britain had not been invaded, her subjects had suffered much property damage from submarine attacks and air-raids.

It was impossible during the busy months when the treaties were being drafted to assemble all the data on property damage. The Germans were merely told that they must pay \$5,000,000,000 on account by March 1, 1921, and that in the meantime a Reparations Commission, on behalf of the Allies, would bring in a full report and announce the final figure. Pursuant to this plan the commission called upon the nationals of France, Belgium, Great Britain, and the other Allies who had suffered property damage at the hands of Germany to present a certified bill of particulars. In France alone there were some three million of these *sinistres*, as they were called, and one can readily imagine that a French peasant, estimating his losses in fruit trees destroyed, cattle killed or driven off, buildings burned, and fertile fields blown high by explosive shells, would arrive at a substantial figure which he would not be disposed to scale down. Practically the whole of Belgium's territory had been occupied for four years, and there, in addition to the destruction of private property, the railways, which were government owned, had been used mercilessly throughout the war with a minimum of repairs and the currency had been cheapened through the forced acceptance of paper marks. Thirteen countries, in all, presented bills for damage which were allowed by the Reparations Commission, the total being set at \$32,000,000,000.

This, however, was not all. By an extension of the meaning of "damage to civilians" which would scarcely occur to the ordinary mind, an item of pensions was admitted. It was argued, and this was a French viewpoint primarily, that grievous material damage was suffered by a family when its wage earner was killed or even when he suffered a permanent disability. This is doubtless true, but unusually heavy taxation, the consequence of war, is also very damaging to the family exchequer. If indirect damages of this sort were to be admitted, it might logically be difficult

to stop short of making Germany pay the whole cost of the war. Pensions, however, were admitted, though there were many at Versailles who were opposed, and this single item amounted to \$24,000,000,000, making the grand total, as arrived at by the Reparations Commission in 1921, \$56,000,000,000. It should be said at once that this staggering sum was arbitrarily reduced by the commission a year later to \$32,000,000,000, to which was to be added the entire Belgian war debt and the cost of the army of occupation, this latter amounting to \$3,500,000,000. It was agreed also that of the grand total France should get 52 per cent, Great Britain 22 per cent, Italy 10 per cent, Belgium 8 per cent, and the lesser Allies the remaining 8 per cent.

Meanwhile, in the judgment of the Reparations Commission, the Germans had defaulted on their payment of the \$5,000,000,000 due March 1, 1921. Against this sum, it was agreed, were to be placed to the German credit such items as surrendered war material, property in foreign countries, submarine cables formerly owned by Germany or Austria-Hungary, and certain other payments in kind. According to German valuation these items more than equaled the sum due from her, but since in the estimation of the Reparations Commission this was not the case, Germany was deemed to have defaulted, and as a consequence fifteen thousand more troops were sent into Germany, occupying the industrial cities of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort.

In scaling down the grand total to \$33,000,000,000 the Reparations Commission had taken into consideration Germany's capacity to pay. Many economists doubted that Germany could pay so much. There was the further question of the method of payment. Like practically all international payments, reparations would have to be paid for in merchandise; the entire gold reserve in Germany would not suffice for one of the forty-two annual payments she was scheduled to make. Germany would have to produce and sell abroad \$33,000,000,000 worth of goods within the next four decades. These goods could be sold only if consumers in the countries to which they were consigned would buy them, and they would buy them only if they were sold at prices which domestic manufacturers could not meet. The war was scarcely over, however, when manufacturers everywhere were demanding of their governments the erection of ever higher tariff walls to exclude the merchandise of foreign countries.

But the German people were so incensed by the war guilt clause and by what they deemed the padding of the reparations bill that the question of Germany's willingness to pay soon superseded the more practical question of her ability to pay. As a famous economist wrote, "The world's largest economic problems are essentially political problems. They are bound up with national policies and national attitudes." The attempt to

collect reparations, largely futile as it proved, kept Europe in turmoil for some years. It fed, while it lasted, the German sense of grievance, and strengthened the fiercely nationalist parties which were sniping at the new republican government of Germany. It would have been better, doubtless, to have levied upon Germany without apologies a specific indemnity, "finite in amount," and collectible within a brief term of years. It was beyond the power of Germany to pay for all the damage she had caused, but an attempt could have been made to set the figure as high as possible without destroying Germany's long-range capacity for production, of which Europe and the world stood in need.

### Covenant of the League of Nations

The American president insisted that the first major work of the peace conference should be the setting up of a League of Nations. Within less than a month after the conference had begun its sessions, the covenant of the League was completely drafted; its terms constitute the first twenty-six articles of the treaty with Germany. It was Wilson's hope that even if some of the provisions of the treaty proved to be impracticable or unfair, a means of peaceful adjustment would be here provided. There was little in the covenant of the League of Nations which was Wilson's own. Indeed, the idea of a league can be traced back through the centuries to the middle ages, and in the draft submitted to the conference of 1919 may be traced the ideas of General Smuts of South Africa, of Lord Fillimore and Lord Cecil of England, and of Léon Bourgeois of France, as well as of Woodrow Wilson.

The twin purposes of the League, as stated in the covenant, were "the promotion of international cooperation" and "the achieving of international peace and security." All the nations of the world, Christian and non-Christian, victors and vanquished, were to be represented in an Assembly, which was to meet once a year. There was a Council also, the members of which were to include the five great powers on the Allied side and, originally, four other states to be selected by the Assembly. The Council, whose meetings were to be more frequent than those of the Assembly, was not an executive committee of the latter but an independent organ fully empowered to deal with all matters with which the Assembly could deal. Its methods were to be diplomatic rather than legislative; unanimous consent was the rule. A body of permanent officials was set up at Geneva, the League capital, the duties of which were administrative and secretarial. Headed by a secretary general, this Secretariat was to place itself at the disposal of the Council and the Assembly. All international bureaus already in existence, and there were a great

many of them, were now to be brought under the control of the League, and all cooperative organizations set up thereafter were likewise to be under League supervision.

The covenant affirmed the intention of League members to reduce national armaments to "the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." It also provided for an ample variety of means for peaceful change and the settlement of all disputes among nations without resort to war. Among these were, in addition to routine diplomatic interchange, arbitration, the good offices of the League Council, and a World Court. "Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants . . . it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League." Two steps were to follow. First, economic sanctions, financial and commercial, should be immediately imposed; second, the Council should recommend to the several governments concerned what forces, military, naval or air, each should contribute to the "armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League."

In the field of international cooperation the League had much success. As an effective means of preventing war it proved to be a failure. Doubtless there is a weakness in the covenant at this point: a common armed force was not to be immediately available. Yet this would scarcely have been a major matter if the members had been consistently determined to carry out the League's purposes.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

### *New World Order, 1919-1933: A Noble Experiment*

FOLLOWING the First World War came a wave of popular feeling against warfare as a recurrent habit of mankind. Undoubtedly the sense of war's futility was more intense and widespread at this time than ever before. The conviction of many thoughtful persons that all wars are essentially futile is typified by Professor Gilbert Murray's statement that "no political question has ever been permanently settled by force."

In futility and waste, the intolerable burden of peacetime armaments was thought to be a close second to war itself. Only a few years after the war the nations of the world were spending more on armaments than before it began. It was argued that the billions so expended, if diverted to productive enterprise, would raise the standard of living of all peoples. Nations will not disarm, however, at least to any considerable extent, unless they feel secure. Security is, of course, a state of mind, and a good many factors contribute to it and detract from it. It is almost wholly a subjective feeling. For example, we in America may conclude that under given circumstances France is secure and that further increase of armament on her part, or the signing of more pacts, is superfluous, even harmful. We must recognize, however, that it is the French whose feeling of security is really involved, and their judgment must be taken very strongly into account.

For fifteen years after Versailles many statesmen in many countries labored strenuously and cooperatively to establish and maintain the new world order which Wilson and his fellow idealists had envisioned. The obstacles were great. The strains to which the new world institutions were promptly subjected were grievous. Furthermore, some able and sincere leaders of thought and action throughout the world were convinced that the advocates of a new world order were misguided or worse. It is not so very surprising that this first experiment fell short of complete success. The heights are seldom reached in a single bound.

## The World Court

An early and a gratifying success for the proponents of the new world order was the setting up of a World Court. That the practice of settling international disputes by peaceful means was not new was an encouraging fact. Arbitration was sometimes resorted to even in medieval times. The first modern arbitration treaty dates from 1828. It was signed by Argentina and Brazil. By 1914 there were about a hundred and fifty such treaties. The country which had displayed the greatest activity in signing them was the United States. In 1899 an international conference at The Hague had drawn up a panel of justices or list of arbiters to which the nations of the world might resort when arbitration became the order of the day. This panel, known as the Hague Tribunal, included the names of over one hundred high judicial personages from all over the world. It is still in existence. At another Hague Conference, in 1907, an attempt was made to transform the panel of justices into a permanent court, with justices who would give their whole time to the settlement of international disputes. The initiative was taken by Secretary of State Elihu Root, representing the government of the United States. An immediate difficulty was the method of electing judges, the larger states demanding more of a voice in this matter than the smaller states were willing to grant. The debate was still unfinished when war silenced all such peaceful conversations.

The idea did not die—indeed, little in history, good or bad, ever dies—and when the covenant of the League was drafted it was provided in Article XIV that the Council of the League “shall formulate and submit to the members of the League plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice.” A committee was duly appointed to draft articles of agreement, and of this committee Mr. Root was made chairman. In order to make it clear from the outset that the proposed court would have no organic relationship to the League and might therefore be resorted to with confidence by countries not members of the League, the Root Commission never reported to the body which had called it into being, but submitted its draft directly to each of the governments of the world. The court was to sit at The Hague, not Geneva; its budget was its own, not connected in any way with the finances of the League. By September, 1921, fifty nations had ratified the instrument and the World Court, as it is popularly called, became effective.

The court consisted of eleven judges and four deputy judges chosen for nine-year terms. These judges, it was stipulated, should represent “the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world.” The difficulty which had brought the prewar project to a standstill was



solved in the following way: each national delegation of the older Hague Tribunal was to name two candidates, at least one of whom would not be a fellow national. From this list of nominees both the Assembly of the League, where each state large and small had an equal voice, and the Council of the League, where the large states had permanent seats, were concurrently to elect the judges. Any state not a member of the League might nonetheless take part in the election. The jurisdiction of the court was to consist of all disputes of an international character which parties might care to submit to it. It was further provided that states which so chose might bind themselves to submit to the court every justiciable question in which they might be concerned. Some forty states ratified this optional clause. Finally, it was provided that the World Court might be called upon "to give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly" of the League.

The list of decisions and advisory opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice is a long one. Not one of the decisions was ever resisted, though the court depended for enforcement entirely upon the justness of its verdicts. Two examples will illustrate the character of its work. A Greek citizen named Mavrommatis had obtained concessions from Turkey for certain public utilities in Jerusalem. These concessions Great Britain refused to recognize when it took over the mandate for Palestine at the close of the war. The Greek government on behalf of its national took the case to the World Court. The British government argued that the World Court had no jurisdiction over the matter. The court held, however, that it did have jurisdiction, a judgment which Great Britain accepted as a matter of course. Proceeding to the claim itself, the court subsequently held that Mavrommatis had not sustained any damages, and so dismissed the suit.

An example of the advisory opinions of the court is a decision in the Polish dispute with the Free City of Danzig. Under the Versailles Treaty and under a treaty between Poland and Danzig, Poland had a right to establish in Danzig postal, telegraph, and telephone service communicating directly with Poland. For these purposes Poland built a post office in Danzig. The World Court was asked to give its opinion as to whether, under the treaties, the Polish postal service was limited to this building or whether Poland had a right to set up mail boxes throughout Danzig and to have Polish mail collected and distributed by postmen in its service. The Court held that Poland could set up letter boxes, have mail collected and delivered, and even paint the mail boxes in the Polish colors, red and white.

The United States held back from joining the League, but that is perhaps understandable; the League involved international commit-

ments of a kind we were not used to. Somewhat surprisingly, however, America failed to join the World Court. The project was an American one originally, and for some years it seemed a foregone conclusion that we would join. President Harding urged our adherence as early as 1923, and Coolidge asked the Senate to ratify the protocol on numerous occasions. In 1925 the House of Representatives recommended ratification by a vote of 302 to 28. It was the furnishing of advisory opinions to the League which troubled hostile senators. Even after reservations were drafted which ensured that we should not be bound by an advisory opinion unless we had expressly asked for it, an isolationist bloc was successful in keeping the project from a vote in the Senate until 1935. At that time it failed of the necessary two-thirds majority by seven votes. By then, however, all projects of collective security were at a discount.

### International Cooperation

As an agency for keeping the world at peace the League of Nations was a failure. In its earlier years there was a short but creditable period of success. Disputes between Greece and Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania, and Sweden and Finland which, it seems highly probable, would have ended in a clash of arms, were taken over by the League and dealt with energetically. One Bulgarian peasant significantly remarked, when asked what the League meant to him, "I used to take my rifle to bed with me; now I leave it behind the door." But in the cases that were successfully settled the disputants were not states of the first rank, nor were the issues of much concern to any of the great powers.

In the field of international cooperation on another level, however, the League's achievements were conspicuous. Much solid work had been done in the half-century before the war. A large number of international unions had been created for specific purposes, mutual advantage being the impelling force. The Universal Postal Union was set up in 1874 with its headquarters in Switzerland. Postal exchange is of first-rate importance, and the need and advantages of conducting it on an international plane are obvious. It is likewise obvious that if safety, speed, and economy in the carrying of letters, cards, packages, and money orders are to be at a maximum, all the civilized nations in the world must cooperate. Before the Postal Union, sixteen pages of close print were required to give directions for sending a post card to the leading countries of the world, and the rate, never low, varied with the distance. Subsequently, six lines of print sufficed, and a low rate was uniform throughout the world. Years before the war broke out, the nations of the Postal Union, in their periodical conferences, had provided for the transportation of

facilities for the blind at greatly reduced rates, and for the carrying of packages for prisoners of war entirely free.

Other unions had been established on a world-wide scale for the better administration of railway and automobile traffic, cables, patents, and copyrights. An organization had been formed for the suppression of the international traffic in "white slaves." America had been one of the prime movers in establishing a commission for the control of the production and sale of opium. An especially interesting example of international organization was the Cape Spartel Lighthouse Commission, established in 1865. Cape Spartel is on the Atlantic coast of Spanish Morocco, and a lighthouse at that point was essential to the safety of shipping. The local authorities having no interest in such a project, the principal European powers, with the United States, built a lighthouse, sharing the expense. They have continued through the years to bear the cost of maintenance, and the budget of the United States carries an item of \$30,000 annually to keep the light burning on Cape Spartel.

All such international unions and commissions, founded or to be founded, were placed under the control of the League of Nations. Many of the new bodies were set up to meet emergencies. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war were without funds and far from home. The League repatriated them. There were more hundreds of thousands of refugees. These the League helped out with loans, 90 per cent of which were repaid. Typhus fever, almost always epidemic after a general war, was stamped out by a League commission. The League also revived and extended the work of an international bureau which before the war had been struggling to keep cholera, plague, and smallpox within bounds. This was the Epidemic Bureau. Its headquarters were set up in Singapore, and it established 143 substations in the various ports of the world where those dread diseases are likeliest to be contracted. Many other steps were taken by the League to raise the standards of preventive medicine. It completely reorganized, by request, the health service of Bolivia, Greece, and China.

Another organization sponsored by the League, and one of the most important, was the International Labor Organization, still very much alive. Employers and employees as well as governments are represented in this body. Its work has been to establish standard hours and wages, to ensure proper working conditions, especially for women and children, and to encourage the spread of social insurance. Its aim, in general, is to persuade the less advanced countries to raise themselves to the level of the more advanced. Sixty-seven treaties have been drafted by the organization, and it has secured a total of 883 separate ratifications by the various governments of the world. The United States government has

been a member of the I.L.O. for some years. In 1939 the American secretary of state wrote, "The League of Nations has been responsible for more humanitarian and scientific endeavor than any other organization in history. . . . Each sound step forward in those fields is a step towards the establishment of that national and international order which is essential to real peace."

### The Conflict over Reparations

For six years after Versailles the peace of Europe was made uneasy by the "reparations war." The two principal beneficiaries, according to the award of the Reparations Commission, were France and Great Britain. When, however, the German Republic was adjudged in default in her reparations payment early in 1921, the two countries could not agree upon a course of action. Britain was for compromise and deferment. Her trade had fallen off by 50 per cent in 1920; her unemployed exceeded two million. British industrialists hoped for the speedy restoration of normal conditions in Germany, to whom a quarter of their exports had gone before the war. France was by no means so dependent on foreign trade. Moreover, she was pushing swiftly to completion the restoration of the devastated areas, borrowing billions of francs from her own people in anticipation of large-scale payments from Germany. Unless regular and substantial payments came, France's deficit spending might soon lead to bankruptcy through exhaustion of borrowing power.

Early in 1922 Raymond Poincaré, prewar president, became prime minister of France. His way with an opponent was "swiftness and force." Poincaré proposed that France and Britain should set up a financial committee in Berlin with inquisitorial and dictatorial authority over German economy and finance. To enforce the committee's decisions, Allied troops would police the chief industrial areas of Germany. Prime Minister Lloyd George, sensitive to the views of British industrialists, advocated a hands-off policy; he would let Germany get on her feet unhampered. As he said to the French, "Our policy is to get milk; yours is to take beef." Poincaré determined to press forward alone, and in the autumn of 1923 French troops occupied the Ruhr.

The Ruhr valley was the richest of all the industrial areas of Germany. Comprising only 7 per cent of Germany's total area, it contained 92 per cent of her coal, 41 per cent of her iron, 45 per cent of her zinc. Its railways carried 71 per cent of the freight of the entire nation. No less than one quarter of the industrial population of Germany lived in the Ruhr. To occupy this region was to control Germany's industrial life. The occupation was a failure. Gigantic strikes of German workingmen broke out. There was some disorder, which French troops ruthlessly repressed,

and about one hundred Germans were killed. The whole German people came to the economic support of the workers of the Ruhr. The terrific cost of supporting the tens of thousands of strikers was a last straw that broke the back of Germany's finances, and in November, 1923, the mark stood at one trillion to the dollar.

Once failure was patent, saner counsels prevailed in the Reparations Commission. American economists suggested that a special international committee be formed with a neutral chairman to put reparations on a business basis. Fortunately, important political changes took place which gave this project the prospect of success. Late in 1923 Gustav Stresemann became foreign minister of Germany. A successful businessman, Stresemann believed that Germany's policy should be to fulfill her treaty obligations and conciliate her late enemies. He held office through ten successive German cabinets (1923 to 1929). In February, 1924, the socialist Ramsay MacDonald became prime minister of England. MacDonald's outlook on international affairs was conciliatory and cooperative. In the following May Poincaré fell and was succeeded by Edouard Herriot, leader of the French moderates. In the meantime a special committee of experts had been appointed by the Reparations Commission. Its report, called the Dawes Plan after its chairman, an American banker, was ready in April.

The Dawes Plan made a businesslike approach to the problem. When a debtor owes a large sum which he is unable to pay, his creditor, if he has any confidence at all in the former's integrity, will try to take steps that will enable the debtor to put his affairs in order and make enough profit to resume payments on the debt. First of all, accordingly, the Dawes plan indicated that a substantial loan must be made to the German government to enable it to establish a new currency. To keep this currency at par, the power of note issue should be limited to one bank under close regulation. Then, for a few years, no reparation payments at all should be made; when payments were resumed they should be carefully proportioned, in a given year, to Germany's capacity to pay. The Ruhr must be promptly evacuated and Allied control over German economy substantially reduced. Germany, France, England—in fact all interested parties—accepted the Dawes Plan, and it went into effect in September, 1924.

The Dawes Plan had provided that Germany's annual payments should be gauged to her capacity to pay but had left the grand total at \$32,000,000,000. Furthermore, it had fixed no date for the final withdrawal of all Allied troops from German soil. Under Stresemann's patient persuasion it was finally agreed (Young Plan, 1929) that Germany would make thirty-seven payments of about \$500,000,000 each, followed by twenty-five payments of about \$400,000,000 each. Allied troops were

to be withdrawn immediately. To make it easier to transform German marks into values which creditor nations could accept, an International Bank was set up at Basle, Switzerland. Germany was represented on its board along with the representatives of Allied powers. Economists had great hopes of this bank as a stabilizing factor in international exchange and as a contribution to the economic welfare of the whole world.

The ending of the "reparations war" cleared the air. The German Republic established a new currency based on gold. A period of industrial prosperity followed, and reparations payments were resumed. In the meantime Germany was admitted to the League of Nations, with a permanent seat on the Council, the Locarno Pacts were signed, and the new order of conciliation and cooperation seemed to have reached firm ground.

### The Problem of War Debts

Scarcely less disturbing to the peace of the world than reparations was the problem of war debts. During the war years and the years directly thereafter, the government of the United States loaned to one or another of our allies a total of \$11,000,000,000. England and France each took a little over one third of that amount, Italy one tenth, half a dozen other countries lesser sums. These loans bore interest of 5 per cent originally, but at the close of the war an American Debt Commission, while insisting that the principal be paid in full, scaled down the interest in accordance with its estimate of each debtor's capacity to pay, setting the number of annual installments at sixty-two. Great Britain was to pay 3.5 per cent interest, France 1.5 per cent, and Italy a trifle over 1 per cent. It was calculated that America would have received back at the end of sixty-two years \$11,000,000,000 of principal plus \$11,000,000,000 more as interest. Generous as this policy seemed to us, it won us abroad the name of "Uncle Shylock," and in the years that followed, a cordial dislike of America and Americans poisoned the air.

Why was this? In the first place, Great Britain skillfully placed the entire odium of debt collection upon us. The British had also lent money, a total of about \$8,000,000,000, mostly to the same countries as ourselves. When it became evident that we proposed to collect what was owed us, the British informed their own debtors that while they preferred a general cancellation of all war debts, the fact that the United States was asking payment compelled them, regretfully, to do the same. Britain undertook, however, to pass along to her own debtors any debt reduction by which she might benefit at the hands of the United States. Undoubtedly the English were sincere in seeking a general cancellation. The currents of world trade would be sadly ruffled by the cross currents of debt repay-

ments for many years, and Great Britain, more than any other country in the world, lived by trade.

Our European debtors found many grounds of criticism of our policy of noncancellation. These loans were not ordinary business loans, they pointed out. A commercial borrower invests the proceeds of a loan in plant or equipment or raw materials. The loan thus enables him to earn greater profits and so make the payments which extinguish his debt. Wartime borrowings, however, are unproductive, since they are invested in shells and other munitions which are "blown to pieces." It was also urged that the whole of a nation's wartime effort should be considered. Each of the Allies was in the war to spend without limit of its blood and treasure. French casualties, for example, exceeded four and a half million; the British, three million; the Italian, two and a half million. The wartime casualties of the American people were only about one quarter of one million. American loans, therefore, it was said, should be regarded as a part of the American contribution to the cost of war.

It is evident that this last point of view was shared by some of those who took part in authorizing the loans, as a rereading of the debates of the American Congress will reveal. Our first loan of \$3,000,000 was made on April 24, 1917, "to countries engaged in war with enemies of the United States." The author of the bill, Representative Kitchin, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, said, "They will be fighting with our money their battles, and will be fighting with our money our battles." Representative Rainey was of the opinion that the loan would "further our interests in this World War; . . . every blow directed at Germany by any of her enemies is struck also in our interest."

America was particularly insistent that war debts and reparations be kept separate. With the latter we had and wanted nothing to do. "Reparations," our government affirmed, "are a purely European question, in which the United States is not concerned." Our debtors persistently linked them together, however. France, for example, in ratifying her funding agreement with the United States after the war, stipulated that her payments would be made "exclusively by the sums that Germany shall pay France." The Young Plan of 1929 provided that any reduction in war debts by the United States would be passed along, in large part, to Germany. When, in the early years of the world depression, reparations payments dwindled, debt payments practically ceased. In July, 1932, the powers of Europe, in a desperate effort to check the depression, liquidated reparations in return for a final payment by Germany of \$750,000,000. It was provided in the "Lausanne Agreement," however, that this step was to be deemed provisional until the United States should agree to debt reduction of like proportion. The British

prime minister said, "We cannot altogether dissociate forgiveness of our debtors from forgiveness of our debts." The United States never canceled the European debts, however. The renewal of war in 1939 and the expenditure of amounts which dwarf previous sums into insignificance make it likely that this melancholy chapter of history will remain forever unfinished.

### Limiting Armaments

All believers in a new world order were convinced that one of the essential prerequisites was the limitation of armaments. Article VIII of the covenant of the League of Nations stated: "The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety." As a first installment, the various treaties provided for a drastic reduction of the armament of the defeated powers—"in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of armaments of all nations." Before the war Germany, for example, had had an army of 5,500,000 effectives. She was now to be limited, forever, it was to be presumed, to an army of 100,000. She had had 7200 heavy guns; she was to have none. Military airplanes and tanks were likewise denied her. "Germany is no longer to be feared," wrote a French statesman of the period, "because she can not make war." The armies of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria were fixed at 30,000 and 25,000 and 20,000 respectively.

This was a good beginning, and the first commission which the League set up was one to study the question of the extension of such limitation to all members. Early in 1921 the commission reported that in the judgment of its members no plan of disarming could be effective which did not provide some measure of collective security. The reparations struggle made such a bedlam of Europe that it would have been strange indeed had any power limited its armament voluntarily. Not only had all the older states which were free to do so, except Great Britain, retained conscription, but five of the six newer states had adopted it; and the world's total expenditure on arms, after the signing of peace, was larger than it had been on the eve of war. Having heard the adverse report of its commission, the League Assembly promptly directed it to extend its field of study and report a combined plan of disarmament and security.

In the meantime American initiative had led to a measure of disarmament at the Washington Conference of 1922. The American invitation was addressed to "the principal Allied and Associated Powers"; in other words, to those states which under the terms of the treaty had disarmed the enemy powers and had promised, themselves, to disarm. Furthermore, the invitation had set down as a program for the conference not only



limitation of naval armament but also of land armament, together with the formulation of certain rules for the regulation of some of the newer weapons of war.

Actually, limitation, at Washington, was confined to navies. It was agreed that there should be a ten-year naval holiday, during which no power should build a ship of more than ten thousand tons burden with guns of more than eight-inch caliber. Nor might such ships be replaced until they were twenty years old. For the future a ratio of capital ships was agreed to, of 5-5-3 for the United States, Great Britain, and Japan respectively, and 1.67 for Italy and France. Thus the actual achievement of the conference was far less extensive than the announced program. Even so, Secretary of State Hughes hailed the Washington agreement as the "most extraordinary and significant treaty ever entered into."

### The Problem of Collective Security

In 1923 the committee on collective security and disarmament made its report to the League of Nations. The committee recommended what is known as a Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. This provided that if one nation were attacked, all the rest should come to its aid. If there was a question of who was the attacked and who the attacker, it should straightway be referred to the Council of the League of Nations, which must announce its decision within four days. During the year that followed no less than sixteen of the nations of the world approved this treaty in principle, among them France, Italy, and Japan. Twelve other states, however, among which were Great Britain, the United States, and Russia, returned a decided negative. Some said the plan did not make it possible to distinguish precisely between attacker and defender, and that under modern conditions all belligerents automatically laid claim to the role of defender. Others objected that far too much responsibility was placed upon the Council of the League. These objections seem sound enough.

The League Assembly of 1924 was remarkable for the attendance of the prime ministers of both Great Britain and France, Ramsay MacDonald and Edouard Herriot, this being the first time that an Assembly had been honored with the presence of statesmen of such importance. Fresh from their settlement of reparations, as they fondly hoped, in the Dawes Plan, the two premiers presented a document called the Geneva Protocol, which was essentially a revision of the Draft Treaty of the previous year. All states, it was provided, must agree to the arbitration of all questions not domestic, the World Court to decide whether a question be domestic or not. All states must agree that when a dispute arises, they will make no preparations for war nor take any action likely to make the

situation more acute. The state which refuses to resort to arbitration or makes hostile preparations or crosses a boundary line is an aggressor. Aggressive war was branded as an "international crime," a concept to which various Americans, including Senator Borah, had contributed, and all such war was declared outlawed. Once the fact of aggression has been established, collective action is to be taken against the offending state. It was thought that in most cases economic sanctions rigorously applied by all the powers would suffice. If not, then the Council of the League was to recommend to the several governments what forces, military, naval, or air, should be employed. It was agreed that the Protocol should come into effect only after a general reduction of armament had been agreed to at a conference to be held in the following year, and then only if the Protocol had been accepted by three of the four great powers in the League and ten other members.

In the end, though a dozen of the lesser members signed, none of the great powers did so. Great Britain refused to sign after taking the advice of her dominions, two of which informed her that in their opinion the adoption of the Protocol would make it still more certain that the United States would never join the League, in which case they felt the Protocol had no chance of success. But the British had reasons of their own also. "It is not the English way," said Britain's Foreign Minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain, "to proceed from the general to the particular, but rather from the particular to the general." He himself favored "not a world-wide security pact such as this but individual security pacts between nation and nation or even between one group of nations and another." Thus ended the second plan of collective security.

As a matter of fact, the British minister had given to statesmen interested in a new world order a promising lead. Evidently he was thinking of certain decisions taken at the Washington Conference of 1922. One of the principal objectives of the powers at that conference had been the preservation of peace in China and the Pacific. The nine powers had agreed "to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China." Furthermore, the four Pacific powers, the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France, agreed "as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific"; in other words, "not to steal each other's islands."

### The Locarno Pacts

These were examples of regional security, or collective security by compartment. Early in 1925 Gustav Stresemann informed the statesmen

of Europe that the German Republic was ready to join with the other powers concerned in retiring from the field of controversy forever the six-hundred-mile boundary—and battle line—which separated her from France and Belgium. So favorable was the atmosphere of Europe that this proposal was enlarged upon, and there met in the Swiss village of Locarno, during the summer and autumn of 1925, the representatives of Germany, France, and Belgium, and of Great Britain, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Poland as well. The result of this friendly collaboration was the Locarno Pacts. Of the seven separate treaties the most important was the Five Power Treaty (Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain, and Italy) fixing forever as Germany's western limit the line drawn at Versailles. It was provided that if either France or Germany violated this frontier, all the other signatories would come to the aid of the aggrieved party. The zone demilitarized at Versailles, a strip of German land along the Rhine fifty kilometers wide, was again accepted by the German Republic, a convincing sign of the peaceful policy of its government. Regarding her eastern boundary, Germany agreed not to attempt to alter it by force, though reserving the right to do so by peaceful means.

### The Kellogg Pact

Locarno was followed by the Kellogg Pact, though just how much value this had it is hard to estimate. On the tenth anniversary of America's entry into the war the peace-loving foreign minister of France, Aristide Briand, issued a statement to the American press in which he intimated that France would be willing to join with the United States in an engagement to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. This promising suggestion inspired the American secretary of state, Mr. Kellogg, to propose that there should be a formal renunciation of war on the part of all nations. During the course of the year 1928, Kellogg canvassed the governments of the world with respect to their willingness to "renounce war as an instrument of national policy." Astonishingly enough, and yet perhaps not so very surprisingly after all, every government indicated its willingness to sign such a pact. Could it be that statesmen were so imbued with the Locarno spirit that they were resolved to have done with war once for all? It is much more likely that no one was willing to be placed in the invidious position of refusing to renounce war. In any case, statesmen were being asked not to renounce all war, but only "that kind of war which is the willful assertion of a nation's purpose." The unanimous approval of the Kellogg Pact left matters pretty much where they were before. It might mean something or it might not. Its efficacy would depend, in the opinion of the British foreign minister, "upon how the

rest of the world thinks the United States are going to judge the actions of an aggressor and whether they will help him or hinder him in his aggression." This disposition to lay the responsibility for the peace of the world at someone else's door, which we have noticed more than once, suggests that the desire for peace was not an overmastering one.

### Naval Conferences at Geneva and London

In the meantime some further progress had been made in the limitation of armament on the sea. At Geneva, in 1927, an attempt was made to extend the Washington ratio from capital ships to cruisers. France and Italy refused to attend the conference, dissatisfied with the ratios assigned them five years earlier. Japan sent representatives; but anticipating, perhaps, the failure of the conference, she announced that any agreement arrived at by Great Britain and the United States would be agreeable to her. Great Britain and America did indeed fail to agree. America wanted a small number of large cruisers, while Great Britain wanted a large number of smaller cruisers. Britain had, of course, many thousands of miles of sea lanes to patrol, while America's lanes were fewer and shorter. Why not allow each nation to divide its cruiser tonnage into as many or as few units as it pleased? The difficulty is, as the British insisted, that a few large cruisers can outspeed and outfight several times their weight of smaller ones; hence America would be in a position of actual superiority even if the total tonnage of cruisers remained the same. There were a good many naval experts at Geneva, both American and British, and the deadlock that ensued was probably due in part to professional jealousy.

The failure to agree was a decided setback to the whole disarmament movement. The statesmen of England and America were most anxious to make up for it as soon as possible, and another naval conference was scheduled for 1930 in London. What made this conference the more needful was the fact that the ten-year naval holiday proclaimed at Washington would expire in 1931. France and Italy put in an appearance at London but left early. The French said they could not admit of Italian equality with themselves. Italy could and doubtless would concentrate her naval forces in the Mediterranean; France, with two coast lines to defend, would thus be inferior to Italy in the Mediterranean and would therefore be unable to maintain communication with her empire in north Africa. England, America, and Japan, on the other hand, continued the naval holiday five years, carrying it to 1936, and extended the 5-5-3 ratio to cruisers and submarines, a satisfactory compromise between large and small cruisers having been arrived at. The success of the conference was calculated by President Hoover, characteristically, in dollars and cents.

According to his figures, the three countries concerned were saving themselves a useless expenditure, in five years, of \$2,500,000,000. The world depression had already fastened its grip on all countries, and Mr. Hoover hoped "that this sum devoted to productive enterprise would be a great stimulus to world prosperity." The economic illness of the world, however, showed little improvement.

### World Disarmament Conference

A general disarmament conference, after ten years delay, met at length in Geneva in February, 1932. This was the first world conference in history to take up the limitation of armaments of every kind. Fifty-seven states were represented—members and nonmembers of the League, both victors and vanquished of the First World War. It was the most important international assembly since the Versailles Conference. That the hopes of peace-loving folk were centered on Geneva was impressively demonstrated by the presentation to the conference, at its first sitting, of memorials for peace signed by eight and a half million persons in forty-five different countries. Commentators vied with each other in emphasizing the momentous character of the affair. "The fate of the world for the next generation is at stake," was the assertion of one who spoke more truly than he could have realized.

The conference began its work in an atmosphere of pessimism. In the previous September Japan had invaded Manchuria and had steadfastly repulsed all efforts made to restrain her; indeed, she even denied the charge that she had violated her obligations as a League member and as a signatory of the Pacific Pacts. There were grave forebodings that Japan's defiant challenge might be the beginning of the end of the whole peace structure. In Germany there had arisen a vigorous party whose leader noisily proclaimed that with his advent to power Germany would use force if need be to achieve the status of equality which the Versailles system denied her. As yet few outside Germany took Hitler seriously, but few dared wholly to disregard his threats. There was also a well-nigh universal distrust of Russia. Russia had not been represented at the Versailles Conference, and it was widely believed that her leaders were only awaiting the proper moment to seize by force lands lost by the tsarist regime. How could Poland, or Finland, or the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, or Livonia dare limit their armaments? Moreover, it was certain that the French would bargain hard before surrendering one particle of their military predominance in return for arrangements, necessarily speculative, for collective security.

Nearly every major delegation proffered a project for security or dis-

armament or both, and it would be a mistake to thrust them all aside as insincere. Maxim Litvinov, Russian commissar for foreign affairs, proposed that disarmament be complete and reasonably prompt. "Equal security for all states" would be guaranteed by collective agreements, and world order would be maintained by an international police force. The French plan was similar, but was vitiated by failure to assign a definite date upon which disarming would begin. Both of these proposals must be regarded as largely theoretical. The Germans knew exactly what they wanted: immediate recognition of Germany's right to armed equality. If this were accepted in principle, the Germans undertook to accept very much less than this for the present; they asked that disarmament down to their level be completed, by stages, within ten to twelve years. President Hoover proposed that existing national armaments be cut immediately by one third, and that chemical warfare, bombing planes, heavy artillery, and tanks be outlawed.

A year and more was consumed in discussions, especially in committee, with little observable progress. At one point the Germans withdrew from the conference but were coaxed to return, after an interval, by the promise of recognition of equality in principle. Early in 1933, however, Hitler and the Nazis took over the government of Germany, erasing during the summer the last vestiges of German opposition to their regime. Then on October 14, 1933, in a telegram to the conference, Hitler announced that Germany had withdrawn from the conference and the League. "It is now clear," he declared, "that the Disarmament Conference will not fulfill its sole object, namely, general disarmament. It is also clear that this failure of the conference is due solely to the unwillingness of the highly armed states to carry out their contractual obligation to disarm." It is true that with the conference well through the second year general disarmament had not yet been agreed upon; but it was also true that when Hitler sent his message there were at least one million Nazi troopers in Germany (the Nazis themselves claimed two and a half million) well drilled, uniformed, and partially armed. This fact, together with justifiable doubt of Hitler's peaceful intentions, gave Germany's former antagonists good grounds for hesitation in their disarmament program.

The Disarmament Conference did not immediately disband but all prospect of its success was gone. In March, 1935, Hitler announced that Germany was rearming, Versailles Treaty or no; in September, Mussolini launched his attack on Ethiopia. In December, another Naval Conference met in London, the "holiday" declared in 1930 having been for five years only. This conference was foredoomed to failure. Japan, in her fifth year of unrepentant war on China, boldly demanded full naval

equality with Great Britain and the United States. Since Japanese sea power was concentrated in the Far East, this could only result in an easy predominance for Japan in that quarter. Refused, Japan went her own way. Italy ignored the conference altogether. Great Britain, France, and the United States then agreed not to build capital ships, aircraft carriers, or submarines of more than a specified size, but numerous "escape clauses" rendered this agreement far from binding.

It was the so-called "have not powers," Japan, Germany, and Italy, who finally wrecked the peace structure. Some of their demands, on careful examination, would doubtless be revealed as reasonable and just; but their method was wrong. If the world was to outlaw force, two things were essential: first, adequate means of peaceful change functioning with reasonable promptness; second, an international armed force strong enough to deal promptly and effectively with states that recklessly took matters into their own hands. The new order of 1919-1933 met neither of these tests. Nevertheless "the noble experiment" may yet prove of immense value as experience, provided, of course, it be transmuted by study and reflection into wisdom.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

### *Democratic Trends and Economic Troubles*

A REMARKABLE feature of the political and social life of Europe in the first quarter of the twentieth century had been the trend toward democracy. In nation after nation, old as well as new, measures were taken which secured that in all important matters the will of the people should prevail. Constitutional monarchies transformed themselves into democratic monarchies. In Denmark the constitution of 1866 was amended, in 1915, making both houses of the legislature elective by the direct vote of all adult men and women. The establishment of cooperatives enabling Danish farmers to produce their butter, eggs, and bacon more advantageously and to market them more profitably contributed to the advance of economic democracy. For all Danish workers rural or urban a generous measure of social insurance was provided.

Norway and Sweden achieved peaceful separation of the two nationalities by plebiscite in 1905, and this was followed by the demilitarization of their common frontier and a mutual pledge of compulsory arbitration of all disputes. Norway chose a Danish prince as her king, Haakon VII. In 1913 the Norwegians extended the vote to women. The Norwegian Labor party soon became, and has since remained, the largest political group in the country. Sweden adopted woman suffrage during the war. The urban proletariat is large in Sweden, and in 1932 she had her first socialist prime minister.

Holland established universal suffrage in 1917; Belgium, in 1921, though there the franchise for women was limited. In both countries socialist parties are strong and there has been much social legislation. Spain and Portugal, though lagging behind the rest of western Europe in economic and social change, have kept pretty well abreast of the times politically. Manhood suffrage was established by Spain in 1890 and voting was made compulsory in 1917. Woman suffrage has never been adopted. Illiteracy remains high even today despite the adoption of a law making attendance at an elementary school compulsory (1909). In Portugal the advance of political democracy took the form of a revolution, which in 1910 set up a bourgeois republic on the French model.

In England manhood suffrage together with a limited franchise for



women was established in 1918; ten years later women were permitted to vote on the same terms as men. Increased demand for social and economic changes resulted in a remarkable increase in the strength of the Labor party; after the war it quickly became the second party in the state. In 1924 the Labor party supplied England with a socialist prime minister, and did so again in 1929. In France, where manhood suffrage has prevailed since 1848, no formal steps were taken in the direction of political democracy after 1900. As in most Latin countries, votes for women were still out of the question. On the other hand, great social and economic changes have taken place. (See Chapter XXXI.) In Switzerland no changes of note have occurred. The Swiss have long since reached "the bedrock of democracy."

### Wave of Political Democracy after the War

The close of the war brought a great surge of democracy, the greatest in history. It was as though the earthquake shock of war propelled a tidal wave which overran the continent. The preference seemed to be for democracy in its republican form. During the closing months of the war three emperors, five kings, five grand dukes, six dukes, and seven princes were dethroned, and elective executives took their places. Moreover, in each of the six new states set up at Versailles a republican form of government was established. All this owed something to the professed ideology of the Allies. According to their greatest spokesman, "the world must be made fit and safe to live in; . . . the world must be made safe for democracy." These phrases are from Wilson's famous speech of January 8, 1918. Three days earlier, in a statement of war aims, the British statesman Lloyd George declared that the basis for the peace must everywhere be "government with the consent of the governed." He went on to condemn specifically the German form of government. Germany's "military autocracy is a dangerous anachronism in the twentieth century," he asserted. "The adoption of a really democratic constitution by Germany would be the most convincing evidence that in her the old spirit of military dominance has indeed died in this war and would make it much easier for us to conclude a broad democratic peace with her." It was evident that if the Allies won the war, democracies would be popular. This was a far cry from Vienna in 1815, when Metternich had said, "Republics are not in fashion any more."

The dozen or so new governments of Europe not only adopted political democracy; they carried it to the greatest extremes yet seen. In nearly all of them universal suffrage was established as the basis of authority. In some states the voting age was as low as twenty. Proportional representation was the rule, and provision was generally made for the direct action

of the voters through initiative and referendum. Legislative predominance was awarded to the lower houses, with control of administration and finance. In the old days upper houses had been reserved for the representation of privileged classes, but these had now been swept away. It is not surprising, therefore, that in nearly half the new constitutions upper houses were dispensed with; in the rest they were secondary. Direct democracy found its fullest expression in the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia. There the sovereign voters elected a single representative assembly. This, in turn, appointed the executive and held him completely responsible to itself. The voters were empowered to override the decisions of their representatives at any time by direct vote and to demand fresh elections whenever they pleased. Direct democracies such as these are practicable, perhaps, in small peasant communities, but they were radically experimental, to say the least, in states whose most critical problem was national security. Poland's constitution followed the French model. The new German constitution also followed the French model, but with innovations of its own. The Austrians imitated their neighbor Switzerland in both local and federal forms.

In practically none of the newer democracies, however, had there been the long experience of political methods, the ingrown habit of majority rule, the tolerance of divergent views, and the acceptance of political compromise that must obtain in a successful democracy. Even the virtue of parliamentary decorum was lacking. In the German Reichstag members limited themselves to the use of ink bottles, books, and fists; but in Yugoslavia a member of the majority party, stung beyond endurance by the taunts of opposition leaders, interrupted his speech to empty his revolver at them, killing two and fatally wounding a third.

Another serious threat to stability was the fact that while practically all of the democracies of Europe, new and old, were obliged to live on borrowed money, the world was passing through a period of major economic recession. There have been three such periods since 1815, each one following a great war. Prolonged decades of peace are normally times of economic expansion which raise the standard of living. The trade cycles of peacetime are marked by minor economic recessions, but these are comparatively slight and they are not prolonged. It is generally true that during an age of peace international trade expands with reasonable freedom from restraint, and that the economic resources of the entire world are brought measurably within reach of mankind. War smashes this delicately balanced structure of world trade. The scientific knowledge of man and his technical skill are directed to war production; accumulations of capital are dissipated; and enormous debts are accumulated, to weigh down economic enterprise through decades to come.

The First World War seriously upset industrial conditions. Certain industries were greatly overstimulated, only to collapse with the coming of peace. Rubber and tin, merely as examples, were under extraordinary demand. Enormous investments of capital and labor were made, far beyond peacetime requirements. After the end of the war the greatly increased flow of production of these commodities continued by sheer force of momentum. The result was a collapse of prices and widespread unemployment. Or again, there was, during the war, a greatly increased demand in Europe for the agricultural products of America, particularly wheat. Prices were high; indeed, a minimum price was guaranteed in advance. Hundreds of thousands of acres of pastureland were sown to wheat. Farmers borrowed to the limit to increase their acreage. When peace came, production was far beyond peacetime needs. Prices fell, wheat farmers were ruined, and the wheat belt became the dust bowl. These are typical of the industrial dislocations that faced the postwar world.

The war also threw the world's monetary systems out of harmony. Before the war most currencies were stable in relation to each other and remained so because they were based on the gold standard or were closely tied to gold. During the war, government after government "watered" its currency more or less freely by the issuance of paper money and in other ways. This policy continued during the early years of peace, and the constant fluctuation in commodity values which resulted was a serious obstacle to the flow of trade. The situation was worsened by the activities of a group which made money, or sought to make it, by speculation in currency. Countries which went back to the gold standard, as England did, were handicapped in competition in world markets with countries with "cheap" currencies. Further barriers to freedom of trade which now became common were tariffs, government subsidies, and quota systems. In other words, political nationalism was accompanied by economic nationalism, and practically every government was seeking to make the state self-sufficient, or reasonably so. We may almost say that the chief cause of the economic troubles of the postwar era was the erection of "political dams across the economic streams of the world."

Europe's economic difficulties were deep seated. In normal times the Continent is divided into what is sometimes called "Europe A" and "Europe B." Europe A is western Europe, industrial Europe, with a population 70 per cent urban and a high standard of living, education, and political life. Agriculture in western Europe is also very efficient, the soil of Belgium yielding three times as much wheat per acre as that of Rumania. Europe B consists of the countries of eastern Europe and the Balkans, where the population is chiefly rural and where the standard of

living and purchasing power are low. For centuries the economic development of eastern Europe had been neglected. Western Europe preferred overseas trade and overseas investments. Seventy-five per cent of western Europe's manufactures went overseas. This situation was made worse by the war. Europe A lost much of its overseas market, but Europe B was not yet ready to offer substitute markets. For one thing, the land of eastern Europe had been divided, as a result of revolutions, into small farms. Burdened with debt and unable or unwilling to use machinery, the peasants could not compete, in selling their products in western Europe, with the more progressive farmers of the New World. Furthermore, the high tariff walls which were soon erected against the farmers of eastern Europe made it still more difficult for them to exchange their produce for the manufactures of the West. Thus while Europe's external trade fell away rapidly, her internal trade developed slowly.

We shall now examine the internal history of the large European democracies. Not that the institutions of the larger countries were the best or their standard of living the highest; that was not the case; but the fate of Europe as a whole, unfortunately, depended chiefly upon what happened in a few big states. We will begin with Germany.

### The Weimar Republic

It was not altogether at the bidding of Wilson and Lloyd George that the German people set up a republic after the war. The wartime sufferings of German civilians had been extreme. Due to a diet of which the principal constituent was turnips and to long winters without fuel, the civilian dead almost matched the long roll of casualties on the field of battle. As early as January, 1918, mammoth strikes of workers and mass meetings of excited citizens revealed the weakening of governmental authority. In the following September Socialists were admitted to the cabinet; in October a swift succession of reforms transformed the kaiser's regime into a completely parliamentary government on the English model. It was this government which, at the request of the German general staff, made inquiries about the terms of a possible armistice. From this government the kaiser was eliminated a little later. His prestige among his own people was very low and it was evident that the Allies were fatally prejudiced against him.

The leaders of the new republic were drawn from bourgeois and proletarian parties. Prominent among them were Social Democrats, whose tenets, it will be remembered, were more democratic than socialist. Working quickly and suppressing promptly the challenges of extremists of the left or the right, these leaders not only drew up a new constitution for

Germany but submitted it to the people for ratification and put it in force, all within a space of nine months after the kaiser's abdication.

The new constitution for Germany has been called the most democratic constitution, on paper, in the world. Nearly all legislative authority was centered in the lower house or Reichstag. This body was elected by all men and women of twenty and over on a unique plan of proportional representation. Only those voters who actually took the trouble to cast their ballots were represented. So adequately were minority parties cared for that a minimum of votes was "wasted." At the head of the state, as in France, was a president whose authority though vast in theory was exercised only upon the advice of a minister responsible to the legislature. To endow the presidency with prestige, if not with power, the Weimar constitution provided for his election directly by the voters. The constitution further provided for the freest expression of opinion and for as adequate guarantees of civil rights as may be met with in modern constitutions.

Though it avoided socialistic provisions the new frame of government was very favorable to the German workers, whose votes made up so large a part of the political strength of the Social-Democratic party. Every factory was to have a workers' council to advise in production and to approve all measures of discipline. Every board of directors must award two seats to elected representatives of the workers. Before introducing measures on social or economic matters the cabinet must submit them to a National Economic Council, on which the workers were to be strongly represented.

### Weaknesses of the Weimar Regime

In other sections of German life the work of democratization was much less thorough. The republic did little to effect a redistribution of the land, one quarter of which continued to be held by a few thousand families in large estates. These families, chiefly Prussian Junkers, were the hereditary enemies of democracy. Bismarck was from this class. So also was Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, the great war hero, who in 1925 was chosen president of the republic. Still more culpably, the republic failed to sweep out of office the army of officials holding over from the imperial regime. The German people have a peculiar respect for the expert, and the new leaders, conscious of their own lack of administrative experience, allowed the imperial bureaucracy to remain substantially intact. There was thus a vast army of officials in key positions who were lukewarm in their support of the republic or actually hostile to it and who were capable of committing acts of sabotage against it. The new German army permitted by the treaty was not republicanized. Officers were still

drawn from the military caste which had dominated the imperial army, and Germany's small military force was thus permitted to develop into a political body practically independent of the state.

The new government displayed too much tenderness for the opposition everywhere. Members of the royal family, openly disdainful of the republic, circulated freely among the German people with scarcely diminished prestige. The republic, in its anxiety to be fair to all Germans, even restored to the exiled ex-*kaiser* his property, making him Germany's richest citizen. Newspapers and periodicals of all shades of politics circulated freely. University professors who had won promotion under the empire remained in their posts indoctrinating their students with their own skeptical spirit and, when asked to lend their expert assistance or advice to governmental departments, curtly declining to do so. Even a little ruthlessness toward its enemies would have given the Weimar regime a better hold on life.

### Achievements of the German Republic

Stigmatized as the child of defeat, lacking leaders of courage, inspiration, and intelligence, the German Republic rather surprisingly survived the crises of the next fifteen years. It did more than survive them; to a considerable extent it mastered them. The republic inherited a financial and economic situation of great difficulty. Less than 5 per cent of the expense of the war had been met by taxation. At the end of the war, inflation had already reached a dangerous level, and the borrowing power of the government was seriously compromised. All economic resources had been used without stint during the war; reserves of raw materials had been spent; even the soil of Germany had been depleted through intensive cultivation. Furthermore, the Versailles settlement had limited Germany economically in a multitude of ways, as we have seen. Her foreign investments were wiped out, her shipping was taken away, and vast sums were demanded of her under the name of reparations. Then came the occupation of the Ruhr, during which the German government financed passive resistance, a very expensive business. By the summer of 1923 only 10 per cent of the German budget was being covered by taxation or loans. All the rest of the expenses of government were met by the issuance of paper money, promises to pay in which few had any faith. Thirty factories working day and night could not keep pace with the demand for paper marks. In addition, a staggering total of counterfeit marks was in circulation. An American dollar was worth four trillion paper marks. At this figure all savings were automatically wiped out, all debts paid. Inflation was no longer a dreaded specter; it had become a terrible

reality. The whole of the middle class became one with the proletariat. Four years of war followed by four years of inflation left a whole generation of German youth in permanent emotional unbalance, responsive to the noisy shouts of demagogues.

Germany had touched bottom but her economic rebound was swift and, it seemed, vigorous. The paper mark was wiped out and a gold mark was established as the basis of a new monetary system. To stabilize the new mark, a gold reserve was set up consisting of \$200,000,000 borrowed from abroad under the Dawes Plan. To assist in balancing the budget, nearly three quarters of a million officials were dropped from the government payroll. Germany's industrial plant, undamaged by the war, was gone over by efficiency experts with a view to increasing mechanization and eliminating waste. German chemists resumed production of their famous synthetic products. German shipyards turned out great ocean liners once more. Clouds of airplanes and flocks of dirigibles filled the air; the German people were the first to become really air-minded. By 1929 Germany's industrial output had not only reached the prewar figure; it actually exceeded it. A very large part of the capital required to finance this industrial come-back had been borrowed from abroad. The loans were made for short terms and the interest rates were high. What a severe, prolonged, and world-wide economic depression would do to the German economic and financial structure can easily be imagined.

The German Republic dealt creditably with a number of other national problems. Her foreign minister, Stresemann, persuaded the French to evacuate the Ruhr; he helped inaugurate the Dawes Plan; he initiated the Locarno Pacts and led Germany into the League of Nations. Three years later the troublesome reparations problem was brought within reasonable limits and its final solution made possible by the Young Plan, and this in turn led to the withdrawal of the last of the allied troops from German soil in 1930, five years before the date fixed at Versailles. Finally, under the stress of world-wide depression, reparations were liquidated in 1931. This is an impressive list of achievements, and it owes nothing whatever to Hitler. It was the fruit of a policy of conciliation, of peaceful negotiation, which was the way of the German Republic.

Of course, much remained to be done. German republicans resented the "war guilt" clause of the treaty; they objected strenuously to one-sided disarmament; they pressed for a rectification of the eastern frontier; they favored, at the least, a customs union with Austria; they asked for a return of the German colonies, or in their place a more equitable sharing of the world's economic resources. Unquestionably concessions should have been made by the Allies on some of these points. Not to make them was not merely to perpetuate injustice; it was to court danger. Hitler,

said Winston Churchill in 1940, was "the monstrous product of former shames and wrongs."

### The French Republic; Reconstruction

The strength and worth of any regime may be sought in the answer to the following question: Does it courageously confront the needs and dangers of its time and deal with them in such a way as to lead to a better future? Let us apply this test to the French Republic in the interval between two wars.

The problems of France were many and heavy. First was the task of rebuilding the area which had been devastated by the most destructive war yet known. This area covered more than ten million acres; it included more than ten thousand cities, towns, and villages. Factories, mines, orchards, herds of cattle, in the aggregate one quarter of the productive capital of France, had been destroyed. Moreover, 5,300,000 men had been killed or wounded out of a population of 38,000,000. The French population of 1918, despite the recovery of 3,000,000 in Alsace-Lorraine, was less than it had been in 1914. France had been bled white. Her wastage in man power had been so severe that recovery was very slow. Indeed, exhaustion of vital reserves in the First World War may partly account for collapse in the Second.

One of the recurring marvels of history is the speed with which the material damage of war is made good. It was so in France. Within a few years most of the ruined towns and villages had been rebuilt. Thousands of Italian workers lent their aid. The financial consequences of the war, however, remained much longer. For a full decade the French government trembled on the brink of disaster. One factor was the terrific burden of debt. Like the Germans, the French had paid most of the cost of the war with borrowed money. The national debt rose from 36,000,000,000 francs to 330,000,000,000. Of the proceeds of taxation, 55 per cent went to the payment of interest. To the total of debt was added the cost of reconstruction. France had counted on obtaining this from Germany; the Treaty of Versailles had so provided. In the end, however, reparation payments proved disappointing, as we have seen, and France had to pay 85 per cent of reconstruction costs herself. Thus more billions were added to the debt and a still larger percentage of income was absorbed in interest payments; the French budget was not in balance for sixteen years.

### The Battle of the Franc

The inevitable result was inflation. The franc sank to ever lower depths as each successive administration failed to halt its downward



course. The voters drove from office ministers who failed to keep the franc up. Even more promptly they expelled those who attempted to keep the franc from falling farther. The "waltz of the portfolios" was fast and furious. There was only one way to stop the borrowing, and that was to balance the budget; and there were but two ways of balancing the budget, fresh economies and increased taxation. Neither of these measures is easy to adopt in a democracy; both were especially difficult in France, where governmental employees are more than ordinarily numerous and resistance to taxation is especially strong. Finally, in July, 1926, the government found itself without further borrowing power. The franc was then worth two cents in American money, about one tenth of its prewar value. It was certain that France was on the edge of an abyss. What her fate and the fate of her people might be the recent history of Germany had made clear to all.

Under the sobering impact of this crisis the French president summoned to office France's strongest man, Raymond Poincaré. Selecting his associates impartially from the leading parties, Poincaré established a government of "national union." Among his colleagues were six former premiers. In two years of hard work the budget was balanced; borrowing was limited and the franc stabilized. All this was accomplished with a minimum of foreign money. Moreover, it was done so skillfully that no economic crisis ensued. Industrial recovery followed promptly, and the franc was stabilized at about 20 per cent of its prewar value. Thus the French people paid for the war through the forfeiture of 80 per cent of the value of their bonds.

### Political Parties; Social Justice

The two largest political parties of France were the Radical Socialists and the Socialists. The former represented peasants, artisans, and shopkeepers, the so-called "little men"; the latter, organized labor and its friends. For forty years the Radical Socialists were the largest party in the country, controlling the government more often than any other group. In 1936, however, they were beaten by the Socialists both in the total vote and in the number of deputies elected to the Chamber. Both parties were interested in social legislation, though the Socialists were interested not so much in mending the social order as in ending it. In 1930 the Radicals enacted a general social insurance law which was described as "the most important event in the history of the Third Republic." This provided the workers with state insurance against sickness, accident, unemployment, and old age. Provision was also made for maternity benefits. Six years later Léon Blum, the Socialist premier, secured for

all workers a forty-hour week, an annual vacation of two weeks with pay, and the right of collective bargaining with respect to wages, conditions of labor, and all matters relating to hiring and firing. Blum also arranged for a 40 per cent reduction of railway fares for holiday makers. He democratized the Bank of France by wresting it from the control of the "fifty families" and placing it under a board of regents representative of the economic and social divisions of the population. He nationalized the railways by grouping them into one big company, the government buying 51 per cent of the stock. Finally, he brought under state ownership and operation all factories engaged in the manufacture of war planes, tanks, and warships.

It would be a grave error, however, to assume that Frenchmen were exclusively preoccupied with the improvement of the lot of the industrial workers. France has a beautifully balanced economy, even in these industrial times. At least half her income is derived from agriculture. To a remarkable degree, moreover, the land belongs to those who farm it; there are some six million peasant proprietors. Thus French democracy has its roots in the soil. Even in French industry the small man is predominant. The country has hundreds of thousands of small factories; indeed, 80 per cent of the factories of France give employment to but half a dozen workers each. (The number of large corporations did, however, increase somewhat after 1914, particularly in the iron and steel industry, whose output in 1928 exceeded that of England.) All in all, while the industrial worker came in for a large share of attention in the postwar years, the interest of the small property owners was given ample consideration.

### The Stavisky Affair

Between the Revolution and the Third Republic no regime in France had lived longer than eighteen years. First democratic France, then authoritarian France would achieve a momentary ascendancy. The long life of the Third Republic, three times that of any of its ten predecessors, might well persuade even close students of French history that democracy had at length become the creed of the nation. Such an optimistic conclusion was rendered distinctly doubtful, in 1934, by the Stavisky affair, whose lurid light revealed briefly the wide and deep ideological fissure in the French nation. Of Russian birth, Serge Stavisky had migrated to France and adopted the profession of swindler. Each of his successive projects was floated on the proceeds of the one before. His latest concerned a chain of municipal pawnshops. To establish his hold on them, Stavisky had been obliged to bribe numerous members of the Chamber of Deputies and a few highly placed officials. Most unfortunately for all concerned, a

foreign bond issue in which Stavisky had invested heavily collapsed, and his ruin laid bare to an astonished public a portion at least of his slimy trail. Investigators dug into his records and found evidence of official complicity, but before they had followed the exciting clues very far, Stavisky shot himself. Many Frenchmen chose to believe that he had been shot by the police to close his mouth.

Everyone who had a grievance of any kind against the government now joined in a loud and angry roar of abuse. Taxes had long been heavy. Moreover, the public had become increasingly uneasy over events in Germany. For months the members of the Chamber had shown a disposition, not unknown in other democracies, to debate endlessly and do nothing. So low was the prestige of the Chamber that an enterprising firm found a wide market for a lapel button bearing the words, "I am not a deputy." On the afternoon of February 6, 1934, a mob gathered outside the Chamber shouting, "Thieves." In a clash with troops a score of lives were lost. The cabinet resigned. This was indeed a disquieting matter—the ministry forced into resignation by the pressure of a mob!

### The Republic Survives

As in the summer of 1926, during the crisis of the franc, a cabinet of National Union was now formed, and an attempt was made to revise the constitution so as to strengthen the authority of the president and his ministers. This eventually came to nothing. The more violent forms of public agitation subsided, and France reverted to her normal parliamentary ways. It would have been well for France had she strengthened her government along the lines proposed; the Third Republic would have had a better chance to survive the shock of defeat in 1940.

If the lesson of the Stavisky affair was not taken greatly to heart, neither was the menace of Hitlerism. French cabinets continued to shorten the hours of workers and lengthen their vacations, while Germany, with her civilian consumption on an austerity basis, employed her total productive capacity in making ready for war. It requires statesmanship of a very high order to discern the time when a democracy must turn aside from social advance to measures of self-preservation. As the German and Italian dictators dismantled the peace structure of Europe bit by bit, the Radical and Socialist leaders of France, in close accord with the British, protested; but they took no effective action.

### Great Britain Achieves Political Democracy

England, victorious in the war, had not suffered the destruction of physical property visited upon her partner France, but the postwar years

in Great Britain were filled with problems and changes nonetheless. Like other countries, England felt the rising tide of democracy. In 1928 the women of Great Britain obtained the right to vote on the same terms as men. As a result, women voters outnumbered the men by 1,400,000. Although a large part of the British public was disquieted by this situation, no untoward results followed.

The predominance of the House of Commons after the war was more marked than ever. When the Lords were deprived of their absolute veto in 1911, it was provided that their house would be reconstituted, at some future time, along lines more in accord with political democracy. This was never done. To give the Lords a democratic basis could only result in strengthening the position of the upper house. Neither the Liberal nor the Labor party could see any point in that. A left-wing Laborite declared that the only suitable "reform for the Lords was chloroform."

### The Labor Party

The most significant fact in the political and social life of England after the war was the rise of the Labor party. In the last election before the war the Labor vote had been 370,802, and its membership in the House of Commons 42. In 1929 Labor was the first party in the state, with 289 seats in the house and a nation-wide poll of 8,364,883. J. Ramsay MacDonald, the Scotch leader of the party, who had "presided at its birth," as he said, and who had enjoyed a few months of office in 1924 when a Liberal-Labor coalition held a temporary majority, now became prime minister.

The Labor party has been described as an animal with socialist brains, a trade union body, and a bolshevist tail. It is true that the great mass of Labor votes come from England's powerful trade unions. Their funds finance political campaigns. It is also true that Labor's leaders have not been workingmen. They have been intellectuals, members of socialist societies, writers of books on social theory. The tail of the strange animal is made up of left-wing Laborites, who, however, on the least suspicion of communist sympathies or affiliation are read out of the party. The Labor party has made strenuous efforts to enlist in its ranks all workers by hand or brain. It has enrolled many civil servants, teachers, clerks, doctors, ministers, and shopkeepers. Labor leaders have stated their program in idealistic terms. They seek not only to democratize society but to "moralize" it. They aim to secure "a reasonable standard of life for all; a minimum standard of health, of leisure, of subsistence, of education, of opportunity to share in the enjoyment of those things of the mind and spirit which have hitherto been mainly the monopoly of the possessing classes."

The Labor method is parliamentary. It advocates the nationalization of banks, the transportation system, land, and certain industries "ripe" for nationalization. It proposes, however, to preserve the valuable features of the competitive system by setting up, for each industry nationalized, a "public corporation" over which the government will have supervisory control, exercised at stated but infrequent intervals. An example of the type of organization the party has in mind is the British Broadcasting Corporation.

One reason for the growth of Labor after the First World War is the fact that the working classes of England were gradually becoming more self-conscious. England had preserved to an astonishing degree the social stratification of an earlier time. Foreign observers have often drawn attention to this fact, and some of them have professed to believe that there is not only a social but a biological differentiation of Englishmen into two groups, a tall, grave gentleman class and a runty, capering class of cockneys. Long after the establishment of political democracy the masses continued to select their leaders from the gentleman class. Labor leaders sought to break through the lower classes' "instinct of deference" and arouse workingmen to a fuller realization of their place in modern society.

### A Long Economic Depression

The growth of Labor was also due to the persistence through two decades of an economic depression of an unparalleled magnitude. The economy of Great Britain was especially vulnerable, since she depended so much on foreign trade. The close of the war was followed by the decline of world trade to half its former volume. (See p. 658.) Only 6 per cent of the population of Great Britain gets its living from the soil. In 1913 one fourth of her iron and steel, one third of her coal, seven billion yards of her yearly output of nine billion linear yards of cotton cloth were sold abroad. Moreover, Great Britain was formerly an exporter of population. Between 1900 and 1914 more than six million persons left the island, half of them settling in the United States. During the next decade the outward flow of population from Great Britain was about one million; thereafter it dwindled to nothing.

More fundamental was the fact that even before the war Great Britain was losing her industrial leadership. Not only was industrialism spreading to new countries, such as Japan, India, and China, but nearly everywhere save in England full mechanization was being achieved through the free use of machine tools. The assembly line became an essential feature of mass production. Giant corporations were organized, seeking to control the supply of the raw material of an industry as well as to cut

the cost of manufacture. New sources of power were developed through the tapping of oil fields and the harnessing of waterfalls. In short, the world was passing through a second industrial revolution, and Great Britain was fast falling behind. There are no oil fields on the British Isles and only an insignificant amount of waterpower. Britain's factory machinery was old-fashioned, her industrial organization antiquated. America produced in the 1920's four and a half million motor cars per annum, 90 per cent of which were made by ten companies. Great Britain, on the other hand, had eighty-eight companies engaged in the manufacture of motor cars, but the total output of the entire industry was only 200,000 units. American textile workers produced from five to ten times as much per hour as British workers, partly because American looms were 95 per cent automatic while the British were only 5 per cent automatic.

Britain's disadvantages were increased by the prolonged crisis in international exchange which followed the war. Most of the countries of Europe cheapened their currencies. England clung to the gold standard. This meant that European customers found British goods expensive. It is not surprising, therefore, that after a brief period of commercial activity, British exports fell to less than half of their prewar figure. In 1920 the unemployment total rose to one million. Slowly increasing to two million, it hovered around that figure for nearly twenty years, except at the lowest point of the world economic depression, when it exceeded three million.

### A General Strike

The Labor party insisted that something drastic should be done about unemployment. To hasten the world's return to economic normalcy, Labor leaders strongly supported the whole program of the new world order. To reduce domestic debt, they advocated a levy on capital. To promote employment and ensure to the workers a larger share of profits, they stood for the nationalizing of selected industries and services. The Tories took the view that, given time, the situation might improve, but that in the meanwhile no fundamental reshaping of English institutions was called for. Since the Tories were in power nearly three quarters of the time, little change occurred during the twenty years of peace.

Outmatched politically, Labor on one occasion resorted to the desperate expedient of a general strike. Less than half of Great Britain's six million organized workers left work, but the Tory administration took the view that the constitution of England was in peril. Their opinion was shared by the general public, and after nine days the strike was broken. That was in 1926, and though the Labor cause lost heavily in prestige, it recovered quickly, and three years later Labor won at the polls. With a

real opportunity, at last, to carry some of their plans into effect, Labor leaders were doomed to disappointment. The widening and deepening of the world depression undermined the foundations of British finance, and in 1931 a "national cabinet" representing all parties was formed to deal with the banking crisis.

### From Empire to Commonwealth

Remarkable progress was made during two decades of peace in transforming empire into commonwealth. The half-dozen dominions became free states, though they voluntarily remained members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The leader was Canada. The war had not been of Canada's making, nor was it of her choosing. With a population of only eight million, Canada had armed and equipped a force of half a million, of whom 400,000 fought overseas. It seemed intolerable to Canadian leaders that their country should ever again be called upon for a sacrifice of such magnitude unless the entire direction of Canadian policy should be under home control. Accordingly, Sir Robert Borden, Canadian premier, demanded that Canada be admitted to separate representation at Versailles and be left free to ratify the treaty or not as she might choose. To this the British government agreed, and Canadians see in the Versailles treaty a step as significant in their national history as was taken in an earlier Treaty of Versailles when Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States. Subsequently the six British nations of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State, and Newfoundland secured separate representation in the Assembly of the League of Nations.

It was some time before the full implications of the new status were realized in the mother country. In 1931, however, Parliament enacted the Statute of Westminster, which brought law into conformity with fact. This act provided that no law passed by the British Parliament should extend to any of the dominions except "at the request and with the consent of that dominion"; and conversely, that no law passed by the parliament of a dominion should be "void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England." Thus the sole bond of union among the British nations, of which England is one, is the crown. The king is equally bound to accept the advice of each of his prime ministers. It is conceivable, of course, that on a matter of imperial policy the king might receive contrary advice from different ones, but this has not happened yet.

Mindful of the unique responsibility which devolved upon the crown in the new scheme of things, the framers of the Statute of Westminster

stipulated that "any alteration in the law touching the succession to the throne or the royal style and titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the parliaments of all of the dominions as of the parliament of the United Kingdom." Five years later, under circumstances quite unforeseen at the time, it was found necessary to act upon this provision. George V died in January, 1936, at the age of seventy, having celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession the previous summer. His successor, Edward VIII, had had a long experience in public service as Prince of Wales, principally as a "good-will ambassador at large." Edward had visited every part of the British Empire and nearly every country in the world. He possessed or had developed qualities and capacities admirably fitting him for public life. A succession of public functions left him not only untired but unbored, or so it seemed, the last person to greet him being received with as much friendly warmth as the first. During the busy years of his life he had not taken time to marry, but shortly after coming to the throne the king announced his intention of marrying an American woman, already twice divorced. It quickly became apparent that the public, in each of the nations over which he ruled, was decidedly against this choice. When the king became fully aware of this, he abdicated (December 12, 1936), and the Act of Abdication received separate ratification in each of the British nations. His successor was his next younger brother, already the head of an attractive family, who took the title of George VI.

### The Irish Problem

Inside the Commonwealth of Nations but seeking to withdraw from it was Ireland; outside it but knocking at the door was India. (See p. 718.) There had been a time when Ireland would have accepted an autonomous status within the empire, but England refused to grant it. Later on when England was willing Ireland was not. A home rule bill was enacted in 1914, as we have seen, but its enforcement was put over to the end of the war. Anti-British feeling grew in Ireland during the war, as is evidenced by the rebellion of Irish extremists in 1916. Nationalist feeling was intense in Ireland as elsewhere at the end of the war, and the British now drafted a new home rule plan on more generous lines. Among the provisions of this bill of 1920 was that of separate treatment for Ulster, the six northern counties being given a parliament of their own. The rest of Ireland refused to accept the bill, and instead established an Irish Republic under the presidency of Eamon de Valera. A bitter struggle between the Irish Republic and the British government was finally ended by a treaty which established in the south of Ireland an "Irish Free State" (1922), whose status in the British Empire was defined as "the same as



that of Canada." A constitution was drafted by the people of the Irish Free State and ratified by a majority of the voters. De Valera, who led the opposition to treaty and constitution, resigned from the presidency and was succeeded by Arthur Griffith, first president of the Free State.

### Anti-British Policy of De Valera

To most observers it seemed that the long conflict of England and Ireland was at an end. It was not. De Valera embarked upon a campaign of armed opposition, and for five years the Irish Free State was torn by civil war. Perceiving that violence was a losing policy, De Valera turned to constitutional methods. In 1927 he and his followers took their seats in the Irish Parliament. After five more years of struggle, this time of a parliamentary sort, De Valera, in the election of 1932, captured a majority of the seats. Factors contributing to De Valera's success were his passionate repudiation of all things British, and his promise to cancel the annuities by which the Irish peasants were paying for their land. Moreover, the failure of the party in power to deal adequately with the depression contributed to De Valera's success.

In office De Valera set himself to rid Ireland of every vestige of the British connection. Judicial appeals were stopped, and the formal approval of laws by the king's personal representative was discontinued. In fact, De Valera took occasion to nominate as viceroy a worthy but humble retired shopkeeper whom the king had never met. His government ratified the abdication of Edward VIII in 1936, but passed over in silence the accession of George VI. In the following year a new constitution was drafted for submission to the voters in which neither England nor the British king is mentioned. Eire, as the Irish Free State was now called, was described as "a sovereign, independent, democratic state." A little more than 50 per cent of those who voted in the referendum approved the constitution, but the De Valera party lost ground in the first elections under the new constitution and remained in office by grace of support from another party. In Ulster, opposition to union has undoubtedly been stiffened by the affirmation in the new constitution of Eire that "the national territory consists of the whole of Ireland, its islands, and the territorial seas."

### Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1938

In 1938 the British government indicated its acquiescence in the new state of affairs. There had been two sources of friction, apart from the question of Ulster. One was the fact that installments on land purchases were discontinued by the De Valera government. Britain countered by

levying import duties on the produce of Irish farmers. Stubbornly pursued, this economic warfare prolonged through further years the bitter story of Anglo-Irish relations. The other difficulty was that, according to the terms of the treaty with the Irish Free State, England retained harbor facilities for her armed forces, together with adjacent air fields, in three of Ireland's ports. The British government regarded these concessions as an essential part of the plan of defense for the British Isles as a whole. To De Valera and his supporters the presence of British forces, however small, on Irish soil was an unbearable infringement of Irish sovereignty. Chamberlain, Britain's famous appeaser, determined to make friends with the Irish. The land annuities were compromised and the retaliatory duties canceled. By the same Agreement of 1938 all British property in the treaty ports was transferred to Eire and the offending troops were withdrawn. "A friendly Ireland is worth far more to us in peace and war than these paper rights," said Chamberlain. Winston Churchill spoke and voted against this part of the agreement. "The ports may be denied to us in time of need and we may be hampered in the gravest manner," he declared.

At the opening of the Second World War the government of Eire declared its neutrality, thus closing all its ports to belligerents. To give the British special privileges would have served to inflame the passionately anti-British portion of the Irish people to the point of open rebellion against their own government; "in Ireland the leaders are always outrun by their followers." Besides, it would have invited German attack from the air, and all sections of the Irish public drew back from such a prospect.

## CHAPTER XL

### *The Russian Revolution and the U.S.S.R.*

WE HAVE already seen how Russia was forced to drop out of the war because of internal collapse and revolution. On March 8, 1917, a number of riots had broken out spontaneously in the streets of Petrograd. (St. Petersburg had been renamed Petrograd in September, 1914.) The rioters were chiefly peasants shouting for bread, but they were soon joined by workers on strike. As the rioting continued, soldiers were marshaled and ordered to fire upon the people. When they refused, the mutiny spread, and many thousands of soldiers drove off or shot down their officers. The Duma, unable to assemble officially until summoned by the tsar, met nevertheless and demanded the setting up of a responsible ministry. The tsar hesitated and a cry arose for his abdication. He yielded for himself and his son, requesting only that the crown go to his brother Grand Duke Michael. This did not meet popular demand, and the grand duke withdrew in favor of a provisional government set up by the Duma.

#### Liberals versus Bolsheviks

This regime, the first of Russia's revolutionary governments, was representative chiefly of liberal parties, that is, of the capitalist, manufacturing, and professional classes, together with a few progressive landlords. Its leaders condemned the tsarist government "for its incompetence, its corruption, and its lack of vigor in carrying on the war." An eight-point declaration of rights was issued which included an amnesty for political and religious prisoners, the abolition of religious and social discrimination, the full grant of civil liberty to all Russian subjects, and the summoning of a constitutional convention chosen by popular vote. Several months would be required to set up electoral machinery; in the meantime the provisional government was faced with the problem of preserving order among a people most of whom apparently felt that all need for restraint was over. Everywhere discipline was rejected and authority flouted. Even students in the universities elected what courses they pleased and dispensed with examinations.

In the meantime a rival government was set up with a far more

radical program. This consisted of groupings of workmen, soldiers, and sailors under the leadership of the extreme socialists or Bolsheviki. During the summer and autumn of 1917 the bourgeois and the Bolshevik governments bid against each other for the support of the Russian people. The Bolshevik program proved to be the more appealing: "The offer of an immediate and democratic peace. The immediate handing over of the large landed estates to the peasants. The transmission of all authority to the council of soldiers' and workmen's delegates. The honest election of a constituent assembly." The manifesto concluded with the slogan, "Soldiers! For peace, for bread, for land, and for the power of the people!" In November, 1917, the Bolsheviki drove the bourgeois government from power. Petrograd fell into their hands with scarcely any resistance.

### Nikolai Lenin

The success of the Bolsheviki owed not a little to the skillful leadership of Nikolai Lenin. Lenin's father was a peasant who had had the extraordinary capacity to raise himself to high rank in the civil service and who had thus become a member of the hereditary nobility. When Nikolai was seventeen, his older brother was executed as a terrorist, a soul-searing experience for the young boy. Nikolai studied law and political and economic theory at the University of Kazan and at St. Petersburg. He became an enthusiastic and whole-hearted convert of Marx's theories, and in his early twenties organized groups of Marxists. This won him expulsion from the university and exile to Siberia. During his years of exile Lenin continued to ground himself in economics and politics, and he also acquired a remarkable command of languages. On his return he resumed, more circumspectly, his ceaseless discussion of the coming revolution. In 1905 he thought it had come, and though the sequel was completely disappointing to a man of his views, Lenin was convinced by the effectiveness of the general strike that Russia was sufficiently industrialized to warrant a Marxist experiment. Two years later, having concluded that the prospect of successful revolution was not near, Lenin left Russia and settled in Switzerland. For ten years he continued socialist propaganda from his new base.

The news of the revolution of March, 1917, found Lenin living with a shoemaker in a garret room in Zurich. He was wildly eager to reach Russia, and he accepted an offer of the Germans to pass through their territory in a sealed car. A successful revolution in Russia would be a great relief to Germany. Widely and favorably known to all Russian socialists, Lenin was awarded the position of leader by acclamation. There was no real rival. Of insignificant appearance, with a short, pudgy

figure and bald head, Lenin had an attractive, even lovable personality. His mode of life was of Spartan simplicity, his private life beyond reproach. He made friends easily and constantly. Workmen among whom he lived regarded him as a saint.

As a socialist Lenin was absolutely uncompromising and far from moderate. Supremely confident of final success, he was an opportunist when it came to ways and means. He was patient of reverses and willing to admit mistakes, but he constantly pressed on toward the goal he had set. Lenin had long been convinced that the war was simply a struggle for power among the capitalist nations of the world (see p. 506), and he was convinced that Russia, as a preliminary to revolution, must straightway withdraw from the world conflict then going on. Accordingly, on December 15, 1917, he signed an armistice with Germany and prepared to negotiate a treaty. The Germans, knowing full well that Lenin's withdrawal was unconditional, pressed their advantage to the limit. A treaty was signed at Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, and its terms reveal how high was the price of peace which Lenin was willing to pay. (See p. 618.) He paid it gladly, for he felt that it would free his hands for the titanic task of revolution.

### "War Communism"

The terrible work of liquidating the old regime and the multitude of its supporters and beneficiaries went forward in Russia without interference. Then came the collapse of Germany, and the victorious Allies turned with one accord to the task of suppressing the ogre of communism. Its deeds of terror had been received in the outside world with detestation and horror. The salvaging of Allied munition dumps on Russian soil, and the collection of debts contracted by the tsarist government but now repudiated by the communists, were added reasons for intervention.

For two years British, French, Rumanian, Polish, and even American forces cooperated with Russian counterrevolutionaries in an effort to overthrow the communists. The task of organizing the communist defense was entrusted to Leon Trotsky, who proceeded to fight a war on many fronts; rushing from one to another as a "continual electrifier." One by one the Allied governments, suspicious of each other's motives, withdrew, leaving the Russian counterrevolutionaries to their fate. The Poles proved to be the most stubborn opponents of all. General Pilsudski even captured Kiev, but was forced to retire before a communist counteroffensive. The two governments, having measured each other's strength, then made peace at Riga in October, 1921. Under the provisions of this treaty Poland's boundary was extended eastward beyond the frontier of 1793,

a fact which the communist leaders of Russia were never able to forget. At last the Russian communists were free to get on with their revolution.

The two years of war and a third year following were marked by a phase of Bolshevism known as "war communism." It was communism carried to the extreme. All private property was abolished and every economic function was controlled by the government. To enforce order, the weapon of terror was freely employed by the communist government, and there were many many thousands of victims. Official Bolshevik sources listed as slain, so it is claimed, during three years and a little more, 28 bishops, 1215 priests, 6775 schoolmasters and professors, 8800 physicians, 34,650 army officers, 12,950 landowners, and 355,250 of the so-called "intelligentsia," besides tens of thousands of workmen and peasants whose attitude toward the new regime was unsatisfactory. That there were purgings on an even greater scale than this there seems little reason to doubt. Competent authorities estimate that at least 10,000,000 Russians died as a result, directly or indirectly, of the Bolshevik revolution. For ruthlessness the early communists of Russia may be ranked with Genghis Khan. Ideologically, communism has no place in it for a dictatorship; it claims to be, rather, an advanced type of democracy. The dictatorial nature of "war communism" was justified, in the eyes of its adherents, by the necessity of defending Russia from foreign attack and as a means of leveling to the ground all obstacles to a classless society in Russia itself.

### Constitution of 1923

Meanwhile the communist leaders were busily at work on a frame of government, a constitution which was officially proclaimed in 1923. The new Russia was a confederation, a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, seven in number. By far the largest was the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, which stretched from Petrograd on the north to the Caucasus Mountains, and from the Polish frontier eastward to the Pacific Ocean. Its population was about 100,000,000. Included within the boundaries of this great state were half a dozen autonomous states which might one day be admitted to full membership in the union. The next largest republic was the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, with nearly 30,000,000 inhabitants. Its capital is Kiev on the Dnieper River. The Ukrainians are not really Russian in race and language and had not been enthusiastically communist, but their land was too fertile and their mineral wealth too great to be allowed to remain outside the Russian orbit. The other republics, averaging a few million inhabitants each, were White Russia, Transcaucasia, Uzbek, Turkomen, and Tadzhik. The inhabitants of the last three are Mohammedan in faith and relatively uncivilized.

The scheme of government worked out in the Russian republic was extended to each of the other six republics and to the Soviet Union. It was complicated and has been superseded, but some of its features warrant our attention. The right to vote was extended to workers of both sexes at the age of eighteen. Workers were defined as those who "acquire the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society, and all persons engaged in housekeeping which enables the former to do productive work." Included as voters, also, were soldiers and sailors, and workers who had become incapacitated. Representation was vocational rather than geographical. The miners of a given district were to choose their own representatives, as were the factory workers, and so on. Production is of course man's most essential activity, but direct representation of all vocational groups assumes, rather questionably, that a voter's views upon public policy are determined by the way in which he makes his living.

The unit of political action was the soviet, or elected council, which was endowed with both legislative and executive functions. This form of government had long been in use in the villages and towns of tsarist Russia. Under the new constitution local soviets were empowered to elect representatives to district and urban soviets; these chose delegates to provincial soviets; and the provincial soviets, in their turn, selected the members of a congress in each of the republics. Finally there was a Union Congress of Soviets drawn from the urban and provincial soviets throughout the union. Since it was considered that the industrial workers were more enthusiastic for communism than the peasants and better educated in the principles of communism, they were given five times the representation of the latter.

The Union Congress of Soviets sat in two houses, one called the Soviet of the Union and the other the Soviet of Nationalities. The latter embodied a method of dealing with minorities which, theoretically at least, has much to be said for it. Imperial Russia had numerous and important minorities, which it strove to assimilate by a ruthless policy of Russification. Through the Soviet of Nationalities each important national group was encouraged to preserve, enjoy, and develop its own literature and folkways; so, at any rate, the constitution provided. Cultural nationalism was thus to be combined with political and economic internationalism.

According to our standards, the Soviet plan of government was not a democratic one. Urban population was overweighted, voting was by voice in open meeting, elections were mostly indirect, and authority was generally deputed from congress to committee and from committee to a directorate known as a "presidium." But the question of how much or how little democracy there was in this first constitution is academic. For

real authority in communist Russia we must look to the Communist party. Membership was strictly limited to a small percentage of the Russian people. Recruits passed through a long novitiate in youth organizations where they demonstrated their devotion to communist ideals. Party members were under severe discipline and accepted hard work without complaint. At least half the members were industrial workers; the rest were peasants and "white-collar" workers.

The units of party organization were the "cells," of which there were about one hundred and fifty thousand. A cell was made up of three or more members and might be established anywhere, even on a ship at sea. Supreme authority was vested in the All-Russia Party Congress, made up of delegates from the various cells. This congress was little more than a ratifying body, however, its program being formulated by a central executive committee, working through its presidium, the most important member of which was the secretary general. Theoretically, party policies were discussed in each cell, further considered in district, provincial, and regional party congresses, and finally formulated by the All-Russia Congress. Once this body had spoken, no further discussion was allowed; discipline required complete adherence to the "party line." Actually Communist policy was substantially predetermined by an inner group, and in the last analysis by the secretary general. Needless to say, the man who held that office was Lenin; his successor was Joseph Stalin. Their authority over Russia has been more absolute than that of the tsars.

### New Economic Policy

What progress have the Communists made toward the realization of their social and economic objectives? By 1921, it was evident that "war communism" was a failure. Industrial output had fallen to 13 per cent of the prewar level. What was worse, the peasants had balked, allowing their land, for the most part, to lie idle. During the winter of 1920-1921 several million Russians died of starvation, a "man-made" famine. Counterrevolution seemed imminent.

Lenin faced the situation frankly and with courage. Admitting the impossibility of establishing communism at once, he called for a strategic retreat. His "new economic policy" provided for the continuance of state control over large-scale industry, finance, transportation, and foreign trade; but small factories might be privately owned and operated, foreign capital was invited in, and money was made the medium of exchange. Peasants again received cash for their crops, and workers drew pay envelopes. The more enterprising peasants soon began to profit by the changed situation, and a class of rich peasants called "kulaks" appeared,



alongside of whom dwelt the landless ne'er-do-wells or "bedniaks." Payment of urban workers was based on output, not need. Communism was not to be given up but apparently it would have to wait. Under the new economic policy (N.E.P.), the recovery of Russia was gratifyingly prompt. Entering into economic relations with other countries, she even built up an export trade of considerable dimensions.

Lenin died in 1924; he had burnt himself out. He is revered by the Russians almost as the founder of a religion. His enormous tomb in the Red Square in Moscow is their "Mecca." A brief struggle among Lenin's closest followers resulted in the triumph of Stalin. Born in 1879, in Tiflis, Georgia, Stalin was the son of a shoemaker. His name, originally, was Joseph Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili. At seventeen Stalin joined Lenin, Trotsky, and others in the revolutionary movement and had his share of imprisonment and exile. It was Lenin who gave him the name of Stalin, or "man of steel"; patient, tenacious, passionately devoted to Russia, Stalin is ruthless in action.

### Stalin; the First Five Year Plan

In 1924 Stalin believed that it was still not time to establish communism and that a necessary prerequisite was economic self-sufficiency. Lenin himself had said, "If we are not able to organize our heavy industries, then as a civilized state, let alone as a socialist state, we will perish." Stalin determined to make good that deficiency: "We must," he said, "undertake the transformation of the U.S.S.R. from an agrarian and weak country dependent upon the caprices of the capitalist countries into an industrial and powerful country independent of the caprices of world capitalism." To that end there was announced in 1928, after prolonged consideration, a Five Year Plan. This had three objectives: first, rapid industrialization; second, the increase of agricultural production through collective farms and mechanization; third, the wiping out of illiteracy.

The plan was "sold" to the Russian people by every device of dictatorship and artifice of propaganda. Under military discipline, and with patriotic fervor, the workers undertook to reach, even to exceed the production quotas set as their goal. To accumulate the necessary capital, the government confiscated all profits. Industrial experts and technicians were imported from abroad. Huge electric power stations were built. Great steel plants were founded. Tractor factories were established on the Detroit model. To keep workers up to the mark, prizes were offered, decorations were awarded, and the title "shock worker" was dangled before their eyes. Before long the cry was raised, "The Five Year Plan in Four!"

In 1932, therefore, not 1933, it was announced that the objectives of the plan had been achieved. "We did not have an iron and steel industry," Stalin boasted. "Now we have one. We did not have a tractor industry. Now we have one. We did not have an automobile industry. Now we have one. . . . In output of electric power we were last on the list. Now we are among the first on the list." Industrial output had increased by 119 per cent.

Of immense significance was the development, during these same years, of Russia's resources in the Arctic. It has been Russia's fate to remain largely landlocked, and it has been her dream for centuries to escape that fate. Latterly her history had been unfortunate in this regard; she had even slipped backward. In 1905 Russia lost southern Manchuria and Port Arthur to the Japanese; and in 1919 she lost most of her Baltic coast when Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania broke away. Under Stalin, Russia turned to the north. At Murmansk, in the Barents Sea, a modern harbor was built, with facilities for oceangoing steamers and a naval base for the fleet. Washed by the Gulf Stream, this port is open the year round. From this harbor Russian ships of war may enter the Atlantic Ocean without passing under the guns of a foreign power. Eastward from Murmansk vessels of commerce and war may skirt the Arctic coast of North Russia and Siberia and, from July to October, enter the Pacific Ocean through Bering Strait. This Arctic route also furnishes an outlet for the timber, steel, and cotton of Siberia. It was one of the Soviet objectives to carry industrialism to Siberia, as well as to other undeveloped parts of the Union, and not confine it to the west, as heretofore.

### The Agricultural Revolution

Spectacular results were achieved in industry, without doubt, but the agricultural objectives of the Five Year Plan were much less fully attained. Eighty per cent of the Russian people were peasants. Their agricultural methods were still primitive. Moreover, peasant mentality is conservative; it was hard to teach the farmers new ways. To win the peasants to communism, Lenin had offered them land. This they seized and divided. The free-for-all that ensued did not result in just distribution, however, and the distribution was rendered still more unfair by Lenin's new economic policy. It is estimated that in 1927 there were about twenty-five million peasant farms. Some were of good size, but most Russian farms were still too small to be economically efficient by modern standards.

To induce the Russian farmers to abandon their primitive methods became the objective of Stalin and his associates in the Five Year Plan. It was decided that the small farm could no longer be the unit of produc-

tion. Two new units were to take its place. The first was the state farm (*sovkhos*), a kind of agricultural factory with the government owning the land, supplying machinery, seed, and fertilizers, and enrolling the peasants as workers. The second type was the collective farm (*kolkhoz*), in which peasants owned the machinery and cattle in common but divided the profits among themselves equally, electing managers from among their own number. The peasants proved hostile to the new plans, and during the winter of 1929 something like a civil war took place. The richer peasants were deported en masse and employed in forced labor projects, such as the White Sea-Baltic Canal, or else driven off the land to starve. The aristocrats of old Russia had not been more ruthlessly dealt with.

The original plan, it turned out, had to be much modified in practice. The state farms did not work well and were given up. The rigorous communalism of the collective farm was relaxed, and individual peasant families were permitted to maintain home gardens and to keep chickens, pigs, and sheep of their own. Through mingled persuasion and force nearly all the peasants were finally induced to enter the collective farms, which now average about twelve hundred acres apiece. Some 93 per cent of the arable land of Russia is thus cultivated. The use of tractors and combines is measured by hundreds of thousands. The increased yield of farm products, though definite, has not as yet, however, been marked, and the peasants' standard of living is still far below that common in western Europe. It takes time to convert the masses to new methods, and their enthusiasm for the new order was by no means unanimous. Indeed, many peasants did not regard "the local party boss as any improvement over the old tsarist landlord."

The problem of teaching the Russian people to read was colossal. There were some sixty different languages in Russia, and it was proposed to establish schools for each group of languages, if not for each language. In some cities as many as six languages were taught. Illiteracy was reduced from 73 per cent (1914) to 9 per cent. There were twenty-five million elementary and secondary school pupils. Vocational schools were established for the training of skilled workers, and the universities were provided with funds for scientific research on a scale as liberal as in any country in the world.

### The Second Five Year Plan

The first Five Year Plan had not been completed when a second one was launched to deal with the mistakes and failures of the first. It was found, for example, that the quality of industrial goods was extremely poor; the clothing and footwear were as shoddy and as inexpertly made

as in the early days of industrialism in England. Machines were not yet satisfactory, and they did not improve with use in the hands of the Russian mechanics. It was said that the factory showing the largest percentage of increase of output was one turning out tags labeled "Out of order." Furthermore, the transportation system was shockingly inadequate. Russia's greatest steel plant, for example, was connected with the outside world by a single-track line. Worst of all, a crisis developed in housing when thousands of factory hands flocked to the new industrial cities. The second Five Year Plan was launched January 1, 1933. Progress was now slowed down tremendously, however, by the necessity of turning aside to the production of armament. In other lands rearmament was the work, in part at least, of men taken from relief rolls. Communist Russia had no unemployed to call upon.

The history of the Five Year Plans was made dramatic and colorful by a series of "sabotage" trials which took place in 1928, 1930, 1931, and 1933. Most of the accused were engineers, some of whom were British subjects of high professional standing whom the Soviet authorities had invited in. Others were Russian officials connected with the banking and industrial enterprises of the state. Not a few of the accused were condemned to death. Others were given ten-year terms of imprisonment. The comparatively mild punishment of deportation was meted out to non-Russians.

The outside world was disturbed by the nonjudicial nature of these trials. Judges made little pretense of impartiality; counsel for the defense systematically played into the hands of the state prosecutor. Furthermore, many of the accused, at some point in the trial, displayed an extraordinary eagerness to confess, accusing themselves and each other in the most detailed fashion. These abject confessions overtax one's credulity and suggest the unpleasant thought that methods of unspeakable brutality had been made use of by the police. One gains a measure of understanding of these trials and their mode of conduct if one remembers that since 1917 every person of any importance in Russia had lived in an atmosphere of suspicion and fear. Also significant is the fact that by no means all of the leaders of Russia were in agreement with Stalin that economic self-sufficiency must come first, full communism later.

### The Constitution of 1936

Toward the end of 1936 a new constitution was promulgated. It was formulated by an inner group of leaders and accepted by the Union Congress with unanimous acclaim, but never submitted to the voters. The new frame of government is considerably simpler than that of 1923 and it shows a marked tendency to imitate western democracies. Vocational

representation was abandoned in favor of the geographical principle, and all votes were to be by secret ballot. Furthermore, most officials and delegates are elected directly rather than indirectly, and there is no longer any distinction between urban constituencies and those inhabited by peasants. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of worship are fully recognized, at least on paper. The U.S.S.R. is declared to be a "socialist state of workers and peasants"; but "alongside the socialist system of economy the law allows small private farms and other enterprises." The principle of socialism is newly defined as "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," which would seem to recognize the principle of unequal wages. The number of states within the union was increased to eleven through the endowment of certain autonomous republics with full statehood, and there was a promise of further movement in the same direction. The Communist party is given special mention in the new constitution, but the right of the people to organize other parties is recognized. In practice, however, no other party is tolerated.

Attractive as is the new Russian frame of government in many ways, most Westerners still believe it is only "a paper constitution" and that Stalin and his intimates continue to control the state. President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave expression to this view as recently as January, 1940, in these words: "The Soviet Union is a dictatorship as absolute as any other dictatorship in the world." Stalin says the new constitution is that of a "consistent and fully sustained democracy," but the word "democracy" in Russia does not imply political liberty. Political liberty means, or should mean, full freedom for minority groups, and not, as in Russia, the dictatorship of one party. Stalin explains the Communist practice as follows: "The party is part of the class, its vanguard section. Several parties and consequently freedom of parties can only exist in a society where antagonistic classes exist whose interests are hostile and irreconcilable, where there are capitalists and workers, landlords and peasants, kulaks and poor peasants. . . . In the U.S.S.R. there are only two classes, workers and peasants, whose interests are not only not antagonistic but, on the contrary, amicable. . . ."

Far worse than the curtailment of political liberty, however, is the denial of personal freedom in the U.S.S.R. Several million men and women are still confined in "corrective labor camps" and forced to labor on various governmental projects. These unfortunates are made up of counterrevolutionaries, kulaks, nationalist minorities, and other groups which proved resistant to the policies of the Russian state. Both in theory and in practice, therefore, the Russian concept of democracy differs radically from that to which we have been long accustomed.

### Communist Foreign Policy

Russia's foreign policy, between the revolution and the outbreak of the Second World War, displayed first an aggressive phase. This was inaugurated by the Third Internationale, organized at Moscow in 1919. Its objective was defined as "the struggle by all available means, including armed force, for the overthrow of the industrial bourgeois and the creation of an international Soviet republic. . . . The international proletariat will not lay down its sword until Soviet Russia has become a link in the federation of Soviet republics of the world." This attitude of mind is further revealed in an official branding of the League of Nations, by the Soviet government, as "an international organization of the capitalists for the systematic exploitation of all the peoples of the earth," or more briefly if less politely, as "a house of ill-fame." It was the view of Marx, and also of Lenin, that socialism, if it were to succeed, must be established on an international basis, or at the least that it must be established in several countries.

Actually, no other country followed in the Russian faith or seemed likely to do so, and Stalin, if not Lenin, became reconciled, for the time being at least, to "socialism in a single country." If socialism was to succeed in Russia, so backward industrially, she must abandon all thought of ideological propaganda on an international scale, and endeavor by all means at her disposal to remain at peace with her powerful capitalist neighbors. Russian foreign policy from 1925 to 1939, therefore was "peace at any price." In 1926 Marshal Pilsudski, the "hammer" of the Russians, became dictator of Poland; conservative governments also came to the fore in England and France. Russian leaders were soon in the grip of fear for the safety of their regime. "You are surrounded by enemies!" cried the commissar for war in his address to the Union Congress of Soviets in 1927. Russian diplomacy promptly buttressed the state with a series of nonaggression pacts with all her near neighbors—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and China. Russia also sent out diplomatic feelers to the Weimar government of Germany. Stalin declared himself in favor of a *rapprochement* between the two countries which, as a result of the First World War had "been most hurt and robbed." As a result, a Russo-German nonaggression pact was signed by Stalin and the Weimar republic, and for some years high military officials of the two countries exchanged courtesies and views. The climax of this phase of her search for security came in 1934 when Russia was accepted as a member of the League of Nations.

### The Purges of 1937 and 1938

There followed the rise of Hitler and the announcement in 1936 of the anticommunism pact between him and Mussolini, an agreement "to defend European civilization against communism" in which Japan joined before the year was out. Moscow promptly called for a "united front against war and Fascism" and lent its support, directly and indirectly, to regimes favorable to this declaration in France, Spain, and other countries. Deciding, perhaps, that war was inevitable, Stalin began to clean house. In 1937 and 1938 wholesale purges took place, in which tens of thousands were executed or confined in labor camps. Party secretaries and department heads by the score were removed, and foreign emissaries were called home. Among the more important victims were Rykov, president of the council of commissars, and Bukharin, editor of *Pravda*. Most startling of all, in the eyes of the outside world, was the execution of eight ranking generals, including one marshal, of the Red Army for "conspiracy with an unfriendly state," presumably Germany. By this act, outsiders freely asserted, the Russian army "blew its brains out." In the same year Charles Lindbergh confirmed the world's unfavorable view of the Red Army by his report on the weakness of its air force. Profoundly pessimistic about Russia's military value and chronically distrustful of her policies, the Western democracies in the crises of 1938 and 1939 failed to make her a partner, with consequences to themselves that were well-nigh fatal.

## CHAPTER XLI

### *The Trend toward Dictatorship*

AMERICANS have long believed that democracy is the final form of government; the triumph of Jacksonian democracy banished our last lingering doubt. De Toqueville, witness of the collapse of absolutism in France and an interested observer of American institutions during the time of President Jackson, announced his belief in the inevitableness of democracy in his *Democracy in America*. Another student of American institutions and an ardent friend of democracy has more recently uttered a word of warning. James Bryce, author of *The American Commonwealth*, was disturbed by the rapid spread of popular government at the close of the First World War. "We are not entitled to feel," he said, "that democracy is the natural and inevitable form of government." Pointing out that in the past popular government had been sought and won chiefly as a means of getting rid of grievances, he said that "it is improbable, yet it is not beyond belief that as in many countries impatience with tangible evils substituted democracy for monarchy or oligarchy, so a like impatience may some day reverse the process."

#### Dictatorships not New

After those words were written, democracy after democracy gave way to dictatorship. To many people this decline and fall of democracies came as a shock, but regarded historically it is not surprising. Men have been ruled by others much longer than they have ruled themselves. Dictatorships were listed by Aristotle as the final form of government, with democracies as their immediate predecessors. In Rome, after the experiments of Sulla and Caesar, Augustus established a dictatorship at the request "of the Senate and People of Rome" which endured for centuries.

Modern dictatorships were introduced to the world by the first Napoleon. Accepting the democratic principle of the rule of the masses, Napoleon persuaded the people to entrust him with supreme power as the best way of securing their objectives. The next conspicuous imitator of Napoleon I in western Europe was his nephew Napoleon III. But the



greatest vogue of dictatorships in modern times has been in the Western Hemisphere. Not one of the countries of Latin America has escaped a dictatorship in the past, and it is far from certain that any of them will escape a repetition of the experience in the future. The lack of homogeneity, whether of race, culture, or traditions, together with the illiteracy, economic servitude, and political inexperience of the masses, has provided the conditions favorable to the development of dictatorships. The best known of Latin-American dictators was Porfirio Diaz, who maintained himself in Mexico for thirty-five years. The most notorious was a Bolivian despot who is credited with sayings and doings which place a strain upon one's credulity. He was so ignorant that he argued that Napoleon was a greater general than Bonaparte, and so egocentric that he engaged a sculptor to include him in a marble group along with Napoleon and Alexander.

### Causes of Dictatorships

The crash of governments during the closing weeks of the First World War was followed not only by a great forward surge of democracies but also by the appearance, here and there, of dictatorships. A liberal-socialist bloc would seize control for a time; Kerensky headed such a group in Russia, Count Karoli in Hungary. Or a group of communist leaders would impose a rule of terror upon their fellow men, as did Lenin in Russia. Another type of dictatorship, and the bloodiest of all, was that of the counterrevolutionaries or "whites" such as was set up, briefly, in Poland and in Finland. There was also a Fascist type made notable by Mussolini.

One can understand the sprouting of dictatorships in wartime. Slow-moving democracies with their respect for individual freedom have a hard time surviving when there is need for swift and ruthless action and for the subordination of the individual to the state. But even in the absence of war the problems of a state may at times be too numerous and too difficult to be dealt with in a democratic way; that, at least, is what the dictators tell their people. The task of destroying the institutions of old Russia, of wresting power from the hands of the classes which had held it so long, and then the problem of defending the revolution against attack from abroad—this was pointed to by Lenin and his associates as justification for their establishment of a communistic dictatorship. Perhaps they meant the dictatorship to be temporary, as they said; but it still survives.

Other dictatorships justified themselves on other grounds. In Italy, a parliamentary regime had failed to solve the problem of labor and capital,

or even to insure that it would be considered in an orderly way. It had also failed to solve the problem of church and state. Worst of all, said the Fascists, it had failed to defend the national honor either in war or peace. In Germany the republic was making headway slowly and under heavy handicaps when the strain of a world depression proved to be more than it could sustain. Even before the worst days of world depression 60 per cent of each year's university graduates could find nothing to do in Germany, and half of the men between sixteen and thirty were permanently unemployed.

We shall see how the world depression decimated democracies and multiplied dictatorships, and how, even in the democracies which survived, governments were set up which showed substantial departures from the parliamentary system. Some have concluded that democracies can live only "under the surplus economy of a period of expanding capitalism," that in times of economic recession democracy is a luxury which most countries cannot long afford. In any case, dictatorships probably owed something also to the renewed emphasis on nationalism which followed the First World War. Nationalism not infrequently was narrowly interpreted as synonymous with racialism, and those leaders were favored who called most loudly for purity of blood. Finally, as the temper of the times became more warlike again, dictatorships found the climate increasingly favorable.

### Origin of the Italian Dictatorship

First of the Fascist dictatorships was that of Mussolini. Italy's problems had been many and difficult, but under her constitutional monarchy she had made progress toward their solution. (See Chapter XXXII.) When war broke out in Europe in 1914, the preference of the Italian people, despite the Triple Alliance, was for neutrality. Conservatives, Catholics, and Socialists were substantially at one in this respect; as for the almost voiceless masses, they asked only to be left in peace. To remain neutral in a large-scale war is difficult for any state; for an important power it is well-nigh impossible. Salandra, Italian premier, bargained hard for the best terms, affirming that he stood for "the real interests of the country, free from every sentiment which is not that of exclusive and unlimited devotion to our country, of sacred egotism for Italy." The press of the world seized upon the last phrase, "*sacro egoismo*," and headlined its cynical character. Italy was formally in the war from 1915, but the Italians as a whole were not. Morale in the army was low, and on the home front it was altogether lacking. The disaster of Italian arms in the battle of Caporetto (October, 1917), in which 600,000 effectives were

lost and the Austro-German forces reached the Piave, was a severe shock to the Italian nation, but it rallied splendidly to the crisis. Premier Orlando addressed the Chamber in the following words: "The situation will not be discussed; it will be accepted and faced. Italy will resist if the army has to fall back on the Straits of Messina—resist, resist, resist." The delegates rose as one man, shouting their approval. During the ensuing winter months the nation worked as never before to re-equip its army, and at the battle of Vittorio Veneto in the closing weeks of the war, it found reward for its efforts and some satisfaction for its pride.

At the Conference of Versailles the Italian premier had at all times the solid support of the nation for his demands; namely, that all Italians under foreign rule should be liberated, the Alpine frontier strategically rectified, the danger to Italy of an enlarged South Slav state in the Adriatic guarded against, and Italian interests in the Mediterranean enlarged. These objectives of Italian policy fell far short of being achieved, as we have seen. What the Italian people resented most deeply, however, was not so much the failure to secure specific advantages as the treatment of Italy, at Versailles, as a minor power whose demands might be ignored with impunity. The brief "honeymoon" period following Caporetto had now faded, and all the old aloofness and cynicism of the earlier war years came to the fore in 1919. So unpopular was the uniform that the government requested ex-soldiers not to wear their battle dress in public. Deserters were amnestied as though their breach of discipline had a patriotic quality. Generals in uniform were refused admission to railway trains. The premier himself dared not risk a journey by rail but proceeded to an international conference by boat. Three cabinets, those of Orlando, Nitti, and Giolitti, fell in quick succession as the public reacted to the news from Versailles.

### Strikes and Political Chaos

The war's end brought an accentuation of Italy's economic problems, never small, and this contributed to the widespread feeling of resentment. It also redounded to the advantage of the labor unions and created sympathy for the more aggressive aspects of their policy. Labor unions reached their maximum size shortly after the war, more than one half of Italy's four million workers being enrolled. The unions had long been friendly to radical leaders, and some unions became openly communist in 1919, announcing their affiliation with the Third Internationale. Many of Italy's public services were under state control, and again and again organized labor measured its strength against the government in strikes when no trade dispute was involved. During each of the years 1919 and

1920 there were approximately two thousand strikes, involving the loss of twenty to thirty million days' work. Organized politically in the Socialist party, the workers polled nearly one third of the ballots cast in the election of 1919 and elected no fewer than 156 of the 535 members in the Italian Chamber of Deputies. The temper of the Socialists was made clear at the formal opening of Parliament. As the king entered the chamber, they rose as one man and filed out, singing "The Red Flag." In the same year the Socialists gained political control of one quarter of the cities of Italy. It was in this area that they pressed forward most actively toward the realization of their ideals. In addition to other accomplishments, they padded the payrolls with thousands of sinecures, inflating municipal budgets until the helpless taxpayers were aghast. The climax of Socialist activity was reached in September, 1920, when the workers seized about six hundred factories, comprising all the chief industries of Lombardy and Piedmont, and held them for two months with the aid of "Red Guards."

During this postwar time of crisis, not quite two years, Italy had five prime ministers. Not one had the necessary courage or energy to give the nation the strong leadership it needed and desired. Conditions were bad, admittedly, but they could have been remedied by positive action. Subversive influences might have been checked by prompt and decisive use of the authority with which all free governments are endowed. Italy's premiers were war-weary and pessimistic when they were not cynical and politically minded in a narrow sense. Their only recourse in the face of communist threats to the state was to encourage the formation of other parties whose methods were as violent as those of the Socialists. Premier Giolitti even allowed the anticommunist parties to arm themselves and organize in a quasi-military fashion. When they became strong enough to dispose of the Socialists, Giolitti believed he could dispose, in turn, of them. "It was the negative policy of the government rather than the attraction of Fascist principles that drove the people into the arms of the Fascists."

In the absence of effective official leadership, others stepped forward, confident they could manage the destinies of the Italian people. One such was a Roman Catholic priest, Don Sturzo. Placing himself at the head of the discontented peasantry of southern Italy and Sicily, and attracting also some support from factory workers and petty bourgeoisie, Don Sturzo headed a group of members in the Chamber of 1920 whose votes he could cast as one. Running somewhat ahead of Sturzo's leadership, the peasants refused to pay rent; they even, in some cases, seized and parceled out large estates. The government as usual failed to intervene.

## Mussolini and the Fascisti

Less parliamentary than the methods of Don Sturzo were those of Benito Mussolini. The son of a blacksmith, Mussolini, who was named for the Mexican revolutionist Benito Juárez, had been in turn a school-teacher, a socialist agitator, a World War soldier, and a journalist. He had frequently changed his politics, as well, but he was consistently fond of danger, force, and war. Though he had been jailed eleven times as a socialist agitator, he had resented his party's noninterventionist stand at the outbreak of the war. In the army he rose to the rank of corporal and was slightly wounded. Returning from the front, he founded a newspaper, *The People of Italy*, which became his principal political weapon. With the Italian people drifting aimlessly and the government powerless to give direction, Mussolini felt himself called upon to save the nation, if not the state, and in 1919 he organized groups of like-minded persons who were resolved to oppose Socialist force with greater force, and Socialist lawlessness with methods still less lawful. Mussolini adopted as symbols of his party the Roman insignium of authority, the *fascis*, a bundle of rods with a battle-ax protruding. Like the legionnaires of ancient Rome, the Fascists habitually greeted each other with the melodramatic salute of an outstretched arm. For upwards of a year, with the government looking on, war was waged between groups of Socialists on the one hand and groups of Fascists on the other. About two thousand Fascists were killed, together with an unknown number of "the enemy."

The brutality with which the Fascists pursued their opponents has been often described, and one may merely note that Mussolini himself, no lover of peace and quiet, felt obliged to resign as head of the movement at one time when he despaired of controlling it. It is generally agreed that the "communist revolution" was an evident failure before the Fascists had got under way. The seized factories, after a few weeks, were released by the workers, who found they could not maintain production. Early in the following year (1921) the Socialists formally expelled all communists from their ranks and announced that they would support parliamentary institutions. In the election of the following May they campaigned in lawful fashion, losing twenty seats.

October, 1922, marked a change in Fascist tactics. Fascists now seized the government, asserting that only thus could they save the nation from communism. October 27 was the anniversary of the Italian victory over the Austrians at Vittorio Veneto, and the Fascists resolved to march on Rome on that day. Strong detachments of Fascist "troops," some 50,000 in all, were concentrated in and around Rome, and when they appeared to have the local authorities sufficiently awed, Mussolini himself arrived

from Milan by sleeping car. Escorted to the palace in a royal limousine, Mussolini demanded the office of prime minister and a majority of the ministerial portfolios. The king acceded to his demand. The Fascist party in the chamber then numbered thirty-five in a total of more than four hundred.

### Suppression of All Opposition

Mussolini was not yet dictator of Italy, for not only was an overwhelming majority of the members of the Chamber non-Fascist, but approximately half of the members of his cabinet represented opposition parties. To establish himself more firmly in office, the Fascist leader secured the passage of a law which provided that the party which obtained the largest number of seats in the forthcoming election should arbitrarily be awarded two thirds of the seats. The Fascists put forth tremendous efforts in the election of 1924, not denying themselves any of the strong-arm methods with which they had waged their battle against the Socialists. Their opponents were not permitted to hold meetings or to distribute campaign literature. Wealthy Italians contributed heavily to the Fascist cause, hoping that an authoritative government would protect property rights. It was thus that the followers of Mussolini were enabled to win the electoral "dog fight," and accordingly they were awarded two thirds of the seats.

Substantially reduced in size, the opposition was still troublesome. Among its members was the fiery Socialist leader Giacomo Matteotti. Boldly Matteotti denounced the Fascists as "gangsters and grafters," with a promise of more to follow. Gangsters they certainly were, for Matteotti was kidnaped and murdered in June, 1924. This foul deed rocked the Fascist movement to its center, and it was a question for some months whether its end had come. Rallying at length from his "funk," Mussolini resolved on decisive action, and on January 3, 1925, brazenly acknowledged the responsibility of his party for the murder and at the same time drove all opponents from his cabinet and from the Chamber, proclaiming a totalitarian state.

### Institutions of Fascism

The Fascists then carried their conquest of the institutions and life of Italy to completion. Very little of the constitution of 1848 was left. Central in the Fascist system was the party, numbering about a million and a half. Recruiting members from youth organizations, starting at the age of eight, it enrolled about three and a half million more. At the head of the party was the Fascist Grand Council. Its members, about twenty in all, were named by Mussolini, and among them were the four men who

led the march on Rome, certain high officers of state, and others who in Mussolini's opinion had rendered outstanding service to Fascism or the nation. The council ruled the party, and it was also invested with great political powers. It passed upon all questions relating to the succession to the throne; it had power to nominate to the king a successor to Mussolini, Il Duce, as he was called; and it played a large part in the legislative process, as will appear hereafter.

The powers of the council would seem to be really the powers of the dictator himself, since all of the members were Mussolini's nominees. It has been suggested that the relationship between Duce and Council was similar to that between the pope and the College of Cardinals. The Senate was allowed to remain very much as it had been; its members had always been named by the crown on the advice of the prime minister. The Chamber of Deputies, after various experiments, was superseded in 1938 by the National Council of Corporations, or Corporative Chamber. This body was representative of the new economic organization of the state.

### Fascist Economy

The economy of Italy continued to be an economy of capitalism, but capitalism under strict control, to which employers and employees alike were subject. Trade unions were abolished, as were organizations of employers also. In their stead there were set up a number of syndicates or corporations, whose leaders were acceptable to the Fascist party if they were not actually Fascists. The syndicates, one for workers and one for employers, were established in each of the six branches of economic life; namely, agriculture, industry, commerce, inland transport, overseas transport, and banking and insurance. Each syndicate had provincial and local subdivisions. A thirteenth syndicate represented the professional and artistic classes of the nation. The national officers of the thirteen syndicates formed the National Council of Corporations of some three hundred members.

In the economic realm the Fascist regime made an excellent showing for some years, at least on the surface. The budget was balanced and a surplus accumulated. Industrial output rose 50 per cent. Mussolini was especially anxious to make it possible for Italy to feed herself. In "the battle of wheat" hundreds of thousands of acres were reclaimed and allotted to peasants. Prizes were offered, and the whole process of wheat growing was dramatized. Mussolini himself, stripped to the waist, gathered in a few sheaves for the benefit of the photographers. As a result, imports of grain were cut by 80 per cent. This was remarkable; but when the "battle" was over, Italy was only 75 per cent self-sufficient in cereal, and

her fruit and olive production had suffered severely from the diversion of capital and labor to wheat growing. The development of hydro-electric power, already well under way, was pushed with energy, though Fascist Italy still remained heavily dependent upon foreign coal. To take up the slack in employment, the government launched a program of public works, rebuilding ports, extending roads, and building homes for urban workers.

The world depression was especially damaging to the Fascist economic structure, showy and unsubstantial. To maintain an appearance of economic soundness, Mussolini was obliged to fix prices, wages, and rents, and otherwise bring Italy to the verge of a form of state capitalism under which property would be in private hands but under state control. Even before the Ethiopian venture, Italian labor was working the longest day in many years and receiving wages at least one quarter less than before the advent of Mussolini. Government had become very expensive also, with many thousands of Fascists added to the payrolls. All together one third of the average income was paid out in taxes.

### The Concordat of 1929

One of the greatest achievements of the Fascist regime was the settlement of the Roman question. The relations between state and church had long been absurd, a fact freely acknowledged on both sides. After three years of negotiations a treaty and concordat were signed by kingdom and papacy in 1929. The pope was recognized as the sovereign of Vatican City, a tiny state of a hundred acres and a thousand inhabitants. The Catholic religion was recognized as the state religion, and the government pledged itself to enforce the laws of the church with respect to marriage, morals, and other matters. There was, of course, toleration for the non-Catholics of Italy, of whom there are but few.

Some weeks after the treaty was signed, the pope appeared in the streets of Rome; later, he and the king exchanged calls. Some points of friction remained, however. Both regimes set great store by the right to teach the young. At the age of fourteen, Italian youths, having come up through Fascist organizations, took the following oath: "I swear to execute the orders of Il Duce without discussion and to serve with all my force, if need be with my blood, the cause of the Fascist Revolution." This oath the papacy pronounced to be illegal. Mussolini replied by ordering the dissolution of all church organizations for the education of the young. After a deadlock of some months a *modus vivendi* was arrived at in 1931: Catholic youth organizations might continue, provided they confined themselves to religious instruction and abandoned recreational activities, so effective in holding the interest of youngsters. In the same year the



pope denounced some aspects of the corporative state. "The whole economic life has become hard, cruel, and relentless," he affirmed; "the syndical institutions possess excessive bureaucratic and political character which tends to serve particular political aims rather than the establishment of a better social order."

### Ideology of Fascism

It was characteristic of Italian Fascism to solve its problems as it came to them. Hence it was late in the movement before a theory of Fascism was propounded. This was officially formulated by Mussolini in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*. Mussolini was particularly clear on what Fascism was not. It is not democracy: "It denies that members can govern by means of periodical consultations. It affirms the fertilizing, beneficent, and unassailable inequality of man." Elsewhere Mussolini denounced democracy as a luxury which Italy could not afford. Fascism is not socialism, he continued: "It denies the immutable and irreparable class warfare which is the natural filiation of such an economic conception of industry." It is not pacifism: "It does not believe either in the possibility or utility of universal peace. . . . War alone brings all human energies to their highest tension, and imprints a seal of nobility on the peoples who have the virtue to face it." Other Fascists were more successful in expounding the positive aspects of Fascism. They justified the exaltation of the state above the individual, affirming that the individual exists for the state and not the state for the individual. In the life and work of the state the individual is an infinitesimal and transitory item. Ignoring John Locke and his successors, the Fascists looked farther back to the thought of Machiavelli.

Mussolini's greatest objective, perhaps, was to infuse a new mentality in the Italian people. He was especially concerned to end the old "neutral" attitude, as he called it, which made Italy "a nation abject and accursed, with a barrel organ man and a shoeblack representing her in the world." The impact of his personality upon those with whom he came in contact was likened to the force of an "electric shock." Very ignorant and highly emotional, the Italian masses provided an excellent conductor. In the end, however, Mussolini brought about a national disaster compared with which the fumbings of the Italian Parliament seem slight indeed.

### Spread of Dictatorships in Europe

Italian dictatorship was early in the field, but it had not long to wait for companions. On January 5, 1929, King Alexander of the Kingdom

of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes dismissed his Parliament, abrogated the constitution of 1921 and announced his intention of ruling by decree. Alexander gave as his reason the failure of Parliament to check the trend toward disunion among the peoples of his kingdom. Poland was next. In October, 1929, Marshal Pilsudski, war hero and now Polish war minister, sent a detachment of troops into the lobby of the Polish Chamber of Deputies to call the legislators to account for slackness and inefficiency. This marked the end of the normal functioning of parliamentary government in Poland, or such approximation to parliamentary government as Poland had achieved. In June, 1930, on the advice of Chancellor Brüning, President von Hindenburg authorized the governing of Germany by decree for a period, hoping that the desperate problems confronting the nation might thus be dealt with. In 1933 a Fascist constitution was adopted by Portugal, with Dr. Salazar, a professor of economics, as president. In April, 1934, Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, diminutive chief executive of Austria, proclaimed a new constitution of the corporative type, modeled on that of Italy. In the same year a dictatorship was established in Bulgaria, and authoritarian regimes were set up in Esthonia and Livonia. In the following year a dictatorship was established by General Metaxas in Greece, who promptly overthrew the Greek republic and effected the restoration of the monarchy.

### Onset of the World Depression

It would be idle to attribute the spread of dictatorships to a single cause; even the listing of a series of causes would leave much unexplained. In each land where a dictatorship emerged special circumstances favored its development. A predisposing cause of the collapse of democratic governments was the world economic depression. The most astonishing thing about the depression is that on the very eve of its inception economists were convinced that the world had at last recovered from the dislocation of war and that fresh advances had been made. Sir Arthur Salter was of the opinion that "the world as a whole is above all earlier standards and seems to be advancing at an unprecedented pace to levels of prosperity never before thought possible." The appearance of prosperity was not the glow of health, however, but the flush of fever. The impact of the depression was even more general than that of the war. Americans plowed under their cotton and slaughtered their pigs. Canadians burned their wheat, Brazilians their coffee. Wheat sold for the lowest price in four hundred years. In the United States steel production was at 10 per cent of capacity. The national income of many lands was cut in half. In the world as a whole, thirty million were unemployed. Great Britain went

off the gold standard, and thirty-three countries followed suit. Banks closed their doors everywhere.

Germany's financial position was especially weak. The Weimar republic had been a heavy borrower from the start; between 1924 and 1928 its borrowings totaled \$3,750,000,000, about a third of which came from America. In October, 1929, came the crash of the American stock-market, and American banks began to cancel their German loans. To save herself from immediate disaster, Germany sought to place new loans in Europe. Unfortunately she lost her most persuasive statesman when Stresemann died, at the age of fifty-one, in the very month of the Wall Street crash. A few weeks later a turn of the political wheel brought to power in France, André Tardieu, the man who had branded the Peace of Versailles as too lenient. European leaders understood that a crisis was impending. In June, 1930, a moratorium of one year was agreed upon for payments of reparations and war debts. In August, representatives of the agrarian states of central and eastern Europe met at Warsaw and drew up a plan of tariff preference under which their products could more easily be exchanged for the manufactures of western Europe; national prejudices delayed ratification, however. Earlier in the same year a customs union of Germany and Austria was projected, by which all duties between the two countries would be abolished.

Proponents of the Austro-German plan expressed a willingness to include other countries in the customs union and thus lay the foundations for a "new order of European economic conditions" as a contribution to "the consolidation of Europe and of world peace." The financial condition of Austria was especially critical, and the proposed union was a last despairing hope of the Austrian leaders. To the French and their friends the project looked like an attempted revival of a greater Germany, and it was challenged as being contrary to the provision of the Peace of Versailles. When the opinion of the World Court was sought, it proved to be adverse to the plan. There followed almost immediately (May, 1931) the crash of the greatest of Vienna's banks, *Credit Anstalt*, which owned about 80 per cent of Austria's industries. Then came a run on German banks which caused the government to close them for two days.

Panic spread, and governments everywhere began to withdraw their reserves from London, still the world's chief banker. In a few weeks more than one billion dollars were withdrawn. The Bank of England placed a loan in Paris and New York, and when this was exhausted it asked for another and larger one. This time the American bankers made conditions. They expressed their unwillingness to advance the sum requested until the British government could show a balanced budget. British leaders now called a truce in party politics and sought by cutting costs and im-

posing fresh taxation to meet the condition. They did so, but withdrawals did not slow down sufficiently, and Britain was forced off the gold standard as the depression spread.

### Rise of Nazism in Germany

That the coming to power in Germany of the Nazis was hastened by the depression can scarcely be doubted. Many things, however, had contributed to Hitler's rise. The strength of nationalist feeling was revealed in 1925 when von Hindenburg was chosen president. Communism had been thrust aside in the early days of the republic, and though it remained an important factor in German political life, it was static during the economic revival that followed the Dawes Plan. When world depression toppled the insubstantial economic structure of Germany like a house of cards, communists became more noisy in their agitation, as did their opponents. An almost hysterical tide of feeling swept over the upper and middle classes. People demanded a strong government able to stop communism at home and secure equal status abroad.

Responsive to this wave of feeling, President von Hindenburg took drastic steps in June, 1930. Article 48 of the Weimar constitution authorized government by presidential decree when the Reichstag was not in session, and this article was now put in force. Brüning of the Catholic Center party served as chancellor until 1932, when he was followed in quick succession by von Papen and von Schleicher, both nationalists. Finally, in January, 1933, Hindenburg, yielding to his repeated and insistent demand named as chancellor Adolf Hitler, leader of the National Socialist party.

### Adolf Hitler

Hitler was an Austrian of the lower middle class whose life had been a series of frustrations and disappointments. His parents both died when he was seventeen, and Adolf was obliged to seek employment as a laborer. The war brought him a life more to his taste and he made a good soldier, being twice wounded. At the war's close Hitler was again at loose ends, so far as employment was concerned, and mentally adrift as well. He sought satisfaction in political agitation, which he entered upon in 1919. He was a tireless worker and a good organizer with some skill in political psychology. Hitler's greatest natural gift, however, was a crude but effective eloquence of speech, the discovery of which seems to have been as amazing to himself as it was thrilling to his followers. Hour after hour, night after night, he could pour forth a torrent of words full of slogans and phrases and almost devoid of consecutive thought. His voice was

guttural and hoarse and had a "crying" quality which greatly affected his sympathetic auditors. He worked hard, and the perspiration streamed down his face. Of his sincerity there is little doubt. Great crowds paid substantial prices to hear him, and his meetings were packed to the doors.

The republican authorities were very tolerant, but Hitler's speeches and methods were excessively provocative and the future Führer spent two brief terms in jail. During these periods he wrote *Mein Kampf*. The world would have been well advised to take this work more seriously than it did, for there the master Nazi freely revealed in advance his plans for the reorganization of Germany and Europe.

Hitler slowly built up a following as he skillfully terrified his hearers with accounts of the menace of communism at home and stirred them to wrath at the weakness of Germany abroad. He struck an especially popular note in his attack on the Jews as those responsible in both areas. The depression played into Hitler's hands, and so did the many rebuffs administered to the German Republic by a Europe still suspicious of its purposes and doubtful of its motives. Gradually the Nazis became one of the largest of the many parties in the Reichstag, and finally, in 1932, the largest of all.

When Hitler became chancellor, he still fell considerably short of commanding a majority of seats in the Reichstag and he determined to secure such a majority by fair means or foul. Elections were held in March, 1933. Like the Italian elections of 1924, this "last free election of German history," as it is sometimes called, gave people a taste of what Nazi methods would be like in practice. The National Socialists captured 288 seats, the Social Democrats only 118; the Catholic party had 91, the German Nationalists, whose objectives were somewhat like those of the Nazis, 52, and the Communists the considerable total of 81. Certain small groups are omitted from this list but it is apparent that the Nazis, despite the violence of their campaigning, had not got their clear majority.

### Nazi Control Established

The Reichstag had no sooner met than the Nazis excluded or arrested the Communists. Assiduously cultivating the good will of Catholic and Nationalist groups, Hitler proposed that the Reichstag invest him with dictatorial powers for four years. "No one need fear our abuse of that power," he said. "The government will make use of these powers only in so far as they are essential for the carrying out of the vitally necessary measures." He went on to promise that the existence of the Reichstag would not be menaced, that the rights of the president would remain

unaffected, that the separate states would not be done away with, and that the rights of the churches would not be diminished nor their relationship to the state modified. Only the Social Democrats voted against this measure. With cynical disregard for his pledged word, Hitler, now dictator, promptly suppressed all parties other than his own and proclaimed a totalitarian state. "The National Socialist party," said he, "is the state." To popularize the new regime, Dr. Joseph Goebbels was installed as "minister of propaganda and enlightenment." As minister of justice General Göring was charged with suppressing opposition. Thousands of arrests were made by the secret police, or Gestapo, whose methods became nauseatingly familiar to the whole world. The Reichstag, now "the world's largest male chorus," ratified Hitler's every act with loud cheers. In March, 1937, and again in 1941, it went through the needless ceremony of renewing Hitler's grant of authority for four years. There were no dissenting voices.

From July, 1933, therefore, the National Socialist German Workers party was Germany's only political party. Unlike the Communist party, the membership of which is narrowly restricted, the ranks of the Nazi party were open, theoretically, to all men and women of twenty. Applicants for membership had to display an "Aryan" pedigree unquestioned back at least to 1800. Recruits were taken almost exclusively from the Hitler Youth Organization, in which boys and girls were enrolled at the age of ten. The party creed reads, in part, as follows: "We believe on this earth solely in Adolf Hitler. We believe that National Socialism is the sole faith and salvation of our people. . . . We believe that God has sent Adolf Hitler so that Germany may receive a foundation for its existence through all eternity. Adolf Hitler! Hail Victory!" The Nazi flag, a black hooked cross in a white center on a red field, was adopted as the flag of Germany.

The Nazis abolished all local self-government. It will be recalled that Germany had always been a federation of states. Some of the states were hundreds of years old. Their capitals were centers of culture. By a decree of 1934 the sovereign rights of all these states were appropriated by the central government. At their head were placed governors who took their orders from the minister of the interior. The act accomplishing this epoch-making transformation, a task beyond the capacity of Bismarck, was rushed through all its stages in three minutes, the votes being given as fast as Göring, president of the Reichstag, could call for them. The final vote was accompanied by a loud outburst of laughter from the six hundred brown-shirted members of the Reichstag. Hitler youth began immediately to dig up the stones marking the ancient boundaries of the several states.

### Persecution of the Jews

One of the first tasks to which Hitler addressed himself was that of purging the German population of all "non-Germans," chief of whom, in his opinion, were the Jews. The Jews of Germany numbered about six hundred thousand, or one per cent of the population. Hitler had long lashed them with his tongue: Jewish bankers had ruined the middle class through inflation; all Jews had good jobs though millions of non-Jewish Germans were unemployed; it was owing to an international conspiracy of Jews that Germany had lost the war. To Hitler's way of thinking, Jews should never be citizens of Germany no matter how long they or their families had lived there. Once Hitler was in power, the Jews suffered from more than adjectival abuse. On April 1, 1933, a nation-wide boycott of Jews was ordered. Their offices and stores were barricaded. Anti-Jewish mobs roamed the streets, and their deeds of violence and outrage horrified the world. Legislation followed, depriving German Jews of their rights as citizens and reducing them to the status of a subject people. No Jew might have any part in the public life of Germany; nor might a Jew have a place in her professional, educational, or cultural life, save only among his own people. During the next five years over 150,000 Jews left their native land, which was what Hitler wanted. Among the exiles were many of the leading scholars and scientists of the country. Another pogrom, carefully organized, took place in 1938. The professed excuse was the murder of a minor German official in Paris by a young Jew. Countless homes and places of business were wrecked throughout the Reich. Hundreds of Jews were murdered, and thousands, less fortunate, were herded into concentration camps. On top of this a fine of \$400,000,000 was levied upon the Jewish community.

### Nazi "Leadership and Coordination" of German Life

In his well-known book Hitler has much to say of the virtues of leadership (*Führerschaft*) as the proper basis of the new German order. "Can one believe that progressive ideas in this world can spring from the brain of majorities and not originate in the heads of individuals?" he asked. "Is not every act of genius a living protest against the dull indolence of the mass? Has such a gang [the people] ever understood an idea before its greatness was revealed by its success?" The function of democracy, he continued, is not to assure majority votes on specific questions, "but only the selection of an individual accountable for his actions with his whole fortune and with his very life." It was Hitler's purpose to introduce the

principle of "leadership" not only into Germany's political life but into her economic, social, and cultural life as well.

Before doing so, however, a preliminary labor had to be undertaken, namely, the coordination (*Gleichschaltung*) of German institutions with Nazi principles. This procedure amounted, in some cases, to liquidation. Germany's universities were transformed into Nazi training schools where professors as well as students served the state "under the triple form of labor service, military service, and scientific service." All teachers, research workers, and students who refused to conform were excluded. The libraries were purged. On a single occasion the works of 160 authors were publicly burned.

An effort was made to "coordinate" organized religion. The various Protestant churches, the most important being Lutheran, were organized into one and placed under the leadership of a "minister for church affairs" whose word was law in all matters not purely doctrinal. This step was steadfastly resisted by a substantial proportion of the pastors. Hundreds of them resigned; many of them were still in concentration camps when Germany surrendered in 1945. The Catholic population of Germany is large (36 per cent of the total population) and is centered largely in the south. The states of Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden had their own separate concordats with the papacy. Hitler promptly replaced these with a single concordat for the whole Reich. Under its terms Catholics were assured of the same rights and privileges as Protestants: the pope was to continue to appoint archbishops and bishops, but they must be of German blood and approved by the German government; clergy must refrain from political activities. There was much friction between German Catholics and the Nazi regime nonetheless. In their zeal to enlist all boys and girls in their own organization, the Nazis grievously injured Catholic youth organizations. The Nazis also severely handicapped Catholic schools by restricting enrollment and even by closing the schools of certain areas. The conflict continued long. Indeed, Nazi coordination of the churches, whether Catholic or Protestant, was never fully realized.

Coordination and leadership were carefully fostered in Germany's economic life. The Nazi leaders set for themselves the goal of economic autarchy. In 1936 a four-year plan was announced, having as its twin objectives the speeding up of rearmament and the achievement of self-sufficiency. The rearmament program alone, it is estimated, affected directly 60 per cent of Germany's industries, and the emphasis upon rearmament is revealed in the famous Nazi slogan, "Less butter and more cannons." In each industrial plant the employer or manager was named the "leader." He had the assistance of a council whose members were named partly by the workers, partly by the Nazi party, and partly by the



plant leader. Strikes were not allowed, but the grievances of the workers were laid before a "labor trustee," an official with judicial powers. The right of private property was affirmed; indeed, the Nazis disposed of such shares in steel works and shipyards as had been purchased by the Weimar republic. Property was so rigidly controlled, however, that the owner had little to say in its management. No labor unions, no associations of manufacturers were allowed. Instead, the Nazis grouped employers and employees together in a huge organization called the Labor Front, which claimed a membership of twenty-five million. Its objectives were cultural and recreational, as is revealed by some of its slogans, such as "Strength through joy," and "The beauty of work." Probably, however, labor was worse off under the Nazis than before. The work week was lengthened; wages remained the same but the cost of living advanced; and labor lost its right to strike. On the other hand, everybody had a job, and when Hitler came to power there had been about six million unemployed. Re-employment did not come through economic expansion, however; compulsory military service, the rearmament program, and labor camps accounted for practically all of it.

## CHAPTER XLII

### *Asia for the Asiatics*

LITTLE can be said about one region of the great continent of Asia which is true of another. During the score of years which lie between the two World Wars, however, there were two developments in which most of the countries of Asia shared. One was Westernization. More than ever before the peoples of Asia turned to the material civilization and even the political institutions of the West. The process was one of active appropriation, not, as in the past, of passive reception. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to characterize this phase of the history of Asia as a time of modernization; Asia was entering upon her Age of Enlightenment and her Age of Industrialism. It should be emphasized that only the merest beginnings were made, in most of the countries of Asia, before the outbreak of the Second World War. A second phase of Asiatic development in the two decades between the wars was a movement in the direction of national self-determination. If self-determination was good for Europe, it was felt that it could no longer be denied the peoples of Asia. In the Near East and in India remarkable progress was made toward the cherished goal. In China European imperialism receded, but there remained the menace of Japan.

#### Turkey; the Treaty of Sèvres

In the Near East, Turkey, perennially the "Sick Man of Europe," lay at death's door in 1919 after eight years of war. Her empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa was a rich prize, and the Allied governments had drawn up at least four different treaties of partition. The gains which had been promised to Russia—Constantinople and the Dardanelles—were canceled, of course, but those held out to Italy and Greece remained to plague the peacemakers. It was quite probable, also, that the share of Great Britain and France, already considerable, would be enlarged. Moreover, during the course of the war, an attempt had been made to stir up a revolt of the Arabs of Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt against their Turkish masters by the promise of an independent Arab state or federation of states. This raised still further difficulties. And to complete the record, the organized Jews of the world, with their con-

siderable political influence and immense financial weight, had been attached to the Allied side by the promise of a national home for members of their race in Palestine. The problems awaiting settlement in the Near East were obviously complex.

Some effort was made to reconcile claims and promises with the principles enunciated by Woodrow Wilson. The result was the Treaty of Sèvres, August, 1920. Adrianople and Eastern Thrace were awarded to Greece, reducing the European possessions of the sultan to Constantinople and its environs. Even there he was not sovereign, for the Straits were demilitarized and placed under international control. As for Asiatic Turkey, Mesopotamia was to be a mandate under the League of Nations, the mandatory power being Britain. France was awarded mandatory rights in north Syria, including Lebanon; Britain in south Syria, that is, Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Arabia was left to the Arabs, though British influence remained strong in the smaller principalities of the coastal areas. Turkish rule was thus confined, substantially, to Asia Minor, principal home of the Turks since the eleventh century. Even there, however, the Turks were not left in complete control. The port of Smyrna, with its largely Greek population, was placed under the administrative control of Greece for five years, after which a plebiscite was to determine its future. Italy was awarded the Dodecanese Islands, which she had held since the close of the Italo-Turkish War, with a slice of Asia Minor. Christian Armenia was to be a mandate if some power could be found (America was asked) to undertake the task of supervision; the Kurds were to have autonomy.

### The Greek Invasion

Many Turkish leaders were of the opinion that it would be best for their country, reduced to northern and central Asia Minor, to seek shelter under the protecting wing of one of the great powers. Indeed, "the Turkish people might have entirely surrendered their national existence"—had it not been for the fact and the manner of the Greek invasion. With the approval of the Allied powers Greece occupied Smyrna in May, 1919. About two thousand Turks were killed in the process. Further areas were occupied as the Greeks sought to secure what they held and to pacify the surrounding territory. Greek policing activities were by no means free of atrocities. Ultimately Greek forces advanced far into the interior. On the Sakkaria River, fifty miles from Angora, they were met and decisively beaten (August, 1921) by Turkish forces half as large and far inferior in equipment. The Turks had been stirred to a fever of patriotic feeling, and were splendidly led by Mustapha Kemal, one of the notable figures of the twentieth century.

### Mustapha Kemal and the Turkish Pact

Kemal was born in 1880 at Salonika and educated in Turkish military schools. He so excelled in mathematics that he received the nickname of "Kemal" (perfection). He fought in all of Turkey's wars from 1911 to 1918 and became Turkey's best general, being chiefly responsible for turning back the Allies at Gallipoli. Politically, Kemal had been identified with the Young Turks, but when they rallied to the sultan, upon Turkey's going to war in 1914, Kemal left the party and became known as something of an "isolationist." On the day after the Greeks landed at Smyrna (1919), Kemal left Constantinople and made his way into Asia Minor, where he organized a Turkish nationalist movement. In January, 1920, under his leadership, an assembly of Turkish patriots drew up a National Pact, dedicating themselves to the recovery of all strictly Turkish territory, whether in Asia or Europe, and the forcible rejection of all restraints on Turkish sovereignty. Kemal's great victory over the Greeks at Sakkaria was followed a year later by his recovery of Smyrna, the Greeks being driven into the sea. France shrewdly recognized Kemal's regime in return for his ratification of her hold on Syria. Italy gave up her pretensions to coastal territory. Britain, however, came to the rescue of Greece and stopped Kemal's forces from crossing the Straits.

### The Treaty of Lausanne

The Allied governments took cognizance of the new situation and agreed that the Treaty of Sèvres, that "porcelain pact," be shelved and another settlement negotiated. The result was the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). Turkey now recovered Eastern Thrace together with Adrianople, her European boundary on the west being extended to the Maritsa River. Constantinople was restored to Turkey in full sovereignty. The Straits, however, were declared open, with a demilitarized zone on either side. The islands of the Aegean were shared with Greece and Italy. Turkey gave up all claims to the Arab states, and her boundaries with Syria and Iraq were fixed. Armenia and Kurdistan were recovered. Capitulations were abolished, and Turkey was excused from the payment of reparations. Finally, to eliminate the minority problem, about one million Turks were evacuated from Greek territory, and four hundred thousand Greeks from Turkish territory; many of these bewildered migrants were in ignorance of the very language of the country in which they were forced to settle. Thus Turkey, although reduced to an area of about 300,000 square miles and a population of thirteen million, emerged as a fully sovereign state. The Versailles settlement had been challenged and a considerable modification had been effected.

### Turkish Revolutionary Reformation

In October, 1923, shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, the Turkish Republic was proclaimed, the sultanate being abolished. The "sole lawful representative of the nation" was declared to be the Grand National Assembly, a body of delegates chosen by all men, and after 1934, women, over twenty-one, for a four-year term. By the terms of the constitution, the Assembly elects the president of the republic, who also serves as president of the Assembly. The president appoints the prime minister, and the two of them select the other members of the cabinet. Kemal was promptly elected president, and he was subsequently re-elected three times. Kemal's prime minister, later his successor as president, was Ismet Pasha, who had greatly distinguished himself in the war against the Greeks.

The constitution of Turkey contains all the usual rights of the citizens. New codes of law were adopted, modeled on French, Swiss, and German systems. Truly revolutionary were the rights extended to women; they emerged from seclusion, laid aside their veils, and assumed the garb of Western women. Polygamy was abolished; civil marriages were made compulsory; and divorce, in Western fashion, was provided for. Kemal set an example to his subjects by securing a divorce and promptly remarrying. All Turkish subjects were required to adopt a family name. Upon Kemal was bestowed, by the Turkish Assembly, the name of Ataturk, or "father of the Turks"; Ismet became Inonu, after the name of one of his victories.

Still more revolutionary was the abolition of the caliphate and the complete separation of church and state (1924 and 1928). Of course, Turks might continue to enjoy the comforts of the Moslem faith if they so desired, but religion was to be a private matter. Slight changes were authorized in the Moslem forms of worship; music was allowed, and shoes might be worn in the mosques. Friday was retained as a day of worship for such as cared to observe it, but the authorized day of respite from appointed work was to be Sunday. A strenuous effort was made by the authorities to induce all men to discard the brimless fez, in which the Moslem was always ready for a religious exercise, in favor of a cap or hat. Official clergy of all faiths were forbidden to wear the distinctive garb of their profession outside their places of worship.

Was Kemalism a dictatorship? Certainly it had many of the features of one. Only one party was allowed, the "Peoples' Party," and Kemal exploited to the utmost, in his reforming activities, his personal prestige, offering himself as a pattern and taking a direct hand in the enforcement of innovations in the fashion of Peter the Great. Though the new consti-

tution supplied the forms of democracy, it was Kemal's view, apparently, that the people were not as yet prepared for full political responsibility; they must be educated up to it. For one thing, they must be taught to read and write. To facilitate this process, the Turkish script was discarded in favor of Latin characters. As a result, Turks could learn to read and write their native language in six months as compared with the five years previously required. Kemal sometimes stopped in the midst of a public function to demonstrate the new script on a blackboard. Translators were engaged to bring to the new reading public current books from the West in preference to the classics of Persia and Arabia. The benevolent and educational character of this Kemalist "dictatorship" is indicated by the almost complete absence of anything like a "Gestapo." Purgings were few and minor; in 1938 all political prisoners were released.

The progressive nature of Kemal's regime is signally shown in his economic measures. Seventy per cent of the Turks lived on the land. It was Kemal's objective to see that every peasant had a farm of sufficient size and that he be taught to substitute modern for medieval methods of cultivation. To help meet the latter need, Kemal himself maintained a model farm. Industrial developments, largely financed by state capital, were undertaken. Private accumulations of capital were few and small, for Turkey had been almost completely nonindustrial. Moreover, it was Kemal's fixed determination not to allow the importation of capital which would have to pay interest to foreigners. Perhaps it was because the state supplied the capital required to build railways and other systems of communication and to erect factories that strikes were not allowed. Kemal might well feel that no one had a right to strike against the state. There seems to have been nothing ideological about Kemal's state capitalism, however. In this, as in many other respects, the Turkish dictatorship must be distinguished from communist and Fascist types of absolutism.

Kemal died in 1938, worn out by incessant activity—and, incidentally, worn down by high living. On the day of his death the Assembly elected Ismet Inonu president.

### The Arab Awakening

Within the larger world of Islam lies the smaller Arab world consisting of lands where Arabic is the prevailing language, where Arab manners, customs, and modes of thought predominate, and where a considerable proportion of the population is of Arab stock. Arab lands today include the whole of the coast of north Africa from Morocco to Egypt, the Arabian peninsula, the whole of Syria, and the valley of Mesopotamia. Turkey and Persia, though Moslem lands, are outside the Arab world. Within the Arab lands, nationalist movements were well developed by 1918, the



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fruit of the "Arab awakening" which began about a century ago. During the war France and Britain had encouraged such movements in order to weaken Turkey. When the war ended, the two powers discouraged them as tending to weaken their own position.

### The French in Syria

Syria, before the First World War, meant the coastal area, with its hinterland, stretching southward from the Taurus Mountains of Asia Minor to the Sinai Peninsula which connects Asia with Africa. The future status of this formerly Turkish province was of such concern to President Wilson that he dispatched a special commission to the Near East to ascer-

tain the wishes of the inhabitants. This commission reported that "the country is very largely Arab in language, culture, tradition and customs," and recommended that since the area and population were small the whole should be included in one political and administrative unit. Furthermore, the commission reported that the inhabitants of Syria, conscious that they must have some power to sponsor them, gave America as their first choice, Britain as their second, and indicated their complete aversion to French control in any form. The Syrian problem was not settled at Versailles, but remained as unfinished business for a later conference of the Allied governments in which the United States did not participate. At San Remo (April, 1920) the following decision was taken: Syria should be divided; north Syria, with Lebanon, should go as a mandate to France; south Syria, or Palestine and Trans-Jordan, as a mandate to Britain, the pledge of a Jewish national home in Palestine being expressly recognized.

North Syria, to which alone present usage assigns the name of Syria, had a population of about three million. The southern section of the coastal area, called Lebanon, is rich in cities, the capital being Beirut. The interior is agricultural in the numerous oases. The principal inland center is the considerable city of Damascus. In Lebanon a majority of the inhabitants are Christians, though these are divided into many sects. Some are Greek Orthodox, but most are the modern representatives of early heretical movements. One such group, the Maronites, includes about one third of all the Christians of Lebanon and has been affiliated since the fifteenth century with the Roman Catholic Church. In Syria proper the population is overwhelmingly Moslem, though divided among several dissident bodies. In the whole of the French mandate of Syria and Lebanon there were eighteen different religious groups, no two of which were on friendly terms.

That France should want to hold a mandate for Syria-Lebanon is not surprising. Said General de Gaulle: "For centuries France, by reason of its spiritual, moral, and intellectual influence, has had special affinities with the Arab world and has had for centuries a prominent role." The French had long been rivals of the British in the Near East, and the awarding of Iraq and Palestine to the latter called for compensation, imperialistically speaking. Furthermore, the coastal cities of Lebanon would supply welcome naval bases for the French in the defense and development of their holdings in Indo-China. Syria would be convenient for airfields, and it was an important source of oil. In administering their new mandate, the French favored Lebanon, enlarging its boundaries so as to cut off Syria proper from satisfactory access to the sea. France was the traditional protector of the Roman Catholics of the Near East; as re-



cently as 1864 she had compelled the sultan to give the people of Lebanon the status of autonomy, with special privileges extended to the Maronites.

For half a dozen years French rule of Syria and Lebanon took the form of a military dictatorship. In the series of High Commissions dispatched to uphold French authority appears the name of General Weygand, later to achieve brief and melancholy notice in the Second World War. Arab aversion to French rule, initially great, increased, the natives resenting attempts to teach them to speak the French language and sing the Marseillaise. In 1926 a national uprising took place, initiated by a fanatical sect of Moslems known as the "Druse hillmen." During the rebellion, which was suppressed in time, the French subjected the unfortified city of Damascus to a three-day bombardment by land and air. Firmly united by the hammer blows of the French, and politically wiser, the Arab leaders of Syria and Lebanon organized representative assemblies. By ceaseless agitation and with the strategic aid of a fifty-day strike, they finally won French consent to the establishment of two separate republics, Syria and Lebanon (1936), both to be freed from mandate control and admitted to the League of Nations in 1939. With each republic France began the negotiation of a treaty providing for "French cultural and spiritual interests, French economic interests, and French bases."

### The Republics of Syria and Lebanon

These treaties were as yet unratified when war broke out in 1939. To secure Syria and Lebanon from Axis control, an Allied force, largely British but partly Free-French, occupied them. Not long thereafter, General de Gaulle, on behalf of the Free French and in concert with the British, recognized the independence of the two republics, a recognition in which the United States of America later joined. The agreement of 1941 stipulated that France should continue to "exercise the same powers that she had always exercised," and that a treaty should be negotiated specifying "the practical conditions under which the two states would exercise their independence." It was French pressure for the completion of negotiations that caused a crisis in 1945, in which all Arab states, to say nothing of the world at large, took a great interest.

### The British in Mesopotamia; the Kingdom of Iraq

Mesopotamia, the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, is triangular in shape, with its base formed by the frontiers of Syria and Turkey and its apex resting on the Persian Gulf. The region is generally hot, arid, and flat. When irrigated, the soil returns rich harvests of cotton,

rice, and wheat. In the province of Mosul, in the northwest, are rich deposits of oil, which have been developed by American and British capital. Pipe lines have been laid westward through Syria and Palestine to Tripoli and Haifa on the Mediterranean. A railway has been completed connecting the Turkish frontier with the Persian Gulf. Bagdad has one of the most important airports in the world, with facilities for five trans-continental services. In the air communication system of the British Empire, Bagdad is as important as is the Suez Canal in its communications by sea.

When Turkey entered the war in 1914, Britain took steps to control Mesopotamia; by the end of the war she had occupied the whole of the valley. It is not surprising that when it was decided that Mesopotamia, now called Iraq, should be a mandate under the League of Nations, Britain sought and obtained the post of mandatory power. The administration of the mandate proved to be troublesome and expensive. During the occupation the British had replaced native officials, civil and military, by British appointees, and educated Arabs were stung to fury when the British made no move to reverse this process. In 1920 a nationalist uprising cost the British some thousands of casualties and millions of pounds. A change of policy was then determined upon, and an Arab government was formed. The Iraqi chose as their king Feisal, famous friend of Lawrence of Arabia, and son of the pro-British Husein of Hejaz. Feisal proved to be an excellent monarch, identifying himself with his subjects and representing their interests with firmness and resolution. For a time a British High Commission remained as "adviser" to Feisal, but the spirit of British postwar imperialism receded and in 1930 a British Labor government recognized the independence of Iraq, while stipulating that the diplomatic priority of Britain be always observed and that three air bases remain in British hands. In 1932 Iraq joined the League of Nations. King Feisal died in 1933 and was succeeded by his son Ghazi I. When the new king was killed in an accident in 1939, his heir, Feisal II, three years old, reigned in his stead under a council of regency.

### The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

On the Red Sea coast of Arabia during the First World War Husein, emir of Mecca, set up an important Arab state. It was his ambition to make his kingdom of Hejaz the nucleus for a unified Arab state including both Syria and Iraq. This project was set aside at Sèvres, as we have seen. In 1924, however, when Kemal of Turkey abolished the caliphate, Husein promptly assumed the rights, style, and title of caliph and called for his recognition as such by all the Faithful. There was some appro-

priateness in this action, since Husein was guardian of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, but the Moslem world failed to respond to Husein's summons. Indeed, a response of a very different sort was in the offing. In 1926 Husein was attacked and after a sharp struggle deprived of his very kingdom by a rival Arab leader, Ibn Saud, king of Nejd.

Abdul-Aziz ibn Saud was and is a remarkable man. His home is in central Arabia, where his family belongs to a puritanic sect of Moslem "fundamentalists." Beginning in 1913 as a landless exile, Ibn Saud integrated the loosely organized Arab communities of central Arabia into a compact kingdom called Nejd, with an armed force of fifty thousand. "Not since the days of Mohammed had Arabia witnessed the birth of any truly comparable movement." Repudiating Husein's claim of the title of caliph, Ibn Saud drove him into exile, annexed his kingdom, and gave to the united kingdoms and their dependencies, in 1932, the name of Saudi Arabia. He displaced Husein also as self-appointed leader of the Arab world. Taking every opportunity to be a "good neighbor" to the other Arab states, he assumed the lead in the formation of an Arab League. This league, which includes Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, Yemen, and Egypt, published to the world its "Charter" in March, 1945. Ibn Saud has sought to keep his land out of the clutches of European interests. When a rich oil field was discovered, its probable reserves making it one of the most important in the world, he turned down bids (1939) from British, German, Italian, even Japanese firms, in favor of an American syndicate. "I gave it to the Americans for much less because they will give me fewer headaches. Americans have no political ambitions in this part of the world."

### The Kingdom of Egypt

Another Arab state to achieve independence in the postwar period was Egypt. Nominally part of the Turkish Empire, Egypt had long been practically independent under its own khedive. In 1879 Great Britain and France jointly intervened in Egyptian affairs to protect the investments of their nationals. When France withdrew, in 1881, Britain remained, partly to protect her line of communication by way of the Suez Canal. The British occupation, a "veiled protectorate," lasted until the close of the First World War. Britain then announced, in deference to the principle of national self-determination, that "Egypt is not now and never has been a part of the British Empire," but an independent sovereign state. Before British forces and officials could be withdrawn, however, certain matters remained to be dealt with. The communications of the British Empire in Egypt must be safeguarded; Egypt must accept Britain as her sole ally in order to forestall interference by other powers; and the protec-

tion of minorities must be adequately provided for. A treaty was drafted covering these points, but the Egyptian legislature refused to ratify it.

The British remained, therefore, and in sufficient force actually to insure the conditions which Egypt refused to confirm. Nationalist leaders refrained from violent forms of agitation for the most part, but now and again hotheads got out of hand and British officials were assassinated. Finally, in 1936, under the pressure of Italy's attack on Ethiopia, the government of Egypt gave way, and a treaty was signed, to last for twenty years. The defense of the Suez Canal zone was reserved for British forces—ten thousand land troops and four hundred pilots—until the Egyptian forces should "attain the necessary strength and efficiency" to take it over. It was further agreed that "in the event of war or international emergency, Egypt would give Great Britain the use of ports, airdromes, and means of communication, and enact all necessary administrative and legislative measures." During the Second World War, though Egypt served as a British base and there was much fighting on her soil, her status remained, for some time, that of a neutral.

### Jew and Arab in Palestine

By 1939 the Arab states of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt had attained, or seemed well on the way to attaining, the status of independent, sovereign powers. In Palestine, however, after twenty years of turmoil, the situation was still in doubt. For thirteen centuries Palestine had been in either Arab or Turkish hands. With the launching of the Zionist movement, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, Jewish immigration had begun, and by 1914 about 100,000 Jews had settled in Palestine. The Turks made no particular objection; nor were their Arab subjects much concerned, since they outnumbered the Jews by eight or nine to one. During the First World War, Palestine became a much promised land, as we have seen, the Arabs being encouraged to set up an independent Arab state, in which Palestine was to be included, and the Zionists being assured by the British Lord Balfour that a Jewish national home was to be established in Palestine. When Palestine was set apart by the Allied Powers in 1920 as a mandate under British authority, the "Balfour pledge" was expressly repeated: Britain was to "facilitate" Jewish immigration and "encourage close settlement by Jews on the land"; however, "the rights and position of other sections of the population were to be safeguarded."

The Arabs of Palestine became increasingly apprehensive during the first decade of the British mandate. They felt that the British favored the Jews and would do so increasingly because of the skill and intensity of

the propaganda maintained by world Jewry. They were disturbed by the public statement of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the Zionist movement, that it was the intention of his organization to make Palestine "just as Jewish as America is American and England is English." Though Jewish immigration was as yet on a moderate scale, Arab leaders observed that their people were no match for the newcomers either in training or in financial resources. Indeed, the Jews of Palestine did remarkable things. They harnessed the Jordan to supply electric power. They extracted potash and other important chemicals from the Dead Sea. They built large-scale oil, cement, and match factories. Within a decade four fifths of the industrial output of Palestine was theirs. At Tel-Aviv, on the sea coast, they developed an entirely Jewish city of 150,000. In agriculture their achievements were no less outstanding, thanks to Western methods and machinery. The Jews of Palestine set an example, also, of collective action in their cooperatives.

To quiet Arab fears, the British promised that Jewish immigration would be limited to the "absorptive capacity" of the country and that any Arab who sold his land would be required to keep a "viable minimum," that is, enough for his family to live on. Furthermore, the land across the Jordan was separated from Palestine and established as a separate state called Trans-Jordan. No Jew was allowed to buy land there. The inhabitants of Trans-Jordan are seminomadic, and they chose for their king, at Britain's prompting, Abdullah, elder brother of King Feisal of Iraq.

During the second decade of the British mandate Jewish immigration jumped suddenly from five thousand a year to sixty thousand. The anti-Jewish campaign of Hitler was largely responsible for this. By 1936 the Jewish population of Palestine was 400,000, the Arab 1,000,000. In another ten years, at that rate of increase, the Jews of Palestine would equal the Arabs in numerical strength. Arab policy now changed from passive noncooperation to open violence. In 1936 Arab leaders launched a "national political strike" lasting six months. Atrocities marked its course as Arab murder bands got out of hand. The Jews of Palestine demonstrated their political maturity by refraining from reprisals. The strike was called off through the intervention of Ibn Saud of Arabia, but in 1938 open rebellion took place, with many acts of terrorism. Britain, determined to maintain order at all costs, increased her forces from ten to thirty thousand. Italian short-wave propaganda and German arms fed the flames of rebellion, but they were finally stamped out.

In the meantime a British royal commission (the Peel Commission) had been studying the whole history of Palestine under the mandate. Its findings were set forth in a lengthy report in July, 1937. The most important recommendation was the following: Palestine should be divided into

a Jewish state, about one quarter of the whole, and an Arab state, with interchange of "grumbling minorities." The Arab state, landlocked otherwise, was to have a corridor to the sea at Joppa. Besides these two states, there was to be a tiny mandate state of five hundred square miles to include the cities of special religious significance to both Jews and Moslems—Jerusalem and Bethlehem. These sweeping measures were never carried out. As Lord Samuel, first British high commissioner of Palestine, told the House of Lords, the world would be supplied with "a Saar, a Polish Corridor, and half-a-dozen Danzigs and Memels in a country the size of Wales."

In 1939 a Round Table Conference was held in London to which Jewish and Arab leaders were invited, not only from Palestine but from the outside world. It was a failure. Palestinian Arabs refused even to sit at the same table with the Jews. Thereafter the British government (May, 1939) issued a "Statement of Policy," or White Paper, which it still adheres to. This enunciated the following principles: (1) Within ten years' time, if all went well, Palestine was to have its independence. (2) Palestine is not to be a Jewish state, but there is to continue to be a Jewish national home *in* Palestine. (3) Jewish immigration is to continue for five years, or until the Jewish population is one third of the total population, after which no more Jews will be admitted without Arab consent. (4) The drafting of a constitution, preliminary to independence, can take place only after the Arabs of Palestine have demonstrated their ability to maintain good relations with the Jews. Thus, to quote Viscount Samuel again, "each side is given a veto on the aspirations of the other in order to induce both to become friends." This program has been bitterly attacked by the Zionists and their friends. They assert that under the terms of the mandate Britain has no legal right to suspend immigration. They affirm that these concessions to the Arabs were, typically, the work of Chamberlain "the appeaser."

During the war years the Jews of Europe continued to be victimized by the Nazis and their satellites and the problem of finding homes for the Jews outside Europe was accentuated. The Zionist cause found strong support in the United States of America and, indeed, throughout the English-speaking world. On the other hand, the cause of the Palestinian Arabs was formally espoused by the Arab League and became a matter of great interest to their 90,000,000 co-religionists in India as well. In November, 1945, Great Britain invited the United States government to cooperate in the setting up of a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to examine both the problem of Palestine and that of the Jews in Europe. This committee began a series of hearings and will ultimately make recommendations for action to the British government. The latter

has announced its intention of preparing the draft of a permanent solution of the two problems and submitting it to the United Nations.

### India; the Constitution of 1921

The total population of the states of the Arab League is 30,000,000; Turkey has half as many more. Nationalistic growing pains in these lands have given the Western world much concern and continue to enlist its attention. How, then, shall we measure the importance of the national movement in India, with its population of 380,000,000, one fifth of the world's total? Over a million Indian soldiers served overseas in the First World War, a fact that was fully exploited by nationalist leaders at home. Britain sought to anticipate nationalist demands by a formal declaration, late in 1918, that "the aim of British policy in India was the responsible self-government of India within the empire; that India is for the Indians and that the only justification for the presence of England there is that India shall derive benefit from it." Parliament then set to work drafting a constitution for India, and in February, 1921, the new scheme of government was formally inaugurated in Delhi. There was to be a Council of State of sixty members, two thirds of them elected, and a Legislative Assembly of 140, one hundred of them chosen by the voters. These two houses constituted a federal legislature for the twelve provinces of British India, each of which had a subordinate legislature of its own. To give to India a semblance of formal unity, the native states were invited to send representatives, named by the princes, to a central Chamber of Princes. Its powers were purely advisory.

To the Indian nationalists the constitution of 1921 was far from satisfactory. The franchise was too limited, only about one million persons being qualified to vote for members of the Legislative Assembly, far fewer for the Council of State. Moreover, only a few of the powers of government were "transferred" to the Indian parliament, defense, foreign affairs, and, in the last analysis, finance being "reserved" to the viceroy. The term "dyarchy," or rule of two, was applied to the new plan. Furthermore, in the view of the nationalists, the new plan was quite unacceptable because it failed to integrate the native states with the rest of India; they were still "feudal enclaves." These criticisms, and many more, were set forth at the annual meeting of the Congress party, also held in Delhi, in February, 1921. The 22,000 delegates formally declared that they had "absolutely no faith in the justice-loving nature of the British," and that they would "more willingly consent to be slaves than members of the British Empire." The Congress, under Gandhi's leadership, drafted a plan of national noncooperation calculated to achieve

home rule in nine months by a bloodless revolution. Children under sixteen were to be withdrawn from government schools and sent to schools supported by the Congress; litigants were to settle disputes by private arbitration; most important of all, a thoroughgoing boycott was to be applied to all goods manufactured and sold by the British. Three years later noncooperation was an acknowledged failure. Politically minded nationalists were taking part in the new government and conducting themselves as a political party, endeavoring to capture as many seats as possible in the new legislature.

To understand why noncooperation failed is to begin to understand India. The Congress does not speak for all Indians. Although some of India's 90,000,000 Moslems, for example, adhere to it, most of them subscribe to the tenets of the Moslem League, which is devoted to the preservation of the Moslem way of life, religious and cultural. Its leaders do not have full confidence that Hindu leaders would respect minority rights. Moslems demand constitutional safeguards in advance of independence. In 1942 the Moslem leaders, recalling their "twenty-five years of genuine efforts for the reconciliation of the two major communities and the bitter experience of the failure of such efforts" said they were "convinced that . . . the only solution of India's constitutional problem is the partition of India into independent zones." The many millions of depressed classes also take an extremely gloomy view of their future in an independent India ruled by Hindu nationalists. This, declare their representatives, would "take us back to the black days of the ancient past" and would be a "breach of faith" on the part of the British government.

There are yet other minorities in India, and each one has its own reasons for holding back from the prospect of an immediately "free democratic India." But the greatest reason, perhaps, for the failure of the nationalists is that the masses of the Indian people are not politically minded. Only 13 per cent of them are literate in any language; only 2 per cent in English, the language which more of them know than any other. Most Indians are villagers who live and die in the community where they are born. Few know that an Indian legislature exists. They regard government as something external to themselves, an institution whose edicts, like those of a stern and sometimes angry god, must be accepted and borne in passive patience. The "pathetic contentment" of the Indian people owes much to the Hindu religion. To arouse in the Indian masses a feeling that government is a thing in whose activity they have a right and a responsibility to share will require a mental revolution which, if it comes, will rank as one of the greatest that have taken place in world history.



### The Constitution of 1935

In 1935 Britain inaugurated another plan of government which was considerably more liberal than the dyarchy. This was drafted at a series of round table conferences representing all Indian parties and British parties, not by the British Parliament acting alone. Gandhi came to London for one of the conferences. The unity of India was emphasized in the new constitution. Burma was excluded, as being non-Indian in culture, which reduced the number of provinces of British India to eleven. The native states were fully incorporated in the federal legislature, being allotted one third of the representatives in either house. The number of appointive legislators was reduced practically to zero, and the franchise extended to about 40,000,000 persons. Finally, all powers of government except defense and foreign affairs were transferred from the viceroy to the new Indian legislatures.

Nationalists were still not satisfied with the rate of progress toward their goal, but they set about capturing as many seats as possible in the new legislatures, and succeeded in a few years' time in naming the prime minister of seven of the eleven provinces of British India. They continued to repudiate the British goal for India—self-government within the empire. Nehru, an outstanding leader, calls India "a mother country, a storehouse of cultural vitality which has influenced in the past vast sections of the human race; . . . the conception of India as a kind of colonial appendage of Britain, growing slowly to freedom as the British dominions have done is fantastic and unreal." Nehru's own concept of India is worth quoting: "A united, free, democratic country, closely associated in a world federation with other free nations. We want independence, but not the old type of narrow exclusive independence. We believe that the day of separate warring national states is over."

The outbreak of war in 1939 was followed by a phase of active resistance on the part of Indian nationalists. The viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, did not consult with Indian leaders before issuing his declaration of war; he did not even summon the federal legislature before announcing that "a state of war exists between His Majesty and Germany." He was within his rights, under the constitution of 1935, but it is interesting to speculate whether he might have disarmed his nationalist opponents by a different course of action. Congress leaders, meeting in September, 1939, adopted a resolution drafted by Nehru which condemned equally Nazi aggression and British imperialism and called for the immediate grant of responsible self-government. They also called upon the British government to state its war aims: "If the war is to defend the *status quo* of imperialist possessions and colonies, . . . then India can have nothing to do

with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it." The British government not being responsive to these demands, the Congress leaders organized a campaign of "civil disobedience," overt acts to consist of speaking in public, after due notice to the authorities, against the war effort. Gandhi had hopes that as a result the prisons would be so crowded that government would break down. Again his hopes were dashed. In a few months prisoners reached a peak of twelve thousand, but as agitation died away the government began releasing them. India's contribution to the war in food, equipment, and small arms was about what might be expected from a vast but essentially nonindustrial land. Recruitment in the various services, entirely voluntary, has at all times been in excess of the number that could be fully equipped.

Why hasn't England let go of India? In 1938 her exports to India were less than 8 per cent of her total exports; her Indian investments were less than the American stake in Canada. Out of 1,500,000 in the Indian Civil Service only about 10,000 are British, and the number of British officers and men in the Indian army, chiefly in the Northwest Province, was about 60,000 in normal times. England clings to India for reasons of sentiment. The government of India, the "greatest administrative task in the world," as Theodore Roosevelt once called it, has been Britain's job for more than three hundred years; she means to see it through to the end, a proper end, in her judgment, and then quit in style. In the crisis of Japanese advance in March, 1942, that end was more clearly defined by Britain than ever before, and a "firm timetable" announced. At the end of the war a constitutional convention was to be summoned, properly representative of all Indian parties. The constitution drafted by the convention would provide for full self-government, and to it Britain promised to surrender all her authority. Britain insisted that certain stipulations regarding minorities should be incorporated in the plan and hoped that the status of British dominion would be retained. But under the grant of full powers neither of these limitations would need to stand in the way, for long, of the triumphant majority.

### Nationalism in Persia and Afghanistan

India's neighbors to the northwest, Persia and Afghanistan, also shared in the rising tide of nationalism that was sweeping over Asia. Persia had the status of an independent kingdom and was one of the original members of the League of Nations. Both Russia and Britain had "interests" there, however, which the shah had been forced to acknowledge. (See p. 584.) On the outbreak of the Russian revolution Britain transferred

the Russian interests to herself and during the rest of the war supervised Persia's policy. In 1919 an Anglo-Persian treaty was signed which gave Britain's ambassador the official status of "adviser" to the Persian government, authorized the training of Persia's armed forces by British officers, and arranged for a British loan to finance the building of a trans-Persian railway. In a word, Persia accepted a status such as had already been assigned to Egypt and was to be assigned to Iraq.

But Persia, like Turkey, had its nationalist party and an outstanding leader. This was Riza Khan, an army officer, the scion of a landowning family. As minister of war under the shah, Riza Khan became virtual dictator of Persia, displacing the reigning dynasty in 1925 and assuming the title of shah for himself and his heirs. To a certain extent his policies may be regarded as a Persian counterpart of the Turkish revolutionary reformation. The aggressive nationalism of the new shah inspired him to repudiate the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1919 *in toto* and change the official name of Persia to Iran. The Trans-Iranian Railway was completed with Persian capital. In 1933 a new oil contract was negotiated with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company on terms much more favorable to Persia, one stipulation being that Persian youth should be trained in the technique of oil engineering. By 1939 Persia, or Iran, was the third largest oil-producing country in the world. Western ways were emulated in Persia as in Turkey, but the new Persian government remained officially Moslem in faith.

Afghanistan also entered upon a career of its own. In 1919 its amir attacked British India, formally repudiating dependence on the British viceroy in the conduct of foreign policy. Britain yielded the point, for peace, and by formal treaty in 1922 acknowledged the complete and entire independence of Afghanistan.

### Dutch East Indies Ask for Dominion Status

The empire of the Dutch, like other Eastern lands, felt the effects of growing nationalistic sentiments. Yielding to the trend of the times, the Netherlands government in 1918 established a Dutch East Indies Parliament, half of whose members were natives. The governor general, Dutch appointed, still retained the power to enact laws independently of Parliament, on occasion, and the budget was still subject to ratification by the home government. Taking their cue from other Asiatic dependencies, the members of the Dutch East Indian legislature petitioned unanimously, in 1937, that dominion status be granted in ten years.

At the close of the Second World War Indonesian nationalists in Java launched a movement looking toward independence, rather than domin-

ion status under the Dutch. This movement appeared to have wide support and a bloody struggle followed between native warriors and British forces, who were charged by the Allied governments with the task of taking over the Dutch East Indies from the Japanese army of occupation. This affair will doubtless hasten the grant by the Dutch government of very greatly increased powers of self-government to her East Indian subjects.

### Siam Becomes Thailand

In Siam, the one independent kingdom of southeastern Asia, a "Peoples party" secured the grant of a constitution in 1932, with the ratification, in principle, of manhood suffrage. Siam had fought in the First World War and had even shared in the distribution of reparations from Germany. Her new leaders secured the abolition of all "unequal treaties" and began a drive to free the economic life of the country from the ownership and control of foreigners, chiefly wealthy Chinese. In 1939 the Kingdom of the White Elephant was officially renamed Thailand.

In French Indo-China a Communist party rose to demand "a decent manner toward natives," and in 1930 there was a small-scale mutiny of native troops, six officers being killed. The French authorities, however, in the face of these evidences of unrest held firm.

### Objectives of Chinese Nationalists

We have seen that in China a nationalist program had been well launched by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and had culminated, politically, in the revolution of 1912. (See p. 591.) The objectives of his party, the Nationalist or Kuomintang, were three: to free China from foreign control, to organize the Chinese government on democratic lines, and to secure social justice for China's masses. To expel the foreigners would be very difficult; they were numerous, greedy, and strongly entrenched. To establish democracy among a people only 1 per cent of whom were literate would be an undertaking of fantastic proportions. And how could any government hope to effect any great improvement in the living conditions of the masses in a land where thousands died of starvation even in years when there was no failure of crops? Dr. Sun had great courage and great faith, however, and even if his political authority was limited to south China he was revered, after his death in 1925, by all Chinese people north and south.

A struggle for leadership of the Kuomintang followed the death of Dr. Sun. Some felt that social justice for the masses was of first importance and that the Russian experiments in this field might well be adapted to Chinese conditions. Others insisted that a strong central government

should be established, capable of asserting its authority throughout China; the expulsion of the foreigners and the achievement of social justice could come later. The leader of the latter group was a young military officer named Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang was married to a sister-in-law of Dr. Sun. He had also embraced Christianity. He bid for the support of the mercantile and landowning classes of China, thus indicating his hostility to communism. Having succeeded to Dr. Sun's leadership in south China, Chiang led his armies against the communist war lords of the north. In 1927 he captured Peking. In the same year he purged his own party of communists and established a seat of government in China's ancient capital of Nanking. A "Final Draft Constitution" was eventually made public, the work of a committee of which Dr. Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat-sen, was chairman. This guarantees the usual civil rights and provides for a national Congress of one house, chosen by all men and women of twenty and over, the Congress to elect the president of the Chinese Republic.

In practice the rule of Chiang Kai-shek has been that of a quasi-dictator, under the circumstances necessarily so perhaps. After 1927 communists remained in control of about one sixth of China proper (the northwest), and there they continue to carry on a rival government, having seized and redivided the land, canceled debts, and founded cooperative and collective enterprises. The stubborn persistence of civil war in China inspired one observer to liken her to a "pear so full of spots that it almost falls to pieces in the hand."

### Western Powers Begin Withdrawal from China

The Western powers for once were not disposed to take advantage of China's weakness. At the Washington Conference, in 1922, they joined in an explicit guarantee of "the sovereignty, the independence, and the administrative and territorial integrity of China." In 1924 Soviet Russia voluntarily surrendered all her rights under "unequal treaties" and raised her envoy to ambassadorial rank, thus recognizing China as a first-class power. In 1930 the various powers concerned joined in restoring to China full control over her own tariff system. It was China's misfortune, however, that the leaders of Japan saw in the nationalism of the Chinese, and other Far Eastern peoples, a fatal menace to their dream of empire and decided to strike before it was too late.

### Japan's Objective — to Dominate the Far East

Japan's ambition to dominate the Far East is an old story. To some extent it is the product of racial feeling. The tradition was strong among her military leaders that their god-emperor was destined to rule all the

peoples of the East. To subject them to his rule was their "divine mission." Fantastic as this may sound to Western ears, it was nevertheless a force to be reckoned with. The argument of vital economic necessity, which Japanese spokesmen employed when dealing with Westerners, is more familiar to our ears and is at least plausible. Modern Japan has a population of nearly 70,000,000, and to this she adds annually a million more. Her total area is about that of the state of California. Only about 20 per cent of the soil is cultivable, so that the density of population per square acre of crop area is about three times that of Great Britain.

As an island kingdom close to a great continent, Japan might be expected to have had a history not unlike that of England. One reason why this could not be was that Japan lacks the essentials, in her own islands, of a modern industrial state. Without coal or iron or oil she could not become the workshop of the East, as Britain did that of the West. Half of her swarming population still lives on the land. The peasants are generally tenants, and their farms are very small, averaging from one to three acres apiece. Their standard of living is low; that of the industrial workers is no higher. Japanese leaders have long maintained that their crowded people are "smothering." Excluded by racial prejudice from lands inhabited or controlled by the white man, the Japanese have long felt that China offered them their best opportunity. Her northern lands, such as Manchuria and Outer [Mongolia, were thinly populated and the known resources of these regions would admirably supplement those of the Japanese. The millions of Chinese would supply an inexhaustible market for the products of Japanese industry. The economic development of China would supply opportunities for Japanese capital and for generations of Japanese engineers, technicians, and administrators. Unfortunately, Western powers were still firmly established along China's two thousand miles of coast. Furthermore, the Chinese people indignantly repudiated Japanese advances.

The Japanese were not easily discouraged. They had been struggling for a foothold in Manchuria for several decades. Their principal rival there had been Russia, but after the Russo-Japanese War (1905) Japan got the upper hand. During the First World War Japan had rubbed out German holdings in the Far East, and in 1915 she presented China with a schedule of concessions known as the Twenty-one Demands. Had these been accepted, all China would have been reduced to the status of a Japanese protectorate. China was too weak to offer much resistance but Western powers protested energetically, and Japan withdrew her claims save in Manchuria and the Shantung peninsula. Under further pressure Japan restored Shantung to China at the Washington Conference in 1922.

There followed a decade during which a liberal group was at the helm in Japan. This group, led by Baron Shidehara, sought to forward Japanese interests peacefully and in conformity with the principles of the Washington Conference. The Japanese government sought to advance Japanese economic interests by friendly means. This took time, for the Chinese were highly suspicious. Meanwhile the economic depression had greatly worsened conditions in Japan. Out of the misery of the masses sprang socialist and communist movements. The frightened capitalists now joined hands with the militarists, long impatient with the policy of conciliation. The time seemed favorable. The Western powers, which had so often blocked Japan's advance, were in the throes of economic depression. Domestic problems preoccupied the minds of their leaders. Best of all, China was still torn by civil war, and the Nationalist government was deadlocked with a rival republican regime of communist sympathies.

But first the home front must be made secure and so, about 1930, superheated patriots, chiefly young army officers, launched a campaign of terrorism and assassination, striking down successively two prime ministers, a number of ministers, and several officers of the imperial household who had been close advisers of the emperor. The "unholy alliance" of militarists and industrialists placed their own nominees in high office, suppressing all opposition. Political parties were abolished and the prime minister, a high army or navy officer, directed Japanese policy as completely as did the shoguns before the revolution of 1867.

## CHAPTER XLIII

### *The Road to War*

AT 10:00 P.M. on the night of September 18, 1931, an explosion occurred on the South Manchurian Railway, doing some damage to the line. Manchuria was under Chinese sovereignty, but the railway was under Japanese control and a few thousand troops were in occupation of a narrow tract of land bordering the right of way. Before morning, in fulfillment of carefully laid plans, these troops had overwhelmed the small garrisons of Chinese soldiers in the neighborhood. They thus made possible the subsequent military occupation of the whole of Manchuria. Though the Japanese government claimed to have acted in self-defense, this plea was rejected by the entire world. The amount of damage to the tracks was so slight that the normal schedule of traffic was not disturbed in the least. The "Three Eastern Provinces" (i.e., Manchuria) are as large as Germany and France together, but their population, in 1931, was but thirty million. The soil is generally fertile. Soybeans are grown extensively. Coal, iron, and other minerals are found there. Though the principle of China's full sovereignty over Manchuria had never been denied, the Japanese overran the entire area in a few months, renaming it Manchukuo and installing the last member of the Manchu dynasty of China as puppet emperor. It is evident, now, that it was Japan's fixed purpose from the first to transform Manchuria into an industrial and military base for the conquest of China.

#### Verdict of the League on Manchuria

For the first time since Versailles a major power had challenged the world peace structure by deliberately using force as an instrument of national policy. The League of Nations took an appropriately serious view of the affair and carefully focused the attention of the entire world on Manchuria. A strong commission, led by Lord Lytton, made a full and impartial investigation of the facts on the spot. Its verdict on Japan's action was "unjustifiable aggression." In the debate on the Lytton Report China's delegate to the League was allowed a final word. "China is old,"



he said. "She has weathered many vicissitudes—and she will weather this one. The action you take in this room within these next few minutes is not nearly so important for China as for yourselves." In defense of Japan's action her spokesman protested that the world "failed to realize the actual situation in the Far East. . . . China is not a nation, but a menace to the peace of the world. . . . Communism is conquering China as it has conquered Russia." With but one dissenting vote, that of Japan, the League called upon Japan to withdraw her forces. Manchuria was to remain under Chinese sovereignty as an autonomous state. Japan's special rights therein must be recognized by China, and Russia's interests must also receive consideration. All future disputes between China and Japan, the League's decision concluded, must be settled in conformity with the covenant of the League, the Kellogg Pact, and the Nine Power Treaty. Though the United States was not a League member, our interest in all this was exceedingly strong. The United States government notified both Japan and China "that it would not recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement in violation of the Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty." From that position we never receded.

Evidently the Japanese would yield only to sufficient force. China did not have it; other powers did not supply it. It is easy for us to recognize that in disturbing the peace of the Far East, Japan was menacing the peace of the world. In those days, however, there was not a sufficiently general appreciation of the fact, especially in official circles. The British foreign minister informed the House of Commons that "however the matter was handled, he did not intend that his own country should get into trouble about it." In reality, British vital interests were as much endangered by the Japanese seizure of Manchuria as if the Japanese had dropped bombs on Hong Kong; indeed, the vital interests of every peace-loving nation in the world were placed in jeopardy. The prompt use of sufficient force would have stopped Japan in her tracks. Her breach of the peace system was allowed to go unchecked, however, and this meant that the world was once more on the road to war.

Left to herself, China fought a delaying action. She had no navy. Her air force was negligible compared with that of Japan. Her millions of peasants, habitually tillers of the soil, were relatively disinclined to military service; moreover, equipment and arms for a large army were lacking. To make matters worse, Chiang Kai-shek was slow to use such force as he had. His motto was, "Destroy the enemy within [the communists] in order to defeat the enemy without." In default of military strength, the Chinese people organized a boycott of Japanese goods which was for a time extraordinarily effective. The Japanese reacted sharply in an attack on Shanghai, and in a long-continued effort to de-

stroy the industry of north China by a wholesale smuggling of mass-produced Japanese products across the Chinese frontier.

### Japan Moves toward the Conquest of China

The Chinese communists of the northwest provinces were rabidly anti-Japanese, both patriotically and ideologically. In 1936 they kidnaped Chiang Kai-shek and persuaded him to join them in a common front against Japan. The Japanese war lords now came to the conclusion that the time had arrived for the military conquest of China to get under way. An "anticomintern" pact with Germany and Italy might give the Russians food for thought. Great Britain's unconcern, so long as her possessions were not under direct attack, seemed assured. The United States, having promised the Philippines their independence, seemed to be withdrawing from the Far East. Shanghai was taken after a three months' siege, and the Japanese then seized all the principal coastal cities in Chinese hands as far south as Canton. Systematic occupation of north China followed, with the capture of the capital, Nanking. In 1937 representatives of the signatories of the Nine Power Pact, which had guaranteed China territorial integrity, met in Brussels to discuss the possibility of concerted action. None was taken. President Roosevelt instructed the American delegates not to commit our government to the use of force; none of the other governments represented was willing to embark on an Oriental venture while the European situation was so difficult.

Chinese nationalists proceeded to move their capital westward to Chungking, where they concentrated such industries as they were able to maintain. In giving ground, the Chinese generalissimo generally managed to preserve his armies intact, leaving to the advancing Japanese nothing but "scorched earth." Free China was thus able to fight on from its center in Chungking. Northward a motor highway was built to the Soviet border, connecting with the Siberian railway. Southward a road was built to the frontier of Burma, where a railway linked it with Rangoon. A third highway linked Chungking with French Indo-China. Thus was free China maintained and the war brought to something like a stalemate. By 1939 about one quarter of China, with half her population, was in more or less effective occupation by Japan. Already, however, the war had cost Japan a million lives and ten billion dollars in treasure. Worst of all, Japan seemed unable to bring her conquest to completion.

### Nazi Germany Begins to Arm

If Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 was the first step on the road to war, the second was taken in 1933 when Adolf Hitler withdrew Ger-

many from the World Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. The German voters were recorded as supporting this action by a majority of 92.2 per cent. The democratic world does not take dictator-directed plebiscites too seriously; but there seems no reason to doubt that Hitler's action was popular in Germany. Stresemann, Germany's liberal chancellor, had said in 1929: "If I myself have no army and cannot equip it, I must demand that the others disarm, so that we may meet on reasonable terms." And in reference to the Polish corridor he said, "No German government, from nationalist to communist, can ever recognize the eastern frontier." But Hitler was not to be satisfied with the recognition of German equality in arms and the rectification of a boundary. "We demand," he said, "the union of all Germans on the basis of the self-determination of peoples to form a great Germany." He stressed what he asserted to be a fact, that there were ten million Germans in Europe outside the Reich.

Even this was not all. With eighty million Germans united under the Nazi flag, the next objective must be to secure for them an adequate *Lebensraum*. To maintain themselves and their way of life against all possible attack, the Germans would need the minerals of the Ukraine, the wheat lands of Hungary and Rumania, the oil of the Caucasus, the steel mills of northern France, and free access to the sea through Holland and Belgium. All these demands may be found in Hitler's book *Mein Kampf*, which the whole world read but which few outside the Nazi party took seriously. Hitler, however, was not to be limited in his plans by any book, even his own. The world was to learn to its dismay that his objectives were without limit, and to secure his objectives Hitler had resolved on the unlimited use of force.

Our familiarity with the technique of mass production makes it easy to understand that the crucial step was not withdrawal from the League but the turning of German industry from civilian production to the output of planes, tanks and guns. The western democracies, in peril for their very existence, should not have delayed a like transformation of their economy by a single year. Just how swiftly German production was turned to armament was a carefully guarded secret, but in March, 1935, Hitler felt strong enough to announce universal military service as a national policy in clear defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. He had already begun to build a navy, but he was careful to announce that "the total tonnage of the German fleet would never exceed 35 per cent of the aggregate tonnage of the naval forces of members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." Germany's challenge to British naval supremacy had been a large factor in bringing on the First World War, and Hitler noted with satisfaction that the British made no official protest now of his open

violation of the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. The British sense of security was wholly without foundation, of course, for Hitler had abandoned pretensions to naval strength only because, in the view of his experts, the future would belong to the nation which first achieved air supremacy. Out of power and with scarcely any following, Winston Churchill clearly warned the British government and people against Hitler's real purpose: "We are the incredulous, indifferent children of centuries of security behind the shield wall of the Royal Navy, not yet able to wake up to the woefully transformed conditions of the modern world."

### Fascist Italy Moves on Ethiopia

Next to challenge the peace structure was Benito Mussolini, head of Fascist Italy. Fascist ideology practically precluded a policy of peace; Mussolini's loudly expressed contempt for liberal Italy made it certain that he would one day attempt to gain the empire which liberals had so ignominiously failed to win. Indeed, Roman walls had long been decked out with gigantic maps of the Roman Empire whose successor Fascist Italy arrogantly proclaimed itself to be. Moreover, with the settling down of the world depression, after 1931, the economic life of Italy, never on a secure foundation, took a turn for the worse. The budget was out of balance; imports continued to gain over exports; the lira began to fall. Mussolini had stabilized the lira in 1927, probably at too high a level; and he had taken a solemn oath, which he unluckily caused to be chiseled in stone, to defend the lira's level with his life. Evidently a diversion was essential.

The broad lines of Italian imperialism had long been clear: control of the Adriatic; strategic posts in the central Mediterranean, which meant bases in Sicily and a strong point on Pantelleria; a foothold in the Aegean; the development of Libya, Italy's north African province; and the extension of Italian holdings in east Africa. It was this last design which the Fascists decided to make a major project. They had long held Eritrea, along the Red Sea, and Italian Somaliland, fronting on the Indian Ocean. Neither coastal strip was of much importance without the hinterland, which was in each case the native African state of Abyssinia or Ethiopia. Control of this hinterland was no new object of Italian policy, but liberal Italy had been unceremoniously repulsed by King Menelik in 1896. (See p. 539.) To reverse this verdict, to win "revenge for Aduwa" would greatly redound to the prestige of the Fascist regime among the Italian people.

During the nineteenth century a large part of Africa had been annexed by the states of Europe without disturbing the peace of the world; in 1935 the conquest of the comparatively small land of Ethiopia was a

severe shock to world peace. There was, of course, a different climate of opinion in 1935, one favorable to the rule of law in international affairs and to the peaceful settlement of disputes. Then, too, Ethiopia had come up in the world. In 1917 Ras Tafari, the son of a nephew of King Menelik, became ruler of Ethiopia. He centralized the government, reducing provincial chiefs to a semblance of obedience, and Westernized the land, building roads and schools, importing foreign experts, and sending Ethiopian youth forth for education abroad. In 1923 Ethiopia joined the League of Nations, and in 1930 her progressive ruler was proclaimed emperor under the name of Haile Selassie I.

On October 3, 1935, in violation of the covenant of the League, of the Kellogg Pact, of her treaty with France and Britain (the Tripartite Pact of 1906), and of her own Treaty of Friendship and Arbitration with Ethiopia, signed in 1928, the troops of Fascist Italy crossed the border of Ethiopia from Eritrea. There had been a border incident (at Walwal), but it was pitifully inadequate to justify the attack. The controlled press of Italy sought to persuade Italians, and the world, that Ethiopia was backward and slave-ridden, manifestly in need of "civilization and liberation." This was merely adding hypocrisy to violence.

### The League Votes Sanctions

It seemed impossible to doubt that a member of the League had broken the covenant. Unlike Japan and Germany, Italy did not withdraw from the League. The covenant made explicit provision for just such a case in Article 16: League members were obliged to sever all trade or financial relations with the guilty party. Accordingly on November 18, 1935, the League voted fifty to four to impose economic sanctions on Italy. The Fascist Grand Council promptly made November 18 a "day of ignominy and iniquity," and ordered that on tablets of stone throughout Italy "the enormous injustice perpetrated against Italy, to which the civilization of all countries owes so much, may remain on record down the centuries." Mussolini called upon his people to stand firm in the face of this threat to their economic life, calling sanctions "a war of the people, . . . of the poor, the disinherited, the proletariat. Against us," he continued, "is ranged the front of conservatism, selfishness, and hypocrisy . . . . It is a test of our virility from which we shall certainly emerge victorious."

From the list of sanctions imposed on Italy one item had been omitted, although it was reserved for further discussion; this was "petroleum and the derivatives, by-products, and residues of petroleum." Mechanized war cannot be waged without petroleum, and Mussolini let it be known

that he would declare war on any government that added this item to the list. While the affirmative vote of the League included half a hundred states, everything depended on the attitude of two of them. France and Britain had been League members from the first; moreover, both had important interests in the Mediterranean. Joint action by their fleets could cut the line of communication between Italy and Ethiopia and end the war. There could be no doubt that the British public would back such a move. It so happened that in June, 1935, there were announced the results of a so-called "peace ballot" which various peace societies of Britain had carried through. One of the questions on the ballot, a sort of "glorified Gallup poll," was, "Do you consider that, if a nation insists on attacking another, other nations should combine to compel it to stop, (a) by economic sanctions and (b) by military measures, if necessary." More than eleven and a half million voters, about 40 per cent of the electorate, answered "Yes" to this question. No political leader could possibly ignore such a "mandate." At the League Assembly, when sanctions were discussed, the British foreign minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, declared that "the ideals enshrined in the covenant, and in particular the aspiration to establish the rule of law in international affairs . . . have become a part of our national conscience." However, he reminded his hearers, the burden of sanctions "must be borne collectively."

France, led by the pro-Italian Pierre Laval, was inclined to wait for England for enforcement of sanctions, especially when it came to adding oil to the list of prohibited items. Despite the strong emphasis of the peace ballot the British cabinet was temporizing. The cabinet did not doubt that Britain could defeat Italy, but there would be losses, especially naval losses. Could Britain afford to take such risks in view of the rising menace of Japan? In other words, was Ethiopia worth a major war? Returning to old-fashioned diplomacy, Sir Samuel agreed with Laval on a secret plan which would award slices of Ethiopia to Italy as "zones of economic expansion and settlement." Laval was pledged to secrecy until Mussolini, Haile Selassie, and the League could be consulted on the plan of settlement. Breaking his pledge, Laval published the plan, and the British government sustained such a blow to its prestige both at home and abroad that its continued advocacy of the rule of law in international affairs was greatly weakened.

### Conquest of Ethiopia Completed

Mussolini was the gainer by all this, and he pressed forward the Ethiopian campaign to a swift conclusion, pouring in tanks, planes, and guns by the thousands and troops by the hundreds of thousands. Despite some efforts at modernization, the Ethiopian army was vastly inferior;

even small-arms ammunition had to be severely rationed. The Fascists, however, did not hesitate to spray Ethiopian troops from the air with mustard gas. In May, just seven months after the war began, Mussolini announced that the conquest of Ethiopia was over. Haile Selassie took refuge on board a British warship, and the king of Italy was proclaimed emperor of Ethiopia. "We are ready to defend our victory with the same intrepid and inexorable resolve with which we won it," declared Il Duce.

### Germany, Italy, and Japan Sign a Pact

Diplomatically, the result of the victory of Mussolini was the close coordination thereafter of the policies of the Italian and German governments. Hitler extended the recognition of his government to the new "emperor of Ethiopia" in 1936. Fraternizing visits of state by Goebbels, Himmler, and Count Ciano followed; and in November, 1936, Mussolini publicly proclaimed the existence of a "vertical line between Rome and Berlin." This line, he continued, is "not a partition but rather an axis round which all European states animated by the will to collaboration and peace can also collaborate." Evidently any state which wished to remain on friendly terms with Germany and Italy would have to collaborate in the Axis manner, which meant that there was to be no rule of law in international affairs. A military pact between Germany and Italy pledged the two countries to "defend European civilization against communism." Before the year was out Japan joined in this Anticomintern Pact with its ideological basis.

### German Troops Enter the Rhineland

On March 7, 1936, when it was evident that sanctions were a failure and Mussolini was winning the Ethiopian war, German troops entered the demilitarized German Rhineland. Thus another section of the Treaty of Versailles went into the discard. In justifying this move, Hitler publicly branded the treaty as "a work of human shortsightedness and senseless passion, a historic example of how war ought not to be ended." The reoccupation of the Rhineland was in violation also of the Locarno Pacts. In their stead the German dictator proposed a new agreement setting up a new demilitarized zone, on the Franco-German frontier, of "any desired depth, provided only there is complete parity." This zone should be guaranteed, according to his proposal, by a pact to be signed, as were the Locarno Pacts, not only by Germany, France, and Belgium, but also by England and Italy. To make his action still more palatable, Hitler promised that the Rhineland would not be fortified, and he added the gratuitous pledge that he would continue to respect the independence of Austria.

Capping the climax, Hitler proposed, now the "full sovereignty" of Germany had been re-established, that Germany re-enter the League. He promised that Germany's first act would be to propose that war be humanized in the following respects: First, the dropping of bombs from airplanes should be confined to the combat zone, within range of artillery fire. Second, the bombardment with long-range guns of towns more than twenty kilometers from the combat zone should be prohibited. Third, the construction and use of heavy tanks should be prohibited. It is comforting to reflect that slow as were the western democracies to realize the essential menace of Hitlerism, they were not such dupes as to take his peaceful protestations seriously.

Five days after German troops marched into the Rhineland, the four remaining Locarno powers, France, Belgium, Italy, and Britain, met in Paris to consider the situation. The French premier demanded that German troops be withdrawn, threatening that if this were not done, France would withdraw from the League. In the end, resolutions were passed declaring Germany guilty of breaking the treaties of Versailles and Locarno, but there the matter rested. The British public was not greatly concerned; to break a treaty was deplorable, but it was difficult to deny to Germany forever the military occupation of her own soil, treaty or no treaty. Foreign Secretary Eden asked the German government whether it "now considers that a point has been reached at which she can signify that she considers and intends to respect the existing territorial and political status of Europe, except in so far as this might be subsequently modified by free negotiation and agreement?" No reply was made to this question, though this was probably because Hitler disliked its peremptory nature. The British government did not pursue the matter, Eden remarking to the House of Commons, "There is, I am thankful to say, no reason to suppose that the German action [in occupying the Rhineland] implies or threatens hostilities." France herself was in the throes of an unusually severe domestic crisis, and a few weeks later the pacific Blum led the Popular Front to victory at the polls. Italy was wholly absorbed in bringing to a conclusion her conquest of Ethiopia.

### Hitler Annexes Austria

Hitler's next major attack upon the Versailles system was his annexation of Austria. The brief history of this little republic had been one of ceaseless struggle against overwhelming difficulties. We have seen (p. 631) that in parceling out the territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the men of Versailles had limited Austria to an area which was, from the economic point of view, an absurdity. Vienna, the capital, with a third of



the country's inhabitants, had long depended for its food upon the rich lands of Bohemia and Moravia, and the peasants of Austria itself were quite unable to supply the wants of a great city. Politically, also, the Austrian Republic was unfortunately constituted. The overwhelming majority of the citizens of Vienna were Socialists, and economic stringencies spurred their leaders to action that was increasingly radical. The Austrian peasants, conservative and Catholic, grew more and more incensed at the antireligious, "communistic" course of the Viennese government. It was not long before both the Socialists and the Christian Socialists, the latter being the name of the peasant party, began to recruit private armies, the *Schutzbund* of the "Reds" being opposed by the *Heimwehr* of the "Blacks." Each force considerably exceeded in size the standing army authorized by the Treaty of St. Germain. Finally Chancellor Dollfuss, leader of the Christian Socialists, abandoned parliamentary methods and made war on the "Reds" of Vienna. He then set up (1934) a dictatorship on the Italian model, and through the brief years of remaining life, Austria was practically a protectorate of Italy.

The union of Austria and Germany had long been the hope, even the expectation, of practically every Austrian, Red or Black. The revolutionists of 1918, mostly Socialists, had declared that "German Austria forms an integral part of the German Republic." Austria had been a part of Germany from time immemorial; only during the brief period since Bismarck's triumph in 1867 had this not been the case. As we know, however, the Austrian republicans had been informed at Versailles that their hopes were vain; they must even drop the word "German" from the name of their republic. In formal protest the Socialist chancellor of Austria had declared: "No one can ever make us forget that we are Germans. It may be that an epoch of history is against us, but the tie of blood is stronger than a day of history."

With the rise of Hitler, however, many, perhaps most, Austrians put aside their dream of an *Anschluss*. Chancellor Dollfuss and his peasant followers were strongly averse to a regime which had dealt so severely with Catholics. The Austrian Socialists were even more strongly opposed to one who had locked up Socialist leaders in concentration camps. There was a small group of Austrian Nazis, but it was promptly and vigorously dealt with by Dollfuss once he had established his dictatorship. Spurred on by their German friends, however, a little band of Nazi assassins made their way into the Austrian chancellery in July, 1934, and cruelly murdered Dollfuss. This may have been intended as a signal for a rising of Austrian Nazis, to be followed by an invasion and seizure of the republic by the forces of Hitler. If so, the plan miscarried. One of Dollfuss' associates, Dr. Schuschnigg, quickly assumed control of the government, and

Mussolini made sure of Austria's stability by massing his army on the border. There was nothing left for Hitler to do at the time but deny that he had known anything of the plan of the Austrian Nazis, to say nothing of having had a hand in it.

Nevertheless the Republic of Austria was soon sacrificed on the altar of Axis solidarity. In the autumn of 1937 Mussolini paid Hitler a visit and informed him that Italy would no longer assist Austria in resisting invasion. In vain did Chancellor Schuschnigg seek to postpone the inevitable. As a last despairing measure he announced that a plebiscite on Austrian independence would be held on Sunday, March 13 (1938). Only men and women over twenty-four would be allowed to vote in the election, presumably because most Austrian Nazis were below that age. On March 12 Hitler ordered his troops across the border, and on the following day Austria was declared to be a state of the German Reich, being given its old name of Ostmark. Hitler then held a plebiscite of his own, and annexation was approved by 99.07 per cent of those who voted. To Mussolini, Hitler said, he would remain "eternally grateful."

### Dictatorship in Spain

In the meantime a "rehearsal" of the Second World War, which for some months seemed likely to develop into the real thing, took place in Spain. Conditions in Spain, after the First World War, were similar to the conditions in France on the eve of the French Revolution. The church held a highly privileged position, owning one third of the national wealth and having complete control over education. The affection of a large number of Spaniards for the church was dormant or dead. The land of Spain was held by magnates and cultivated by peasants, about 85 per cent of the latter being illiterate and living in misery. As day laborers, peasants received a wage of about twenty-eight cents; sharecroppers had a bare subsistence. Many peasants were still held to the payment of feudal dues. The Spanish army was an entirely professional one, its officers forming a caste and not infrequently intervening to influence or control national policy. Although no less than 30 per cent of the annual expenditure of the Spanish government was allocated to the army, it was far from being an efficient combat force. This was due in part to the inordinate number of officers with high salaries; there was one general for every hundred and fifty men. The Spanish government had long been parliamentary in form, but free elections were practically unknown. The bourgeois element in Spain was small, as it had been in Russia, and such reform measures as appeared were backed chiefly by the urban workers. The workers tended to be radical; Socialist, Communist, even Anarchist

groups were very active. To make things even more difficult, there was still much sectionalism in Spain. Catalonia was especially separate in feeling. This province lies on the French border, to the eastward, and linguistically and culturally stands midway between France and Spain. It was the most heavily industrialized area of Spain and its capital, Barcelona, was a hotbed of political and economic radicalism.

King Alfonso XIII was easygoing, friendly, and progressively inclined. The Spanish radicals, however, had long hated him because he lent himself to the perpetual frustration of genuinely free government. Their disorderly actions were held in check with increasing difficulty, when an event occurred which reduced the prestige of the crown to the vanishing point. This was the disastrous defeat of a Spanish army by the Riff tribes of Spanish Morocco. Despairing of halfway measures, the king in 1923 conferred dictatorial powers upon one of his leading officers, General Primo de Rivera. This energetic man gave Spain the most efficient government it had enjoyed for several decades. Schools were built; roads were improved; some progress was made toward financial solvency.

In many ways the regime of Rivera resembled that of Mussolini. The Spanish people were harder to control than the Italians, however, and possibly Rivera was less ruthless than his Italian counterpart. With the coming of world depression Rivera's regime collapsed. The Spanish dictator now resigned and fled the country. After experimenting with one or two other candidates, the king rashly resolved to tread once more in parliamentary paths and called for an election in the spring of 1931. Opposition elements made the most of the opportunity. "Every vote an arrow in the heart of monarchy" was their slogan. The result was a landslide for the radicals; a republic was proclaimed and the king fled the country. The world was thus afforded an illustration of a dictatorship that had failed.

### The Spanish Republic

The republican leaders worked rapidly. The property of the church was confiscated and its monopoly of education broken down; the Jesuit order was driven out. Large landed estates were to be divided up and distributed to the peasants. The army lost half its officers and was brought under civilian control. Monarchists, clericals, and propertied classes fought these measures at every turn. Millions of Spaniards rallied to the defense of their church. There seemed, in fact, a good prospect that the leadership of the Spanish Republic might pass to moderate, even conservative hands. Then came the election of February, 1936. With the encouragement of the Comintern, a Spanish Popular Front was organized

which included Liberals, Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists. They swept the field. When the new republican leadership showed itself to be vindictive as well as radical, extremists took the lead in the conservative parties. The farce of parliamentary methods was soon played out, and in July, 1936, a civil war began between Nationalists, as the conservatives were called, and Republicans which was destined to last three years.

### The Spanish Civil War

The civil war cost a million lives and left much of Spain a desert. In Barcelona the Anarchists were adherents of a philosophy of class murder, but prided themselves on "killing without hatred." The leader of the Nationalists, General Francisco Franco, whom propaganda and success built up into a kind of Spanish "Duce" (*Il Caudillo*), bombed civilians, also philosophically, deaf to the pleas of the civilized world. But the Spanish were not long left alone to kill each other. The newly formed anticommunist Axis promptly ranged itself on the side of Franco. Russia as promptly announced herself officially on the side of the Republicans. If the French and British democracies had come to as quick and decisive an ideological conclusion about the Spanish civil war and had lined up with Russia, the Second World War might have begun in the autumn of 1936.

### Intervention and Nonintervention

In France, also, a Popular Front government had taken office just before the outbreak of the Spanish civil war. Fascist groups had been increasingly active in French politics, and in self-defense Radicals, Socialists, and Communists had learned to work together. The French Popular Front was born on Bastille Day, 1935, which the three groups patriotically celebrated together. In May, 1936, they swept the polls and Léon Blum, Socialist, took office at the head of a coalition cabinet. (See p. 664.) He and his associates sympathized with the Spanish Republicans. To understand why they did not lend them their strength is to understand the weakness which ended in the fall of the French Republic four years later. For one thing, Fascist groups in France were so strong and so reckless that intervention in Spain might well have been followed by civil war in France. For another, French finances were in a state of chaos unusual even for France. Finally, French leaders were convinced that it would be insanity for France to intervene and thus very possibly precipitate war with the Axis without being sure of the help of England; Russian aid was discounted. Blum therefore looked to Britain; indeed, he made a special trip to London to get his cue.

Considerable sections of the British public favored intervention on the Republican side in Spain. Labor leaders clamored for it. Conservative leaders, on the other hand—and they headed a substantial majority in Parliament—were sharply anticommunist and traditionally suspicious of Russia. Neville Chamberlain, the Tory chief, did not hesitate to say that “Franco is our man.” As for the British masses, they had sunk into a “pacifist lethargy” after the failure of the League over Ethiopia. The result was that France and Britain organized a Nonintervention Committee of European states with the object of shutting off supplies of men and munitions to Spain from the outside. The intentions of the committee were of the best, its plans were admirable, but in performance it was completely futile.

All five major European powers were members of the committee, but only France and Britain made any pretense of observing its prohibitions. Russia sent the Spanish Republicans tanks and planes, while Italy and Germany sent the Nationalists not only tanks and planes and guns but troops by the tens of thousands. Mussolini made a protégé of Franco and pledged him the armed might of Fascist Italy, allowing him to make use of the veterans of the Ethiopian campaign just ended. It would be very helpful for Mussolini’s plan for a larger sphere in the Mediterranean to have a Fascist regime installed in Spain, possibly even in Gibraltar. German military leaders saw in the Spanish war an opportunity to try out their new weapons. Their bombing of the Basque city of Guernica was not so much a contribution to the success of the Nationalist cause in Spain as a convenient laboratory experiment for German planes and pilots. The Spanish Republicans fought hard, and in their ranks were thousands of individual volunteers from the western democracies. In May, 1939, however, General Franco was able to announce that the war was over. It was only after sharing in the great victory parade of the Nationalists through the streets of Madrid that the last of the Italian troops departed.

### The Collapse of Collective Security

In the meantime every state in Europe had begun to reconsider its situation and to make what arrangements it could. Belgium asked for freedom of action, and this was granted by her French ally. King Leopold and his advisers had come to the conclusion that Belgian security might better be maintained through a policy of strict neutrality, with no alliances with anyone. To defend their newly proclaimed neutrality, the Belgians floated a huge loan and built a “little Maginot line” along their German frontier. France’s allies in central Europe were also taking their leave of her. Poland proposed that France join her in a “preventive” war on Germany, and when this was refused, signed a nonaggression pact with her

dangerous neighbor on the west. Rumania and Yugoslavia also adopted policies markedly less pro-French if not as yet pro-Axis. Only Czechoslovakia remained true to its faith in collective security and its alliance with France. Behind its front of diplomatic activity each state was rapidly increasing its armament; in 1933 the world armament expenditure was five billion dollars, in 1938 seventeen billion.

### The Sudetenland

Hitler had declared that there were ten million Germans in Europe who must be reunited with the Fatherland. The seizure of Austria had reduced this total by about seven million. Most of the remainder lived in Czechoslovakia. Their ancestors had moved into the tree-clad mountains which fringe Bohemia on the west on the invitation of the Slavic kings of Bohemia in the later middle ages. (See p. 20.) In the German-owned factories Germans and Czechs had worked side by side before the First World War, when Bohemia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Not infrequently they had quarreled, and it was then necessary to place the two nationalities in separate workshops. At Versailles the Sudeten Germans became a minority group, a state of affairs long familiar to the Czechs. The cultural rights of the three million Germans were guaranteed by a minority treaty under the supervision of the League of Nations, but the Sudetens were not satisfied and they had made a spirited protest to the peace conference.

Actually, it was economic rather than political misfortune which was destined to overwhelm the German minority in Czechoslovakia. The dislocation of central Europe which was occasioned by the dismembering of the Austro-Hungarian Empire struck home in Sudetenland with peculiar force. Austria had been the principal outlet for its manufactures; Vienna was its banker. Of the whole number of unemployed in Czechoslovakia in the postwar years more than half lived in Sudetenland. Undernourished and idle, the Sudetens found much to complain of in the policies of the Czech government. They charged that in the distribution of odd jobs and relief the German population was discriminated against. They complained that Czech authorities, civil and military, were over-officious. That may well have been the case. For the first time in many centuries the Czech was "top dog." Unused to power, Czech officials found it difficult to govern a minority with moderation.

That the real and fancied grievances of the Sudetens were heartfelt is evident from the fact that their suicide rate was the highest in Europe. In reality, the Sudetens, like so many people throughout the world, were longing for the return of an age that was past. It is quite possible that they

would have settled down in time to an acceptance of a situation which, when readjustment had been achieved, would have been economically more tolerable. In fact, a mood of acceptance was in prospect when, in 1927, more than three quarters of the Sudetens voted to give the Czech patriot Thomas Masaryk a second term as president.

### The Munich Agreement

Then came the Nazi cry for a greater Germany, and it found a response in the hearts of many Sudeten Germans. An ex-gymnast named Konrad Henlein stepped forward to organize the movement among his fellows, working in close harmony with Hitler. Hitler's early victories contributed to the growth of Henlein's following. After the successful seizure of Austria, Henlein's party reached its greatest strength, with two thirds of the Sudetens under its banner. Henlein demanded for Sudetenland the status of autonomy within the Czechoslovak republic, though no one supposed that he would long be satisfied with this. During the summer of 1938 German propaganda in behalf of the Sudetens rose in shrill crescendo. Suddenly Hitler demanded that Sudetenland be ceded to Germany, and threatened to overwhelm the Czechs by superior force if they did not yield at once. The Czech government, be it said to its credit, remained calm under Hitler's shouted threats and warnings, its attitude conciliatory but firm. The Czech army, though comparatively small, was splendidly equipped. Czechoslovakia's western border was heavily fortified; its armament output was as great as that of Italy and some of its guns were the best in the world. On the other hand, German Silesia on the north and German Austria on the south held Bohemia as in a vise; it was not merely fortuitous that the seizure of Austria had preceded the assault on Czechoslovakia. Early in September, 1938, Hitler began to mobilize his forces on the Czech frontier, and tension neared the breaking point as Europe trembled on the brink of war. The Russians said they would aid the Czechs if France would, and France indicated that she would fulfill her treaty obligations to Czechoslovakia if she was supported by Great Britain. All three countries ordered partial mobilization.

The Tory leaders of Britain debated anxiously. Was minority-ridden Czechoslovakia worth a general war? Might it not be better to give Germany right of way in central Europe? Britain had no really vital interests there, and besides, German advance to the east might soon bring about a collision with Russia. This eventuality Chamberlain and his colleagues were prepared to accept with equanimity. Most important of all, it came over the British in a flash, as they stood on the brink of battle—and this was true of the French as well—that they were not prepared for war with

Germany. In their mind's eye they saw bombing planes by thousands poised for flight against their defenseless cities. With war a matter of days or even hours, as it seemed, Chamberlain flew to Germany and sought out Hitler in his mountain retreat at Berchtesgaden. There he persuaded Hitler to stay his hand, promising that at a conference to be held immediately the German areas of Czechoslovakia would be transferred to German sovereignty, in accordance with a schedule which called for a plebiscite in certain districts.

A few days later an agreement was drafted by Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, though negotiations were threatened with disaster at one point because Hitler had in the meantime increased his demands. The pact was made at Munich, September 29, 1938. It provided for the cession to Germany of about 11,500 square miles of territory with about three and a half million inhabitants. So insistent was Hitler that no German be left out that several hundred thousand Czechs were included in the ceded territory. Russia was not represented at the conference; Czechoslovakia was informed of decisions after they had been reached. France and Great Britain gave to the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia a rigid guarantee, and Germany and Italy agreed to join in this as soon as certain claims of Poland and Hungary against Czechoslovakia could be dealt with.

One thing that persuaded Chamberlain that the Munich award was worth what it cost, though the cynic might point out that it had cost Britain nothing, was Hitler's solemn assertion that Sudetenland represented his last territorial demand in Europe. Thus far Hitler's policy had been masked by an aspect of reasonableness. The military occupation of the German Rhineland was something that every German looked forward to. The union of Austria with Germany was not an historical anomaly, and most Austrians had favored it at one time or another. Even the annexation of Sudetenland might, under other circumstances, have been regarded as a not unacceptable solution of a vexatious problem. Up to this point it was not so much what Hitler did as the way he did it that violated acceptable standards. In a world that had renounced war as an instrument of national policy, Hitler deliberately employed it. If it be objected that none of his moves so far had necessitated the use of force, the words of Hitler himself are a sufficient reply. "If you wish to obtain your objectives by force," he said, "you must be strong. If you wish to obtain them by negotiation you must be stronger still."

### Hitler Takes the Rest of Czechoslovakia

First Japan, then Italy, and now Germany had had recourse to armed force or to pressure that was scarcely distinguishable from it. Every his-



toric national interest was thus placed in jeopardy; every hard-won right was menaced. The free way of life was threatened, for it is based on the rule of law. It had now become evident to the blindest and most stupid that no reliance could be placed upon Hitler's word. He had said that he would not fortify the Rhineland, but he promptly began to build the Siegfried Line. He had promised repeatedly that he would respect the independence of Austria. He now said that he would respect the independence of what was left of Czechoslovakia and that he had no further territorial ambitions in Europe. Ironically enough, Hitler had told the world long since what his technique would be when he got into power: "The shrewd victor will present his demands piecemeal. He can be sure that a people without character, and such will be any people that voluntarily submits, will see no reason for going to war over any one of his separate encroachments." One Englishman at least had read Hitler's book attentively and took it seriously. The day after the Munich agreement was signed, Winston Churchill said to the House of Commons, "We have suffered an unmitigated defeat. The utmost that has been gained is that the Nazi dictator instead of snatching the victuals from the table is content to have them served to him course by course."

As it happened, Hitler did not wait to be served the next course; he helped himself. Suddenly, on March 15, 1939, he summoned the president of Czechoslovakia to Berlin and forced him to place his people under the "protection" of the German Reich. On the same day German troops seized the Czech capital, and Hitler announced that Bohemia was thenceforth to be a protectorate of Germany, while Slovakia was to be an autonomous state under Germany's guidance. Hitler justified his seizure of Bohemia on the ground that it had belonged "for thousands of years to the *Lebensraum* of the German people." It was now clear to all that Hitler did not intend, and probably had never intended, to confine his territorial ambitions to strictly German areas.

### The Problem of Danzig and the Corridor

As though relieved to have done with dissimulation, the Nazi leader quickly abrogated his naval treaty with Great Britain and his nonaggression pact with Poland. He accompanied the latter action with a demand for the return of the city of Danzig and the right to build a highway through the Polish Corridor to East Prussia. The Poles felt sure that these demands were merely preliminary to the destruction of the Polish state, and they cast about for allies. In Britain's Chamberlain they found an active partisan. Bitterly undeceived in his hopes for peace, the prime minister energetically organized a "Stop Hitler" movement. In April,

1939, England adopted conscription; it was the first time in many centuries that military service had been made compulsory in time of peace. On Chamberlain's initiative Britain and France informed Poland in May, 1939, that they would come to her aid with all their force should Germany attack her. They gave similar assurances to Rumania, Greece, and Turkey. The Nazis affected to regard these moves as part of an encirclement policy. Meanwhile the Nazi press lashed the German public to a frenzy of anti-Polish feeling with stories of anti-German atrocities. The outside world was too accustomed to these outbursts of the German press to regard them as anything more than a barrage preliminary to attack. Chamberlain and Hitler then engaged in a desperate diplomatic battle for the friendship and if possible the alliance of Russia. On August 23 came the "diplomatic bombshell" which made a general war inevitable. Berlin announced the signing of a nonaggression treaty with Russia.

### Hitler's Pact with Russia

Why did Russia sign with the Nazis? We can best understand her action if we remember that Russian leaders are inclined to think exclusively of their own interests. In the face of the anticommunist bloc of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the Russians had turned to collective security. But the collective system had now broken down. Moreover, Axis ideology was pronouncedly anti-Russian. A Russian alliance with the two great democracies of France and Britain seemed to be indicated. Russia's observation of these democracies in action, in the Spanish, Austrian, and Czechoslovak crises was not encouraging, however. Indeed, it might well seem to Stalin that the dominant political group in Britain had at heart as little affection for the Russian system as Hitler and Mussolini openly professed to have. It might well be to Russia's ultimate advantage to allow the western powers to exhaust their resources in a total war. Their prostrate peoples might then turn to communism as a way of life. Furthermore, France and Britain had hesitated at one specific demand of Russia. In case of a war with Germany the Russians feared that the Germans would seize the ports of the Baltic states and thus bring attack from the sea to Russia's very doorstep. The Russians stipulated that Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania be included in the proposed pacts.

### The Attack on Poland

That Hitler should sign with the Russians might be deemed especially fantastic. Had he not risen to power in Germany on the crest of an anti-communist campaign? Was not Germany a member of the anticommunist

bloc? How, then, could Hitler's followers reconcile themselves to his sudden *volte-face*? Foreign observers spoke of the tremendous sense of relief with which the German public received the news of the Russian pact. It seemed to them that, with Russia eliminated, Great Britain and France would not fight, and that there would therefore be no general war. As so often before, their Führer appeared to have achieved a bloodless victory. If this is what they believed, they were swiftly undeceived. Staggered by the loss of Russia, Chamberlain announced that Great Britain and France would nonetheless support Poland with all their force should her government decide to resist Germany's demands. At the same time the British prime minister tried to make sure that Poland would keep the channel of negotiation open in a last effort to settle her differences with Germany peaceably.

Hitler had no intention of settling things by negotiation. He demanded that Poland send him a special envoy, within twenty-four hours, with full powers. Britain quite sensibly objected that this was too short notice and that in any event the Polish government would wish to study such proposals as their envoy was asked to sign. In the meantime ordinary diplomatic channels were available if Hitler really wished to negotiate. Hitler's response was to broadcast to his people a proposed settlement of the question of Danzig and the Corridor, so drafted that it would appear to Germans that Poland could not reasonably refuse it. The Polish envoy heard the proposals over the radio, but when he attempted to communicate them to his government in Warsaw, he found that communications had been cut off. Hitler then informed his people that having received no reply to his proposals of "unparalleled magnanimity" he had no alternative but war. This was September 1, 1939. Several hours earlier German bombs had fallen on Warsaw, and German troops crossed the Polish border later in the day. Britain and France promptly served an ultimatum on Germany: Hitler must withdraw his forces from Poland or they would declare war. This was merely "for the record." "Never can there have been or ever be," said Neville Henderson, Britain's representative in Berlin, "a case of more deliberate or carefully planned aggression." Hitler's troops raced toward Warsaw as France and Britain formally declared war.

## CHAPTER XLIV

### *The Second World War: Ascendancy of the Axis Powers*

WE ARE too close to the events of the Second World War to be able to see them in their true perspective; moreover, during its course many facts were withheld from the public for security reasons, and these as well as other important facts are not yet fully known. We can, however, trace the outlines of the major movements of the period and make a preliminary analysis of the principal factors involved; the high function of interpretation and judgment cannot be attempted.

Italy did not enter the war with her Axis partner, Mussolini preferring to remain on the sidelines for a time. Despite loud protestation of solidarity and periodic displays of mutual admiration, each dictator was looking out for himself. The spoliation of Czechoslovakia and the proposed "blitz" of Poland offered no obvious advantage to Italy. Besides, the Italian dictator had already manifested a disposition to take an independent line. While Hitler was absorbing Czechoslovakia, Mussolini established a base in the Balkans by seizing Albania (April, 1939), thus amending his sovereign's title to read "King of Italy and Albania and Emperor of Ethiopia." When Hitler's forces crossed the Polish border in September, 1939, therefore, Mussolini announced that for the present his country would not join her military forces with those of her powerful ally.

#### British Commonwealth of Nations Joins the War

The members of the British Commonwealth of Nations were prompt to range themselves at the side of Britain. In Australia and New Zealand it was not thought necessary to consult Parliament; the sentiment was unanimous. In Canada Parliament was consulted and, after a week's debate, voted overwhelmingly for war. Mr. Mackenzie King, Canadian prime minister, pledged that there would be no conscription for overseas service without a favorable vote of the Canadian people, and he assured the nation that the action taken by Canada was taken by a nation that was fully sovereign in every sense of the word. In South Africa the debate

was sharp and the vote close (80 to 67). Nationalist, pro-Boer Premier Hertzog resigned and was succeeded by the more cooperative Smuts. Eire remained neutral, an indication, perhaps, that she no longer considered herself a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Eire's refusal to allow Britain to use her ports and airfields was a heavy handicap in the war with the U-boats, but the loyalty of Northern Ireland made it possible to keep one seaway open to Britain.

The contribution of the dominions in fighting strength was not small in numbers and was great in valor. The famed Anzacs were last to be evacuated from Greece and Crete, and they spearheaded the assault at El Alamein. Canadians inscribed their fame imperishably at Dieppe; South Africans, at Tobruk. What was less to be expected was the rapid industrialization of Canada and Australia, enabling those lands to produce weapons and munitions in really substantial amounts. Canada also became the base for the training of the air forces of the empire. During the months and years when the Allies were unable to make use of the Mediterranean, the fact that the Union of South Africa was on their side made it possible for them to use in comparative safety the longer route around Africa.

### Conquest and Partition of Poland

The conquest of Poland, a nation of thirty-five million, took just three weeks. In control of East Prussia on the north and Czechoslovakia on the south, Germany held Poland in a vise and could pour her divisions across the frontier from half the points of the compass. Germany used seventy divisions, one quarter of them armored or motorized, in an all-out attack. The ground was dry and the sky clear; heavy rains might well have slowed the German attack, since Poland had few hard-surface roads. Poland had twenty-two divisions, none armored or motorized. The Poles fought with their customary valor and disregard for casualties. A decisive factor in the short campaign was German air supremacy. Clouds of planes bombed Polish airfields without warning and destroyed most of Poland's aircraft on the ground. Thereafter the German air force, the Luftwaffe, occupied itself with destroying Poland's communications system in an effort to disperse its armies and confuse their commanders. Leisure-hour occupation for the German aviators was the merciless bombing of Poland's cities. No European country can match Poland in wartime devastation.

Tragic finality came to the Polish campaign when Russian forces, unheralded, moved into Poland from the east in accordance, seemingly, with the Russo-German agreement of August 23. It was exactly five weeks later that, with Poland prostrate, von Ribbentrop, Hitler's minister for

foreign affairs, stepped out of a silver Condor plane at the Moscow airport. After a state banquet tendered by Stalin and a gala performance of Tchaikovsky's ballet, *Swan Lake*, German and Russian officials settled down to their task of effecting yet another partition of Poland. A line was drawn through Poland, generally straight, from East Prussia on the north to Hungary on the south. To Russia went somewhat more than half the land but somewhat less than half the population of Poland; much of the land now awarded to Russia had been under the Russian flag prior to 1921. The Russians promptly organized a Soviet Republic in their half of Poland and on November 1 admitted it to the U.S.S.R. The Polish clergy and other "objectionable" minorities were liquidated. Germany incorporated her share into the Reich, while setting aside part of it as a reserve for Poles and other non-Germans. "The swastika will fly over this land forever," it was announced. The more firmly to establish German rule, a systematic policy was pursued of executing or exiling all actual or potential Polish leaders, military, political, and cultural. This work was entrusted to the expert care of Heinrich Himmler, head of the Gestapo. There is a proverb to the effect that Poland can be swallowed but not digested, but the Russians and Germans did their best to prove the saying false.

### The Baltic States and Finland

Further fruits of the Russo-German agreement were now ripe for Russia's picking. Two days after von Ribbentrop came to Moscow, Russia demanded that Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania permit her to establish naval bases and airfields at strategic points along the Baltic coastline of those countries and on the adjacent islands. Russia assured the countries that there would be no impairment of their sovereign rights and that she would attempt no alteration of their governments. There seemed nothing to do but submit, and Russian armed forces, crossing over into the three countries, were soon in excess of the mobilized strength of the countries themselves. To complete her security belt along the Baltic, Russia then made demands on Finland. She asked for part of the Karelian Isthmus the better to secure the approaches to Leningrad; for a portion of the Petsamo area for the security of Murmansk; and for permission to build a naval base at Hangoe at the mouth of the Gulf of Finland. When Finland refused these demands, Russia declared war (November, 1939).

Finland, a country infinitesimally small compared with Russia, made a fight of it and beat off Russia's early attacks. She also appealed to the League of Nations: "Our position as the advanced guard of Western civilization gives us the right to expect active help from other civilized nations." The League, acting with unwonted promptness, branded Russia

the aggressor and on December 12 expelled her from its membership. The League also offered to "coordinate" any assistance which member states or others might choose to give to Finland. President Roosevelt, representing the largest power outside the League, officially condemned the action of the Soviet "dictatorship" in its invasion of "a democracy, and a liberal forward-looking democracy at that." The *New York Times* enquired editorially whether it would be "worth while for Stalin if he occupies and bolshevizes the whole of a bleeding Finland at the cost of the last shred of respect for Russia in the outside world."

In the end Finland was left to her fate. France and Britain mobilized a force of 100,000, but there was no way to bring it to Finland's support save across the territories of one or another of the Scandinavian states. These three states unitedly refused permission (February 25, 1940); their policy, they declared, was "absolute neutrality." In the meantime the Russian army in a revealing flash of latent power smashed the Finnish defenses with the overwhelming force of its artillery. A break-through followed and the war ended. The Treaty of Moscow (March 12, 1940) gave Russia what she originally demanded and an extension of the Karelian Isthmus cession to include Viborg, second largest city of Finland. This area was promptly reorganized and admitted to the U.S.S.R. as the "Karelian-Finnish Socialist Federated Soviet Republic."

### Six Months' Quiet on the Western Front

France and Britain were still on the side lines. The French were obsessed by what may be called a "Maginot mentality." The Maginot Line, a belt of defensive works from ten to fifty miles wide, had been built in the peace years from the Swiss border northwestward to Montmédy, where the French border begins to march with the Belgian. Lavishly equipped, this line, which cost \$2,000,000 per mile, was deemed impregnable. With picked troops at their posts and mobile armies strategically stationed in the rear, France, it was believed, could withstand the assaults of the Teutonic hordes forever. The concept of an impregnable defense sprang partly from the terrible wastage of French man power in the First World War. "We are conducting this war," said a French general in September, 1939, "not with economy, but with avarice so far as human lives are concerned." The French went to war in 1939 without enthusiasm; their attitude was, "Let's get it over."

Leading British military experts also believed in the thesis of the insuperable defense. Since neither side could knock the other out in the field of battle, this war would be, they affirmed, primarily an economic war, "the first major conflict in the world's history of mobilized indus-



#### NATIONALIST FORCES ENTER MADRID

After a two-year siege, Madrid was surrendered by the Spanish republicans to the forces of General Franco, May, 1939. (Acme)



#### CHINA APPEALS TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

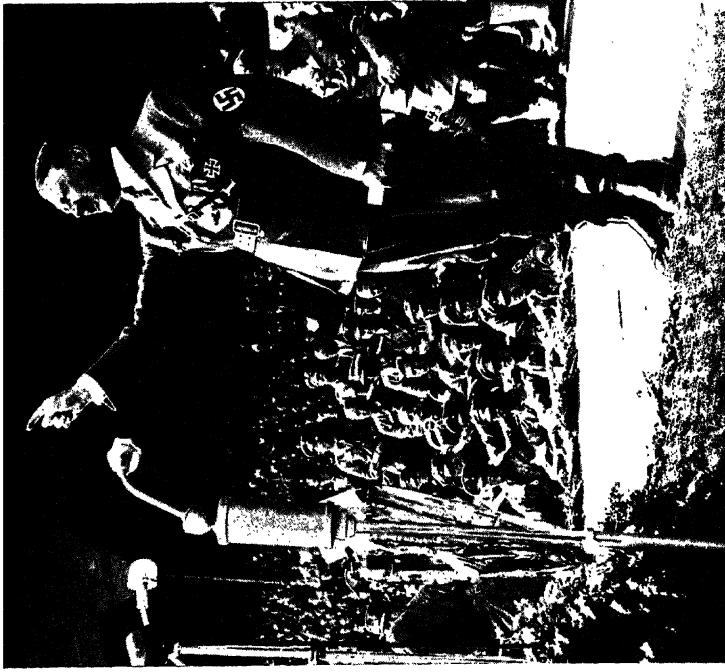
This mass demonstration took place in Canton, October, 1938. Article 17 of the Covenant of the League provided for the imposing of sanctions on aggressor states. (Acme)





#### YOUNG FASCISTS IN ITALY

In school, on the playground, and in camps the Fascists tried to mold Italian youth in their own likeness, often turning children against their own parents.  
(Philip Gendreau)



#### ADOLF HITLER

His one undoubted ability was that of holding spellbound an audience of German partisans. (World Wide Photo)

trial power." In such a war the Allies had an immense advantage, it was felt. It could be a war of "limited liability," a war almost of economic sanctions, cheap in human lives. When Germany launched her attack on Poland, the British attempted to cut off all trade with Germany by sea, and even to limit her trade with the outside world through European neutrals. Chamberlain included a "minister of economic warfare" in his cabinet. Churchill at this time took charge of the British navy. The French, to make a diversion, moved forward from their lines to occupy a few square miles of German territory, but with the swift ending of the Polish war, they retired again to their strong points.

There followed, so far as Germany, France, and England were concerned, a period of relative inaction. The *Blitzkrieg* was followed by a *Sitzkrieg*. Hitler even professed to believe that the war was over and in October, 1939, proposed to make peace. He said nothing about disgorging his ill-gotten gains, however. When the Allies failed to respond to his overture, the Nazi leader warned them that Europe faced a blood bath. "Let them who consider war to be the better solution reject my outstretched hand." The quiet period was prolonged through six months, both sides showing a marked disinclination even to bomb each other's cities. American journalists, by unhappy inspiration, dubbed this ominous interval the "phoney war." Statesmen and strategists displayed no more prescience than the journalists. Chamberlain and Reynaud, respective heads of Britain and France, issued statements indicative of supreme confidence. A member of the British General Staff said, "Frankly, we would welcome an attack by Hitler." Public interest in the war was kept alive by the news that a German submarine had made its way through concentric rings of defense to sink a British battleship, the "Royal Oak," at anchor. The "Graf Spee," a pocket battleship, heavily armed and fast, which had sunk nine British merchant ships, was cornered at last and disabled by three British cruisers. Putting into Montevideo for repairs, it was scuttled on orders from Berlin, and this boat, which had cost millions, was sold to a junk dealer for \$4000. Her captain committed suicide.

### The Blitz of Norway

The "bore" war was ended with dramatic suddenness early in April, 1940, when Germany seized the ports of Norway. From the first the Germans had been using the territorial waters of Norway as an escape exit from the British blockade, screening their ships behind the fringe of islands off the Norwegian coast. The most important item of commerce which thus escaped the British net was the high-grade iron ore of Sweden, vital to Germany's war production. The British had made frequent protests to

the government of Norway, which asserted that it was doing its utmost to preserve its neutrality. On April 8, in furtherance of its purpose to close the gap in the blockade, Britain gave formal notification that she had mined Norway's coastal waters in three defined areas. The German seizure of Norway's ports—Oslo, Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim, and Narvik—followed on April 9. This move had been set on foot some time before, obviously, for some of these ports are hundreds of miles from the ports of embarkation of the forces that took them over. To provide a base of operations for the forces which must now reduce Norway to submission, the German army occupied Denmark. This took but a single day, for Denmark had, some years before, acted upon the logic of her situation and dismantled her military and naval establishments. A minimum of force was used in the taking over of Denmark, and the five-year period of occupation which followed was a time of comparative quiet. Indeed, Denmark came out of the war with her cities undamaged and her people on a full diet.

Since the path from Germany to Norway lay through the waters of the Kattegat and across the Skagerrak, the British navy immediately sought to cut the German line of communication. But British ships of war were bombed unmercifully by land-based planes, and the British navy drew back nursing its wounds and reflecting on the sharp lesson it had received. Having something still to learn about air power, the British landed substantial forces at some of the secondary ports of Norway, hoping to make contact with the fighting Norwegians. These ports were without facilities for disembarking tanks and heavy guns, including anti-aircraft guns, and when the British attempted to improvise the necessary installations, German planes destroyed them. Only at Narvik, far to the north, was any lengthy foothold maintained. In three weeks the Norwegian campaign was over and the Norwegian king an exile in London. Some aid, though not much, was given the Germans by a party of Norwegian Nazis led by Major Vidkun Quisling, whose name as a byword will live in infamy.

By seizing Norway the Germans had made more secure their exit from the British blockade; also, Norway-based U-boats were much closer to British naval bases in Scotland and the Orkney Islands. In the light of the later course of the war, however, it would seem that the expenditure of time and effort in the Norway venture was of doubtful value to Germany. At any rate, Hitler now turned in another direction and on the night of May 9-10 made his assault on Holland and Belgium. These small countries were to be stepping stones to France and Britain as Denmark had been to Norway. Conscious that he was taking his fate, and that of Germany, in his hands, Hitler thus addressed his men: "Soldiers

of the western front, your hour has come! The fight which begins today will determine Germany's future for the next thousand years." The rhetoric of Hitler has become the verdict of history.

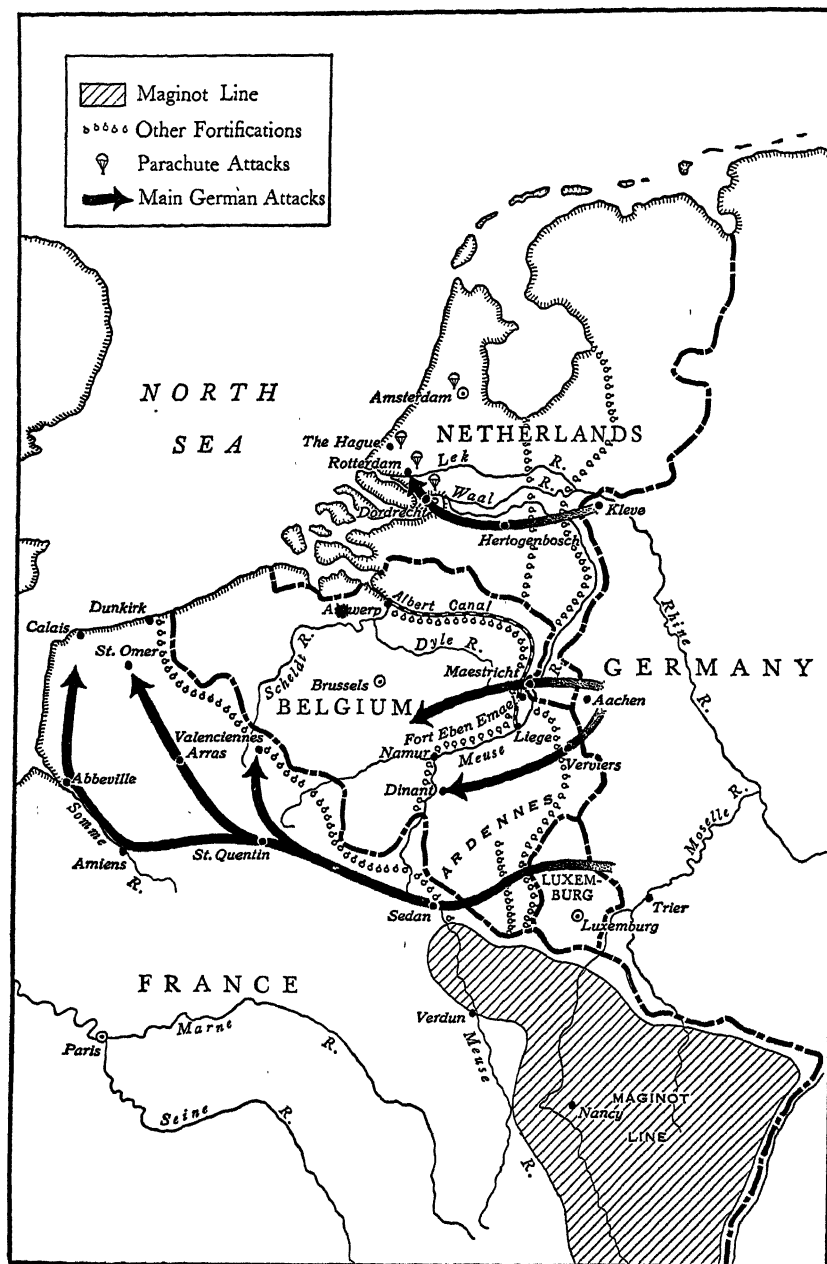
### Holland and Belgium Erased

The Dutch and Belgians strove valiantly but vainly to transform stepping stones into stumbling blocks. Their armies were of 400,000 and 800,000 respectively, and their military leaders, foreseeing the event, had coordinated plans of defense. Weakness in the air was fatal to Holland; German parachutists hurdled her defenses, seizing strong points from the rear. Rotterdam was given a savage bombing, the heart of the city being destroyed from the air in two hours with thousands of civilian casualties. This atrocity, with the promise of more, disposed the Dutch to submit; Holland had been blitzed in five days. Her queen fled to London.

Belgium lasted longer. Her defenses were strong; indeed, the line of the Meuse River and the Albert Canal was regarded by the French as a sufficient continuation, though on Belgian soil, of the Maginot Line. It had long been understood that if Belgium were attacked France would promptly come to her aid, and within two hours French and British troops did cross the frontier and move forward, some seventy miles, to the support of the embattled Belgians. This move was logical, militarily speaking, but proved to be fatal. The Germans aimed a "moving wall of steel" at a weak point in the Belgian line, between Belgian Namur and French Sedan, and broke through on a sixty-mile front. With dive bombers and mobile artillery to blast a way for their tanks the Germans exploited the break-through swiftly. They called their technique *Schwerpunkt und Aufrollen* (break-through and fan-out). The spearhead of their attack was a number of "panzer" divisions, each of 11,000 men with 450 tanks and 3000 other armored vehicles. Closely following the panzers were divisions of motorized infantry. Cities were bombed to force civilians from their homes. Within two weeks after May 9 there were, it was estimated, three million Dutch, Belgian, and French refugees clogging the highways of northern France. Strong points were by-passed; whole armies, isolated, saw no fighting at all.

### The Miracle of Dunkirk

The main German advance was directed toward Paris, but strong armored columns were sent racing for the Channel to cut off the Allied forces on Belgian soil. When the French armies to the south failed to sever the German corridor of steel and provide an avenue of escape, the



THE INVASION OF THE LOW COUNTRIES AND FRANCE

### *Ascendancy of the Axis Powers*

British authorities ordered a retirement of their forces to the Belgian coast for evacuation. On May 28 King Leopold of Belgium ordered unconditional surrender of his armies. Many Belgian leaders repudiated this action and fled to London, there to organize a government of resistance. At Dunkirk, on the Belgian coast, a quarter of a million British soldiers, with half as many French, were safely disembarked for England under a curtain of fire from the British navy and not a little help from the air. This was indeed a "miracle of deliverance," as Churchill said. "But," he added, "wars are not won by evacuations."

Winston Churchill became Britain's prime minister May 10, 1940, the morning of the invasion of Holland. It was the debacle of Norway, however, that had forced Chamberlain out. Not only had his policy of appeasing Hitler failed; Chamberlain had fatally underestimated the military strength of the Nazis, optimistically exclaiming, on the news of the attack on Norway, that Hitler had "missed the bus." English leaders of all parties turned to the one man of political prominence who from the first had both truly discerned and tirelessly proclaimed the sinister nature and deadly strength of Nazi Germany. In a mood of utter realism the new prime minister told his cabinet colleagues, Tory, Liberal, and Labor, that he had nothing to offer them but "blood, toil, tears, and sweat." Their policy, he said, would be "to wage war, by sea, land, and air, with all our might and all the strength that God can give us, and wage war against a monstrous tyranny never surpassed in the dark and lamentable catalogue of human crime."

### **The Fall of France**

Not only were the French unable to cut the corridor of German retreat and come to the rescue of the Allied forces in Belgium; they were unable even to defend the soil of France. So overwhelming and so swift was the German advance that French forces found it impossible to form a line either on the Seine or the Loire. Two weeks after the collapse of Belgium the French surrendered Paris without firing a shot, having judged that such heroism as that of 1870-71 would be, under the present circumstances, completely futile. The French government had already fled to Bordeaux where, on June 17, it pleaded for an armistice. Hitler decided that the armistice must be signed at Compiègne in the very dining hall which had been the scene of the famous armistice of November 11, 1918. His terms (June 22) were: German occupation of the whole industrial area of France and her entire Atlantic coastline; the detention in Germany of two million French soldiers taken prisoners in the recent campaign; the demobilizing of the remaining French forces, the surrender

their weapons, and the dismantling of all fortifications; and finally, the assembling and internment of all French ships of war.

What were the reasons for the fall of France? Probably no Continental country could have withstood alone the whole weight of German attack. France certainly could not. Her man power and material resources, depleted from the First World War, had never risen to their former level. Moreover, the twenty years of peace had been a time of political instability, precluding any sustained attempt to mobilize her potential strength for an all-out war. In air power particularly the French record was bad. The only really satisfactory building program had been set on foot in 1934; by 1940 these planes had become obsolete and French production of new models had fallen to one tenth of the German output.

The surrender of France had been preceded by the collapse of the Third Republic, and the armistice had been asked for and signed by a new regime, to which has been given the name of "Vichy" from its capital in "Unoccupied France." The head of the government was Marshal Henri Pétain, hero of the First World War. Pétain's authority became that of a dictator when both the French president (Lebrun) and the Chamber of Deputies resigned their authority to him, though the latter, led by their president, M. Herriot, did not give up without a struggle. Only one political party was permitted. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," were replaced by "Labor, Family, Fatherland" as the watchwords of the Vichy government. If all this sounds like a somewhat slavish and calculated imitation of the Nazi regime, it will be well to recall that there has always been a definite authoritarian strain in French political life. Pétain is as truly French as Charles X, Napoleon III, and Boulanger. Furthermore, the Vichy regime was supported by all those Frenchmen, and there were many of them, who were convinced that the defeat of England would quickly follow that of France and that through a long future they must live in a Europe dominated by the Nazis. French collaboration was further assured by the two million prisoners held by Hitler as hostages.

### Italy Enters the War

During those early weeks of June when the fall of France seemed imminent, Mussolini was greedily watching his chance to claim a share of the spoils of war without having to fight for them—like a hyena, as Churchill said. Ranking members of the German High Command told their captors, at the end of the war, that Italy's declaration of war was "contrary to her agreement with Germany." Throughout the war, indeed, Italy so far from being an asset to Germany was, they said, a "source of economic attrition." Judging the moment opportune, Mussolini de-

clared war on France on June 10. From his balcony the Italian dictator shouted invectives against the "stinking corpse of democracy," and loudly proclaimed that the war was "a conflict of poor numerous peoples who labor against the plutocrats who cling to a monopoly of all the riches and all the gold on earth." President Roosevelt branded Italy's act a "stab in the back," adding, "we send forward our prayers and our hopes to those beyond the seas who are maintaining with magnificent valor their battle for freedom."

With French, Belgian, and Dutch industries under German control and millions of slave laborers available, German war production was enormously extended. France had early agreed with England not to make a separate peace; the two to pool their resources, not counting or keeping account of the cost. Churchill had fought hard to hold the French to their agreement, and now that he had failed he tried at least to salvage the French fleet. The most important units of the fleet were at Oran in French Algeria, but the terms of the armistice called for their assemblage and internment in home ports. The German government promised "not to use the French fleet for its purposes in war," but the British, in their calculations, chose to disregard this pledge. Having failed to persuade the Vichy government to keep the fleet out of German reach, the British came to the "painful" decision to take effective means of their own to do so and, on July 3, attacked the French ships at Oran. Only one battleship, with a few smaller craft, escaped.

Though France was now officially at peace, a few French leaders escaped to London and there established a Free French Committee under the leadership of General Charles de Gaulle. De Gaulle had long been known for his advocacy of a more complete mechanization of the French army, and in the last cabinet before the fall of France (May, 1940) he had been awarded the post of under secretary of war. The Free French Committee sought, among its other objectives, to detach the French overseas empire from its allegiance to Vichy, though with little initial success. Algeria, Tunisia, Syria, and Indo-China stood firm for Vichy.

### Germany Begins the Battle of Britain

From France to Norway a vast crescent of ports and airfields now in German hands menaced Great Britain with attacks by land, sea, and air. Britain stood alone, in early July, 1940, and was practically unarmed. So complete had been the loss of heavy arms and equipment at Dunkirk that there remained enough for one division only. The British worked, men and women, without rest or pause as no people, perhaps, has ever worked. The anti-aircraft guns and the Spitfires, however, that were to be their



salvation did not begin to come off the assembly lines in quantity until early August. Britain was weaponless but not voiceless. "Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duty," said Churchill, "and so bear ourselves that if the British Commonwealth and Empire last for a thousand years men will still say 'This was their finest hour.'"

The German High Command had expected that with the fall of France England would withdraw from the war. "I can see no reason," said Hitler in the course of an hour and thirty-five minute speech to the Reichstag, "why this war must go on. I am grieved to think of the sacrifices it will claim." He invited Britain to proffer terms of peace. England's determination to fight on, together with the unexpectedly swift collapse of France, caught the German High Command off its guard. It was ten days after the French armistice before orders were issued to prepare for the invasion of England. Five weeks later, on August 8, the "battle of Britain" was opened when Germany launched the first of a series of massive daylight air raids.

For twelve weeks the air blitz continued. The German planes were not first-class bombers; German aircraft production had been directed mostly toward support for ground troops. The British Spitfire, on the contrary, was the latest model of fighter plane and, for the moment, the world's best. More than two thousand German planes were shot down, 185 in a single day. These losses to the bombing arm of the German air force proved to be irreparable. Three hundred and seventy-five English pilots were killed. "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." The projected invasion never took place. Their army was ready, the Germans say, but the preparatory bombing had not been sufficiently decisive. Moreover, German shipping was inadequate in amount and not sufficiently specialized in character, and British naval strength was very formidable. Britain not only defended herself by air; she opened a counterattack, bombing the Ruhr, the Rhineland, and the French and Belgian "invasion bases." On August 25, 1940, Berlin had its first experience of enemy bombs. In November, 1940, the Germans discontinued their daylight attack on Britain and proceeded to a more leisurely, and more indiscriminate, night bombing of British cities.

### Italian Moves in North Africa and Greece

While Hitler was fighting the battle of Britain, Mussolini was busy on projects of his own. Taking advantage of the fall of France, Italian forces in Ethiopia pinched out the French colony in Somaliland and took over the port of Jibuti. British Somaliland was also occupied, and Italian forces, turning to the west, crossed into the Sudan, whence they could follow

down the Nile into Egypt. Meanwhile, an Italian army in Libya, released from pressure from French Tunisia, turned eastward for an all-out attack on Egypt. Marshal Graziani had a quarter of a million men under his command and carried marble tablets upon which were inscribed, in anticipation, the record of Italian victories. Meanwhile, an Italian army from its Albanian base invaded Greece. Mussolini dreamed, perhaps, of turning the eastern Mediterranean into an Italian lake.

British forces in the Near East were not caught napping. From the Sudan, from Kenya, and from the Union of South Africa, strong columns, well led, not only recovered the ground lost in east Africa but actually wiped out all Italian forces there. In April of the next year (1941), the British entered Addis Ababa, brought the Italian Empire of Ethiopia to an end, and restored Haile Selassie to his throne. Even more spectacular, though less conclusive, was the British campaign in north Africa. Graziani's troops had entered Egypt, advancing as far as Sidi Barani, when they were counterattacked by British troops, among which were many from Australia and New Zealand. In two months, beginning December 9, 1940, General Wavell completely routed the Italians, driving them back four hundred miles and taking the stronghold of Tobruk and the port of Benghazi. Wavell also took 150,000 prisoners; his own casualties, in an army one quarter the size of the Italian, were less than 2000. Meanwhile the British fleet gained the upper hand in the eastern Mediterranean when it pressed home an attack on the Italian fleet in harbor at Taranto, knocking out half its capital ships with torpedo planes.

The Italian army had shown a sad lack of efficiency in Africa, but its performance in Europe was even worse. The Greek defenders were far fewer than the 200,000 invading Italians, but they were finely led by General Metaxas, and their morale was very high. The British gave them considerable assistance in the air from bases in Crete. By December, 1940, the Italians were back in Albania again, close beset by the triumphant Greeks.

### Germany Overruns the Balkans

In the spring of 1941 Hitler came powerfully to the aid of his Axis partner, though it was not so much his intention to help Mussolini as to help himself. German economists had long held that Germany's need of foodstuffs for her people and of raw materials for her factories could be supplied almost completely by southeastern Europe. For five years before the outbreak of war the Nazis had actively pressed for a realization of this objective. Through barter agreements the various governments in the Balkans were persuaded to exchange their products, at relatively high prices, for the products of German factories, especially machines of

agriculture and war. By 1938 Germany had increased her Balkan trade by 50 per cent; to put it in another way, one quarter of all Balkan trade was with Germany.

Balkan leaders were not too happy over this state of affairs. For one thing, economic dependence on Germany might preclude future developments more in accord with the welfare of the Balkan peoples, such as, for example, a change from the growing of grain to fruit raising and dairy farming, which would give fuller and more profitable employment to the peasant population. Again, there was a sharp suspicion that economic subordination to Germany might lead to political subordination. For a while the Balkan states had displayed a refreshing spirit of isolation from the affairs of western Europe, entering into a Balkan Pact, in 1934, mutually guaranteeing each other's frontiers, a pact which was renewed and extended in 1938. But unfortunately there was little these states could do to resist the steadily increasing political pressure of the Nazis. In Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, parties were formed of those favorable to cooperation with the German Reich. The Mediterranean states of Greece and Turkey, on the other hand, sought shelter in pacts with Britain.

After the collapse of France the pressure on the Balkan states became decisive. Rumania was the first to yield, becoming, in October, 1940, practically a Nazi outpost. Some thousands of German troops entered the country. Hungary signed a pact with Hitler early in 1941. On March 1, 1941, Bulgaria followed suit, quickly becoming a German military base. In Yugoslavia Prince Paul, regent for young King Peter, saw the handwriting on the wall and after a trip to Berchtesgaden joined the Axis. Yugoslav patriots rose in rebellion, however, and established Peter on the throne without a regent and with an anti-Axis cabinet. On April 5, 1941, the new government signed a treaty of friendship with Russia. Twenty-four hours later Germany invaded Yugoslavia, and from its base in Bulgaria attacked Greece. Economic penetration of the Balkans was to be consolidated by military conquest.

It took only ten days for German forces to overrun Yugoslavia. Greece held out a week longer, partly because Britain sent 60,000 men to her aid, veterans of Wavell's Libyan campaign. On April 23, however, the Greeks, their prime minister a suicide, surrendered, and the British forces, chiefly Anzacs, were evacuated to Crete, where King George of Greece had established his government. After a brief pause to establish themselves on Greek airfields, the Nazis conquered Crete in twelve days of desperate fighting (May, 1941), the remnant of British forces being evacuated to Egypt. Hitler then completed his coordination of the Balkans and prepared the way for future advance, perhaps, by signing a

friendship pact with Turkey, Axis ships being given free passage through the Straits into the Black Sea.

With the most formidable army and air force in history at his disposal, and after a succession of victories the swiftest and most decisive in modern times to give exaltation to his mood, Hitler, in June, 1941, may well have looked about him for more worlds to conquer. By force or "negotiation" he had subjected fourteen countries to his authority, with a population in excess of 100,000,000. It might seem to the German leader that his next move should be to overrun the lands of the eastern Mediterranean. One arm of a pincers movement would stretch from the Balkans through Turkey into Syria, Iraq, and Persia. The other, from a base in Italian Libya, would reach through Egypt to Suez and beyond. The richest oil reserves in the world would then be in Germany's possession, and the British Empire would be dealt a blow that would bring it to terms. The Libyan base had been built up during the early months of 1941 by the formation of an Afrika Korps under General Rommel. Rommel's forces were supplied with plenty of tanks, guns, and planes. Taking advantage of Wavell's dispatch of his best troops to Greece, Rommel had already driven the British out of Libya faster than they had advanced, leaving Tobruk as an isolated outpost in their hands. Hitler's decision, however, a decision as fateful as any in his ill-fated history, was to attack Russia.

### Hitler Decides to Attack Russia

The pact of August, 1939, between Germany and Russia was strictly a "marriage of convenience." Hitler's anticommunist views were well known. "The present rulers of Russia," he had written in *Mein Kampf*, "are common blood-stained criminals . . . the scum of humanity. One does not conclude a treaty with someone whose sole interest is the destruction of his partner." Nor did Stalin and his associates love the Nazis after the pact any more than they had before. Russia still stood alone and acted alone. Taking advantage of the German blitz of Poland, she built up her Baltic defenses. (See p. 749.) While the Germans were overrunning France, Russia forced Rumania to yield Bessarabia, taken from Russia in 1918, and northern Bukovina. Thus, with her Polish annexations in the center, Russia now had a continuous belt of buffer provinces more than a thousand miles long. In acquiring these lands Russia had paid little attention, apparently, to the wishes of the 25,000,000 inhabitants involved and none to the opinion of the outside world. The government of the United States officially denounced Russia's "agreements" with Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, charging that the independence of these three countries had been "deliberately annihilated."

Russia planned to stand aloof from the struggle between the Axis powers and the democracies, but Hitler planned differently. He had made large conquests; it remained to consolidate his gains. Against him was the heavy mortgage of British irreconcilability. Night bombing was too indiscriminate to smash British war production, though it did curtail it. In any event, the limitless productive capacity of America had just been placed, regardless of monetary considerations, at Britain's disposal through the enactment of "Lend-Lease" (March, 1941). The U-boat campaign, after a promising beginning, seemed to be on the wane. In a desperate effort to break through the Atlantic bridge of ships, Hitler unleashed the "Bismarck," Germany's most powerful battleship, but this great ship was hunted down by planes and sunk by British guns. Evidently Germany must dig in for a long hard struggle; she must enlarge her *Lebensraum* through the economic and political coordination of Russia.

This had long been in Hitler's thought. In 1936 he had said, "If the Urals with their immense treasures of raw material, Siberia with its rich forests, and the Ukraine with its limitless grain fields were to lie in Germany, this country under National Socialism would swim in plenty. Every single German would have more than enough." With Russia won, the Middle East and even India would be only half a step away. The German High Command had been overruled by Hitler so often, and his unorthodox methods had met with such uniform success, that it made no protest at the decision to invade Russia. On May 10, 1941, Rudolf Hess, deputy Führer, flew to England, presumably to discover whether the impending attack on Russia might be preceded by an anticommunist pact between Germany and Britain, assuring the latter's neutrality.

### Invasion of Russia

The invasion began June 22, 1941. Germany used no fewer than 180 army divisions, twenty of them armored. Finnish, Hungarian, and Rumanian forces were also made use of along a line that extended for almost a thousand miles. In one week the Germans overran the whole of the defensive belt which Russia had taken two years to establish. Pressing forward steadily in all sectors, they were within thirty miles of Moscow early in December, 1941. On the north they had surrounded Leningrad; on the south they had taken Rostov on the Don, gateway to the Caucasus. The depth of their advance averaged six hundred miles. German leaders triumphantly proclaimed that Russian resistance was broken, though this was far from true. Accepting the necessity for retreat, the Russians deliberately tried to kill as many Germans as possible in the process and

leave the countryside empty of provisions and bare of shelter. No previous opponent of the Germans had shown the Spartan spirit which a scorched earth calls for. (See map, p. 778.)

Fortunately the loss of so much territory and so many factories had not seriously affected Russia's ability to make war. Other factories remained, farther east, and whole factories with their workers had been withdrawn before the German advance. Then, too, Britain had promptly taken her stand at Russia's side and had begun to send her the products of her own war factories. After December 7, 1941, America also was at war with Germany and heartily supported the Russians with the sinews of war. Getting British and American supplies to Murmansk past the U-boats was a hazardous business, however, and a safer though longer route was found by rail through Persia from the Persian Gulf. The pro-Nazi shah of Persia was deposed and British and Russian troops moved in to safeguard this line of communication (August, 1941). Finally, winter came to the aid of the Russians, one of the coldest on record. Better equipped than the Germans both temperamentally and physically for winter campaigning, the Russians achieved very creditable results before the spring thaw of 1942. Leningrad's heroic population had been supplied across the ice of Lake Ladoga, the pressure on Moscow sensibly relieved, and the southern front pushed back all the way from Rostov to Kharkov in the Ukraine. However, the Germans still held key positions all along the front from which to launch attacks which, in the summer of 1942, might well prove to be conclusive.

### America's Approach to War

Not only had Hitler involved himself with Russia; six months after that attack was launched he was at war with the United States. After the First World War, and during the twenty years of peace, America's thought was, "Never again." When the world seemed once more to be trending toward war, therefore, we sought to make assurance doubly sure by enacting a special Neutrality Act (1935; amended, 1937). This provided for an embargo on the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to all nations at war; nor might such nations borrow from the United States. Furthermore, American ships must not carry arms to belligerents nor might American citizens travel on the ships of belligerent nations. We waived some of our sovereign rights in making these provisions, but we did it in the hope of peace. We meant at all costs to stay away from war.

Our press and radio kept us marvelously informed of the course of the aggressors, and by the time Hitler launched his attack on Poland most

Americans were convinced that democracy as a way of life was at stake. Reflecting that view, President Roosevelt, in officially proclaiming America's neutrality, said: "Even a neutral has a right to take account of facts. Even a neutral cannot be asked to close his mind or his conscience." The president was convinced, also, that the arms embargo was doing the cause of democracy a grave injury, for shipment of airplanes and engines to Great Britain and France, an American peacetime activity, was immediately halted. Germany, of course, had bought none and needed none. The president called Congress into extra session, September 21, 1939, asking for the repeal of the embargo provisions. "I regret that Congress passed that act," said the president; "I regret equally that I signed that act." A jarring debate ensued, one senator labeling the European war as mere "power politics," another warning that America could not become "the arsenal of one belligerent without becoming the target of the other." The majority, however, believed that the embargo was penalizing the democracies and it was repealed, thus leaving the export of arms on a "cash and carry" basis. At the same time, vast "combat zones" were mapped, into which American ships, American aircraft, and American citizens were forbidden to enter.

The devastation of Poland and the attack on Finland sharpened American sympathies for the democracies, and in January, 1940, the president reminded the people that, "there is a vast difference between keeping out of war and pretending that this war is none of our business." The occupation of Denmark gave us something specific to think about. Greenland, a Danish possession, is in the Western Hemisphere and Iceland is close to it. When these two lands declared their temporary independence of Nazi-occupied Denmark we promptly recognized it.

The rapid conquest of Norway, followed by the swift collapse, in a single month, of Holland, Belgium, and France, were blows beneath which our neutrality crumbled and in the end collapsed. For all we knew, Britain might go too, with her fleet, and America might be called upon to face an Axis-controlled world alone. "We must recast our thinking about national protection," said Roosevelt. In June he named a Council of National Defense, calling two Republicans, Henry L. Stimson and Frank Knox, long outspoken for all aid "short of war," to his cabinet as secretaries of war and the navy.

### Exchange of Destroyers and Bases

In July, 1940, Congress authorized the building of a two-ocean navy and the president set the nation a goal of fifty thousand planes a year. In September, Congress voted compulsory military service. Meanwhile

the battle of Britain was on; a German invasion seemed imminent. American planes and guns were reaching England in large numbers, but very heavy toll was taken in transit by German submarines. To provide quickly the added protection which seemed vital, the president announced that he had given to the British fifty over-age destroyers, of which we had a hundred lying idle, in return for the lease of certain air and naval bases on British soil on this side of the Atlantic. After that Hitler had a good excuse to declare war on us; of course, a bad one would have done if it had suited his purpose. The president's announcement of the exchange of destroyers and bases came on September 2, 1940. It had taken the United States just a year and a day to lay aside, in practice, the neutrality which it had so carefully fortified. Roosevelt called the destroyer-base exchange "the most important action in the re-enforcement of our national defense that has been taken since the Louisiana Purchase," a reference intended, no doubt, to justify the executive nature of the act.

### Lend-Lease

Hitler did not choose to declare war on us at that time. Later in the same month (September 27) he sought to frighten us from our settled purpose of giving Britain and China all the aid they might require by the announcement of an all-out military alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan. This was so worded as to make it clear that "if we got into war with one of them we would have to fight all three." Faced thus with the possibility of war on two fronts, the American public might well draw back from its "unneutral" aid. Our reply, however, was to double our efforts. By November we were selling half our total war production to Great Britain, still "cash and carry." But Britain's cash was running low; she had already paid us about \$3,000,000,000. In December the president made the suggestion that we must not limit our supplies by considerations of cash. If your neighbor's house is on fire and he needs your garden hose to extinguish the blaze, he told his press conference, you will not try to sell him the hose but lend it at once and he will later return it or replace it.

This is the origin of "Lend-Lease," a measure introduced into Congress in January and enacted March 11, 1941. Congress gave the president authority to "sell, transfer, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of" munitions, aircraft, ships, machinery, and "any other commodity or article for defense" to any friendly power if the president should deem the defense of such a foreign power "vital to the defense of the United States." Repayment was to be made "in kind, property, or any other direct or indirect benefit which the president deems satisfactory." Said



Mr. Roosevelt to Congress: "It is not enough to defend our national existence. Democracy as a way of life is equally at stake." To save it, Great Britain must be preserved, it was argued, as its last remaining bastion. The statutory title of the Lend-Lease Act is "An Act to Promote the Defense of the United States." The president promptly asked Congress for an appropriation of \$7,000,000,000 as a first installment of aid to the embattled democracies.

Having removed the "cash" restriction on our war supplies, we were still faced with the problem of how to "carry" them to the fighting fronts. Our own ships were forbidden to engage in this traffic and British ships were being sunk far faster than they could be replaced. To assist in the defense of British convoys, the American authorities began a "neutrality patrol" in the waters of the Western Hemisphere. By July, 1941, this had been extended all the way to Iceland, where we established a temporary base. The American navy was thus operating within seven hundred miles of the British Isles. At last, in October, 1941, Congress authorized the delivery of American war supplies in American ships, which might go armed and under the protection of our navy. Thus the second largest merchant fleet in the world, fifteen hundred steel ships totaling nine million tons, was brought to the aid of the democracies.

### The Atlantic Charter

Meanwhile, in August, the American president had met the British prime minister on shipboard in the North Atlantic to discuss, with a staff of experts, the "whole problem of the supply of munitions of war as provided by the Lease-Lend Act." The conference also covered the supply problems of the Soviet Union, for Russia had been at war since June. The technical decisions of the two leaders and their staffs were kept secret, but Roosevelt and Churchill gave to the world a statement of the principles to which they proposed to adhere in seeking to deliver "world civilization" from "the policy of military domination by conquest." This was the famous Atlantic Charter. Territorial aggrandizement was forsworn; all territorial changes must be in "accord with the fully expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." All peoples must have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live. "All states, great and small, victor and vanquished," should have "access on equal terms to the trade and raw material of the world." This last point was qualified, however, as was a further statement about international collaboration for the improvement of "labor standards, economic adjustment, and social security." The charter further expressed the hope of the two leaders that after "the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny," a peace would be es-

tablished under which all nations might dwell in safety and all men be free from want and fear. Lastly, it expressed the belief that the nations of the world "for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force."

Thus did America join in a declaration of policy with a principal contestant in a war in which we were not as yet a belligerent. As Winston Churchill told the American Congress a few months later, "For a short time past . . . our joint affairs have been considerably mixed up together." It must not be supposed that Americans were unanimous as war approached. An extension of the life of the universal service law passed the House of Representatives in August by a majority of one; the vote on the bill permitting American ships to carry munitions to belligerents was 212 to 194. Evidently, however, active belligerency was not far away. On October 17 an American destroyer was torpedoed off Iceland. "We Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations," said Roosevelt; "history has recorded who fired the first shot." The "war of nerves" was about to give place to a "shooting war." Was Germany withholding her declaration of war to await the convenience of Japan?

### The Menace of Japan

If Japan had been unable to bring her Chinese conquest to completion, as late as September, 1939, it was partly because of the aid Free China received from Russia, Britain, and the United States. Russia's aid was especially important; her troops were mobilized on the Japanese frontier in Manchuria, and during the summer of 1939 thousands of casualties were incurred in the clashes of hostile troops. With the outbreak of war in Europe, however, the United States had found herself in the position of China's sole active friend and defender against the aggression of Japan. Britain was fully occupied, and though Russia was not yet at war, she had signed a truce with Japan two days before she began the occupation of Poland, a truce that was later replaced by a nonaggression pact.

With the fall of France in June, 1940, there came the announcement from Tokyo of a considerable extension of Japanese designs, or perhaps it was merely a more complete unveiling of plans long made. The Japanese foreign minister proclaimed a "Japanese Monroe Doctrine" for eastern Asia and the southwest Pacific, the whole area to be developed as an economic unit under the "stabilizing power of Japan." With this announcement came the news that Japan had begun its occupation of French Indo-China, the feeble resistance of the Vichy regime being quickly brushed aside, probably with the assistance of Nazi pressure. A glance

at the map will show how central is the Indo-Chinese peninsula as a "staging area" for expeditions to conquer southeastern Asia and the South Seas. The Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, the Malay Peninsula, British Burma, and the capital of Free China lie only a few hundred miles away. The resources and mass labor of these areas easily constituted the richest imperialist prize in the world. The rubber, tin, and quinine of the Dutch East Indies, for example, are essential commodities in the economy of many nations. America was especially dependent upon the Dutch Indies. "Any alteration of their *status quo* by other than peaceful processes," said Secretary Hull, "would be prejudicial to the security of the entire Pacific area."

What could or would America do to restrain the Japanese? Undoubtedly the strongest desire of our people was to keep out of war. On the other hand, we had a keen desire to give Free China every possible assistance, and we had no intention of abandoning American rights in the Far East. Japan fed her war machine with American petroleum and American scrap iron and steel; we could recognize the obvious and declare Japan a belligerent in her war with China and thus apply to her our embargo on the export of munitions. But this would have two unfortunate effects: it would necessitate the cutting off of the export of munitions to Free China also; and it would in all probability precipitate a Japanese invasion of the Dutch East Indies. There was the definite possibility too that Japan would attack the United States. It was hardly good strategy for us to provoke Japan into an attack at that time. The Axis powers had threatened in September, 1940, that if we fought one we would have to fight all three, and we were not ready as yet for war on such a scale. Half of our war production had to go, in the sober judgment of our leaders, to Britain in order to maintain a western front against the Axis.

One can but admire the skill with which Secretary Hull and his staff, while rigorously adhering to the fundamental principles of our Far Eastern policy, sought to avoid war with Japan, or at the least to postpone the moment of her attack. During the first six months of 1941 America permitted Japan to buy twice as much petroleum as during the corresponding period of 1940. President Roosevelt said frankly that this was done to forestall Japanese seizure of the Dutch East Indies, where they could get all the oil they wanted. Japan continued to build air and naval bases in Indo-China and to mass her forces there. We extended the fortifications of Guam, concentrated our navy in the Pacific, and appointed General Douglas MacArthur "commander in chief in the Far East" with headquarters in Manila. A close coordination of Far Eastern policy was arrived at by Britain and the United States at the North Atlantic conference, August, 1941, and the English and American experts took counsel also

with the Dutch. Churchill told the House of Commons that if Japan attacked America, "we shall range ourselves unhesitatingly at the side of the United States." British capital ships were sent to Singapore, great British naval base, and troops from India and Australia were moved into Burma and Malaya.

### Pearl Harbor

In the meantime diplomatic conversations proceeded without ceasing; proposals and counterproposals for a peaceful settlement of the issues that divided Japan and America continued to be made to the very day of Pearl Harbor, with neither side at any time yielding on essentials. During the summer of 1941 we began in earnest to shut off the flow of American supplies to Japan. In October General Tojo, "the razor," became prime minister of Japan, with a cabinet made up mostly of officers on active duty, like himself, in the armed forces. At the same time political parties in the Japanese Parliament gave place to a nonparty bloc called the "Imperial Rule Assistance Association." As was remarked, the new cabinet "smelled of gunpowder." Japan's demands were sharper now; evidently she not only expected us to "get out of her imperial way but assist her in it." Secretary Hull, eight days before Pearl Harbor, said that "the diplomatic part of our relations with Japan is virtually over and the matter will now go to the officials of the army and navy"; he also warned that "Japan may move suddenly and with every possible element of surprise." Despite this warning, and the repeated insistence of Ambassador Grew in Tokyo, beginning in January, on the danger of a "sneak attack," disaster overtook us at Pearl Harbor. "The United States services were not on the alert," was the considered verdict of Secretary Knox. An official report, six months later, by a special committee headed by Justice Owen J. Roberts, stated that plans had been prepared and orders given by Washington "which, if executed, would have been adequate to ward off the attack or materially lessen its effectiveness." This was flatly denied by Admiral Kimmel and General Short, the men on the spot, and at the close of the war Congress appointed a special committee of investigation to determine with finality, if possible, the responsibility for the greatest naval disaster in our history.

### Japanese Conquests

Japan struck "like a tropical typhoon" at every American and British base within the range of her fleets of planes and ships. At Pearl Harbor the American navy, and in the Gulf of Siam the British fleet, suffered such losses as to assure Japanese naval supremacy in the Pacific for

many months. Guam fell December 10; Hong Kong, December 25. On January 2, 1942, Japanese forces entered Manila, but American forces held out at Bataan and in Corregidor four months longer. The swift conquest of the whole of the Dutch East Indies brought the Japanese, in March, near Port Moresby in New Guinea, jumping-off base for a conquest of Australia. Bombs then fell on Port Darwin, and for the first time in recorded history war came to Australia. In the meantime, from their base in French Indo-China, Japanese forces pressed west through Thailand, whose resistance was nominal, and then divided and pushed south toward Singapore and north into Burma (see map p. 782). Singapore, supposedly impregnable to attack by sea, was taken from the rear on February 15. Burma took longer to overrun, but this was due to the difficult terrain as much as to stiffening resistance. On April 29 the Japanese reached Lashio in northern Burma, railhead of the Burma Road. Not only had the Japanese thus cut this principal supply line to Free China; they were in a position to threaten gravely the security of British India. The Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean fell to the Japanese; bombs rained on Ceylon. General Wavell arrived to undertake the military defense of India, and Sir Stafford Cripps was sent out to try to bolster Indian morale. Though America had been attacked first, the Dutch and British empires had been the principal sufferers at the hands of Japan, and at a time when their forces were fully occupied in other theaters of war. Churchill told the House of Commons in a secret session in April, 1942, that the "violence, fury, skill, and might of Japan has far exceeded anything we had been led to expect."

### The United Nations

America promptly declared war on Japan on December 8, and on December 11 Germany and Italy declared war on us. "We are now in this war," said the president; "We are all in it—all the way." On December 12 Churchill left London for the American capital to coordinate with Roosevelt the global strategy of the two powers. A group known as the "Combined Chiefs of Staff" was established, which organized and secured "the most complete unification of military effort ever achieved by two allied nations." Then, acting with unparalleled swiftness, all countries at war with the Axis joined, on January 1, 1942, to form the "United Nations." There were twenty-six of them—the United States, Britain, Russia, China, Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, the five nations of the British Commonwealth (including India), and nine of the smaller republics of Latin America which followed our lead. The United Nations pledged their full

military and economic resources in the war on the Axis; they promised not to make a separate peace; they subscribed to the statement of principles in the Atlantic Charter; and they agreed to a unified command in the principal theaters of war. To meet the immediate situation America extended selective service to the age of forty-four, and empowered the fighting services to send their men to any part of the world. Our budget for the ensuing year was set at \$60,000,000,000, of which 95 per cent was for defense. Planes, guns, tanks, and ships were scheduled in quantities theretofore undreamed of.

### The Axis Attains Its Zenith

The summer of 1942 presented an unusually favorable opportunity in the global strategy of the Axis. General Rommel, with superior tanks and remarkable guns, including the very serviceable "88," was on the road to Egypt. The stronghold of Tobruk he had had to by-pass; but observers supposed that once this threat to his line of communication was removed, he would promptly advance through Egypt to Suez and beyond. In Russia the Germans had begun a drive toward Rostov and the Caucasus. A definite break-through in this quarter would, in conjunction with Rommel's advance, deliver the entire Middle East into German hands, cut the flow of Lend-Lease commodities through Persia to Russia, and very possibly lead to a junction of the Germans with Japanese forces advancing over the Indian Ocean and through India. While all this might not win the war for the Axis, it would tragically delay the victory of the United Nations.

The summer opened well for the Germans. On June 21 Rommel took Tobruk, with its garrison of 30,000. He then pressed forward to El Alamein, last line of defense before Alexandria. In Russia, Rostov was retaken. One group of German armies turned southward toward the Caucasus. Another great force moved eastward toward Stalingrad. This city, named for its defender of 1918, is the principal river port of the lower Volga and was a wartime center for the manufacture of tanks. The Volga was Russia's lifeline, the essential link between her armies of the north and the south. Some thirty million tons of freight were carried by this stream, double the traffic of the Rhine. To lose Stalingrad and the Volga might well prove fatal to Russian resistance. The siege began in early September.

### Anglo-American Plans

Throughout the summer of 1942 not only the Russians but a large part of the Allied public clamored for the opening of a second front in

Europe. Russia pointed out, with truth, that she was bearing almost the entire weight of German attack; the thirty German divisions of occupation troops in France were more than outweighed by Finnish, Hungarian, and Rumanian forces in the German line against Russia. The Anglo-American Combined Chiefs of Staff had reached the conclusion early in 1942 that "the defeat of Japan would not mean the defeat of Germany, while the defeat of Germany would infallibly mean the ruin of Japan"; hence, concentration on Germany. It was accepted that the final defeat of Germany would come from an Allied assault staged in Britain and launched across the English Channel. It was agreed, also, that the task of amassing in Britain the forces and equipment for such an enterprise would preclude the attack's being launched before the summer of 1943. For one thing, German submarines were again sinking ships faster than they could be replaced, and no invasion of Europe would be practicable until this menace had been met. The U-boats were defeating the convoy system by hunting in "wolf packs." German planes, surveying the seas for thousands of miles from their bases in France, flashed news of the movements of convoys to waiting submarines. In the first six months of 1942 submarines sank twice as many ships as in any period of similar length in the First World War. Another factor of delay was the shortage of assault craft, including LST's and LCI's. It was agreed, however, that should the situation of Russia become desperate a "diversionary assault" would be delivered against the Atlantic coast of Occupied France, possibly during the summer of 1942.

It was while Churchill was in Washington in late June, 1942, that the news came of the fall of Tobruk to the forces of Rommel. Cairo was in grave peril. "It was," said General Marshall, "a very black hour." The Combined Chiefs of Staff had already given some consideration to a Mediterranean operation, and this was now given top priority. It was to take the form of an assault on north Africa. To mount such an assault adequately precluded all thought of even a diversionary assault on the west coast of France; indeed, it was clear that the requirements of the north African project in assault craft alone would make it necessary to postpone the main assault on Germany from the west until the summer of 1944.

In November, 1942, Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower was appointed commander in chief of the British and American forces of the north African campaign. Every effort was made to deceive the Germans as to what was afoot. Eisenhower's headquarters were in London where, it was to be assumed, he had gone to take command of "an American theater of European operations." The Allied public, as well as the Germans, were thus led to believe that western Europe was to be the scene of

attack. But Stalin had to be told the truth, and Churchill flew to Moscow, where he was soon engaged in a "very serious conversation," as he said. "The news brought was not welcome nor considered by them adequate," Churchill reported, but they "bore their disappointment like men."

With the Germans at Stalingrad and El Alamein and the Japanese poised on the frontiers of India and Australia, Axis fortunes, in the autumn of 1942, had reached their zenith. In three years Germany had conquered an area of a million square miles with a population of 170,000,000 people. Japan had overrun one and a half million square miles containing 150,000,000 inhabitants, mostly since December 7, 1941. But the Russians were holding in Stalingrad in house to house fighting. "You may lose the hall of a building," wrote a correspondent, "and from the staircase see the enemy pour across the threshold." At El Alamein the British Montgomery was likewise holding the Germans at bay while he drilled his men in the use of Sherman tanks, just arrived from America.

Meanwhile, in the Pacific theater, American naval recovery had been sufficient, in June, 1942, to stop the Japanese at Midway, outpost of Hawaii, and in the Coral Seas off Australia. During the same month, it is true, Japanese forces landed on the Aleutian Islands of Attu and Kiska, converting the latter into a base for submarines and planes. In August American marines seized a newly built Japanese air base on Guadalcanal island on the edge of the Coral Sea, and in September a force of Americans and Australians thrust the Japanese back from Port Moresby in New Guinea. It was evident to thoughtful persons that the tide of Axis conquest had about run its course. "The easy Axis victories of the past are finished," wrote one observer; and Smuts of South Africa told the British House of Commons in October that "the defense phase has now ended; the stage is set for the last, the offensive phase." It was in this month that Wendell Willkie flew around the world, visiting every front and gathering information for the use of the American president.



## CHAPTER XLV

### *The Second World War: Unconditional Surrender*

ON OCTOBER 24, 1942, General Montgomery launched his offensive at El Alamein. Two weeks later British and American forces under General Eisenhower landed in north Africa. On November 13, 14, and 15 a great force of Japanese warships and transports sent to retake Guadalcanal was heavily defeated, and that island was permanently lost to Japan. Finally, on November 21 the Russians began a major counterattack north and south of Stalingrad. Thus did the United Nations assume the offensive against the Axis, and they never looked back. In mobilized strength, military and industrial, the Axis powers' superiority, initially great, had now been equaled and was soon to be surpassed by that of the Allies. In the end the man power of the United Nations was greater than that of the Axis by more than two to one. Even so, difficulties of transport were such that the Germans and Italians consistently outnumbered us on the actual field of battle, while in the Pacific areas the numerical strength of the Japanese was overwhelmingly superior.

#### Why the Allies Won

The Allies won partly because they had more and better weapons. Their planes both outnumbered and outclassed the planes of the Axis forces. The speed of American bombers, for example, doubled during the course of the war, as did their effective range, while their bomb-load capacity was multiplied by three. The speed of American fighters was multiplied by two; their range, by four. In electronic devices, used for offensive as well as defensive purposes, the Allies were far in the lead.

Germany was our most formidable opponent in respect to technological advance. The Allies, in fact, were never able to match the German "88," an antitank, antiaircraft, and antipersonnel gun all in one. Until near the close of the war the German heavy tank remained the master of the field in direct combat. The German V-2, "the most spectacular rocket of the war," proved a most effective weapon, extending "artillery

range to two hundred miles with little sacrifice in accuracy." German scientists, it now appears, had made considerable progress toward the development of an atomic explosive, but the British-American team won that race.

Not only did the Allies have final superiority of men and weapons; they achieved better cooperation than their enemy. "Teamwork won the war," said General Eisenhower. Under the direction of the Combined Chiefs of Staff a truly global strategy was set in motion, from which the Axis sought escape in vain. There was teamwork, also, among the armed services, making possible unified tactics by land, sea, and air.

### The Campaign in North Africa

Churchill told his countrymen, in the fall of 1942, that they had arrived at the "end of the beginning," but that there was still a long hard road to be traveled. The Russians turned in the first big victory in the war's new phase when they won at beleaguered Stalingrad on January 31, 1943, capturing a German army of 330,000, with a field marshal and sixteen generals. Allied victory in Africa came in May. Montgomery, having routed Rommel, pursued him halfway across Africa, the Germans retreating most skillfully. In thirteen weeks the British covered as many hundred miles and took Tripoli, capital of Italian Libya. Thus was ended Mussolini's, and Italy's, dream of African empire. The Anglo-American landings at Casablanca on the Atlantic coast and at Algiers and Oran were masterpieces of planning and close cooperation, the greatest amphibian operation in history thus far. French authorities in Africa had been pro-Vichy, at least nominally, and not the least of the difficulties of General Eisenhower were political. In the end the French neither greatly hindered nor greatly helped.

The north Africa landings took the German High Command by surprise but its reaction was prompt, and reinforcements poured across from Sicily to the great French African ports of Tunis and Bizerte. It was a losing venture. After much hard fighting, from which the Americans emerged as skillful campaigners, the Germans and Italians surrendered on May 13, 1943. The total number of killed and captured was 349,206. Closing north Africa to the Axis was of great strategic importance to the Allies, for they thus acquired a base from which to launch a destructive assault against the "soft under-belly of Europe."

### The Casablanca Conference: Unconditional Surrender

To achieve a closer coordination of effort in north Africa and to decide upon the strategy of the year ahead, President Roosevelt journeyed to

Casablanca in January, 1943, for a ten-day conference with the British prime minister and with French leaders. It was intimated that Stalin would have attended if he had not been fully occupied with the offensive around Stalingrad, and that the Chinese generalissimo was kept informed of all decisions. An accomplishment of the Casablanca conference was agreement on the formula of "unconditional surrender." "Unconditional surrender means that the victors have a free hand," said Churchill. "If we are bound we are bound by our own consciences to civilization. We are not to be bound to the Germans as a result of a bargain struck." The principles of the Atlantic Charter were not to apply to the Axis powers.

### Conquest of Sicily

The summer and autumn of 1943 saw definite advances in the strategic offensive which the Allies were now able to launch against the Axis in all the theaters of war. No really decisive results were achieved, however; the road back was indeed a long one. An Anglo-American assault from the west on German-held Europe being logistically impossible in 1943, it was decided at Casablanca that the next objective should be Sicily. To clear a way through the Mediterranean for Allied shipping would be a great gain, for it would make unnecessary the 12,000-mile voyage around Africa. The target date set for the attack on Sicily was the month of July. For the first time in the war a great force with all its equipment and supplies had to be landed on hostile beaches under fire. Sicily was strongly held by a German and Italian force of about 300,000. The American and British forces made use of a vast armada of about two thousand ships. Many of them came directly from ports of the British Isles, some from across the Atlantic; most of them, however, were from ports of north Africa, the nearest of which was a hundred miles away. Most ships had to be carefully "combat loaded," as President Roosevelt explained later on, "in such a way that the troops go ashore first and are immediately followed in the proper order by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks, and food, medical equipment, and all the supplies of a modern army."

Landings were made on the southeast corner of Sicily in order to take advantage of air cover from adjacent Malta. Seven and a half weeks later the conquest of the island was complete, although thousands of first-line German troops escaped to the mainland "through use of a heavy concentration of antiaircraft guns." Axis casualties were 167,000.

### Italy Signs an Armistice

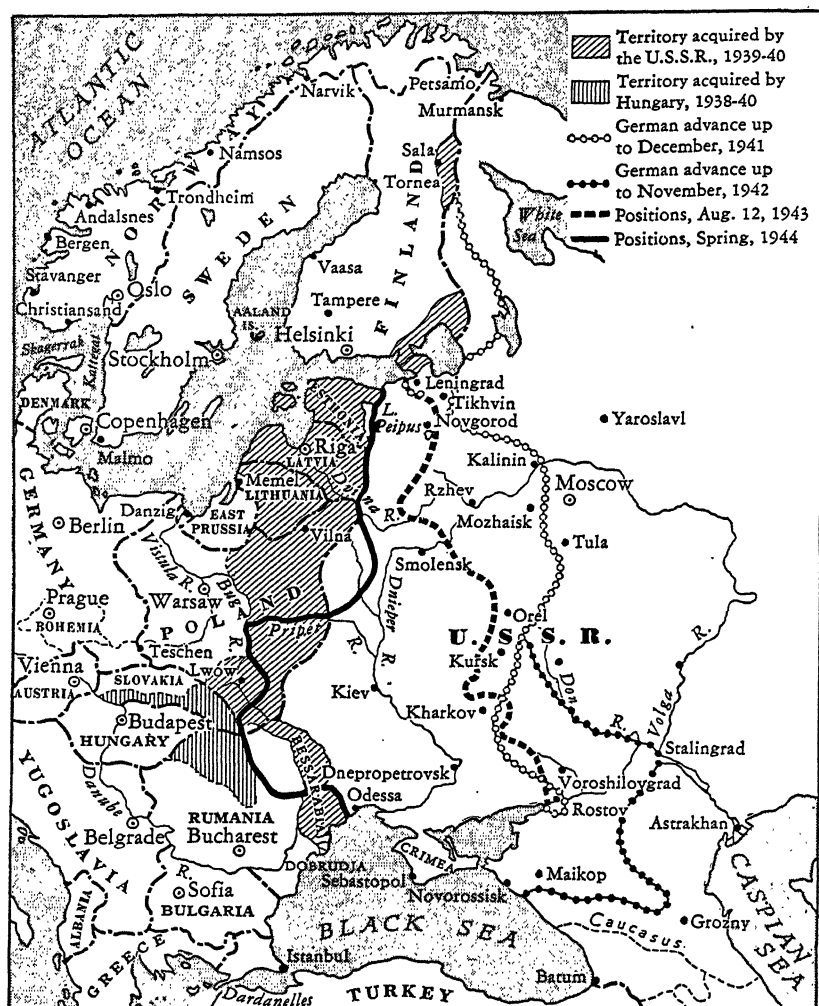
At Quebec, in August, 1943, Anglo-American leaders decided to carry the war from Sicily to the mainland of Europe. Clearing the Axis out of

Italy would secure Allied control of the Mediterranean, supply additional bases for bomber attacks on Germany and the German-held Balkans, and effect a further wastage of German divisions. An offensive against southern France was also considered. On the very day of the invasion of the mainland (September 3, 1943) Italy signed an armistice, surrendering unconditionally to the Allies. Mussolini had been deposed by the Fascist Grand Council on July 24 at the height of the Sicilian campaign, and he was succeeded as prime minister, under King Victor Emmanuel, by Italy's principal military figure, Marshal Badoglio, whose affection for the Fascist regime was reputedly lukewarm. Ostensibly the Badoglio government was as pro-Axis as its predecessor, but under cover it sought for an armistice.

It was a foregone conclusion, however, that Hitler would not permit Italy to surrender without a struggle; the Italians themselves might be a military liability to him, but the peninsula, long, narrow, and mountainous, was an excellent bastion of defense for Germany and her conquered lands. German divisions were therefore rushed to the south, and an American landing on the beaches of the Gulf of Salerno south of Naples was linked up with the main Allied forces only after ten critical days. The momentum of Allied advance was slowed also by the diversion of trained American divisions to Britain, in order to build up the great force in preparation there, and by the allocation of shipping to the establishment on the Italian mainland of an immense Allied air force. The oncoming of winter found the Axis-Allied line in Italy about seventy-five miles south of Rome.

### Russian Advance in 1943

Russian gains in 1943 were remarkable. Once again, as twice before, the Germans launched a massive offensive from strong points which they had held through the previous winter. This summer their offensive was delayed until July 5, when they moved forward from their bases at Orel and Belgorod. For ten days the issue was in doubt. Then the Red army struck back in a series of counterattacks which at the end of the month had driven the Germans from their advanced posts and had precipitated them into a general withdrawal. All Russia was wild with joy. For the first time she had not only held firm in the summer season but had shown that she could wage a successful offensive. Slowly, but as irresistibly as a glacier, the Red army ground forward during the late summer and autumn, reaching the line of the Dnieper at Kiev in November. Farther south the Russians drove the Germans from their advanced base in the Caucasus, cut off a German outpost in the Crimea, and pressing forward



### THE WAR IN RUSSIA

relentlessly through the winter, retook the important Black Sea port of Odessa near the Rumanian frontier in March, 1944. Indeed, advances continued along the entire front from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea, and by the time of the spring thaws the Russians stood once more upon their boundaries of 1918. German casualties had been heavy during the eight-month offensive, but the German retirement had been controlled, and comparatively few prisoners had fallen into Russian hands. In an effort to bring the Russian war machine to a standstill, the Germans

systematically destroyed all railroads as they retired. The Russians, however, were able to keep up the necessary flow of supply by the use of nearly 200,000 American motor trucks furnished by Lend-Lease. America had also supplied the Russians by November, 1943, with 7000 planes and 35,000 tanks. To a decisive extent, though less decisively than in the case of Great Britain, Russia could not have waged successful war without American supplies.

The battle with the submarines was a never ending one, but in 1943 victory definitely perched on the banners of the Allies. Convoys were better protected with destroyer escorts and corvettes. Planes ranged farther and farther out to sea with radar equipment and depth charges. To provide for the area in the North Atlantic beyond the range of planes, whether from American or British bases, small carriers were fitted out, mostly converted merchantmen. Allied losses fell to one in three hundred and fifty ships compared with twice that number in 1941. On September 18, 1943, Churchill announced that no Allied merchant ship had been sunk in the North Atlantic for four months. Replacements much more than made good the tonnage that had been lost by enemy action. In 1943 American shipyards alone built ships which nearly equaled in total tonnage the whole of Britain's merchant shipping at the outbreak of the war.

### The Anglo-American Air Offensive

During 1943, and continuing into 1944, British planes and American planes from British bases undertook a strategic offensive against Germany's war production. Advised by a group of experts on European industry, and kept up to date by reconnaissance photographs and the reports of secret agents, the air command ticked off the industries of the Reich and its satellites one by one in a kind of "blue-print bombing" of submarine plants, fighter plane factories, and synthetic oil and rubber plants. British bombers, great four-engined Lancasters, flew by night; American Flying Fortresses by day. British night bombing was more massive, American day bombing more precise. The size of bombs and the aggregate tonnage mounted steadily.

With the acquisition of bases in southern Italy, American bombing gradually caught up with the British, and in April, 1944, the Americans dropped a greater weight of bombs on Germany than did Britain. On March 4, 1944, Berlin was bombed by the Americans in daylight for the first time. The R.A.F. had already bombed the German capital fifteen times, letting fall a total of 22,000 tons of explosives on the city which Göring had once assured the German people would never see a hostile bomber. In default of a "second front" it would appear that American

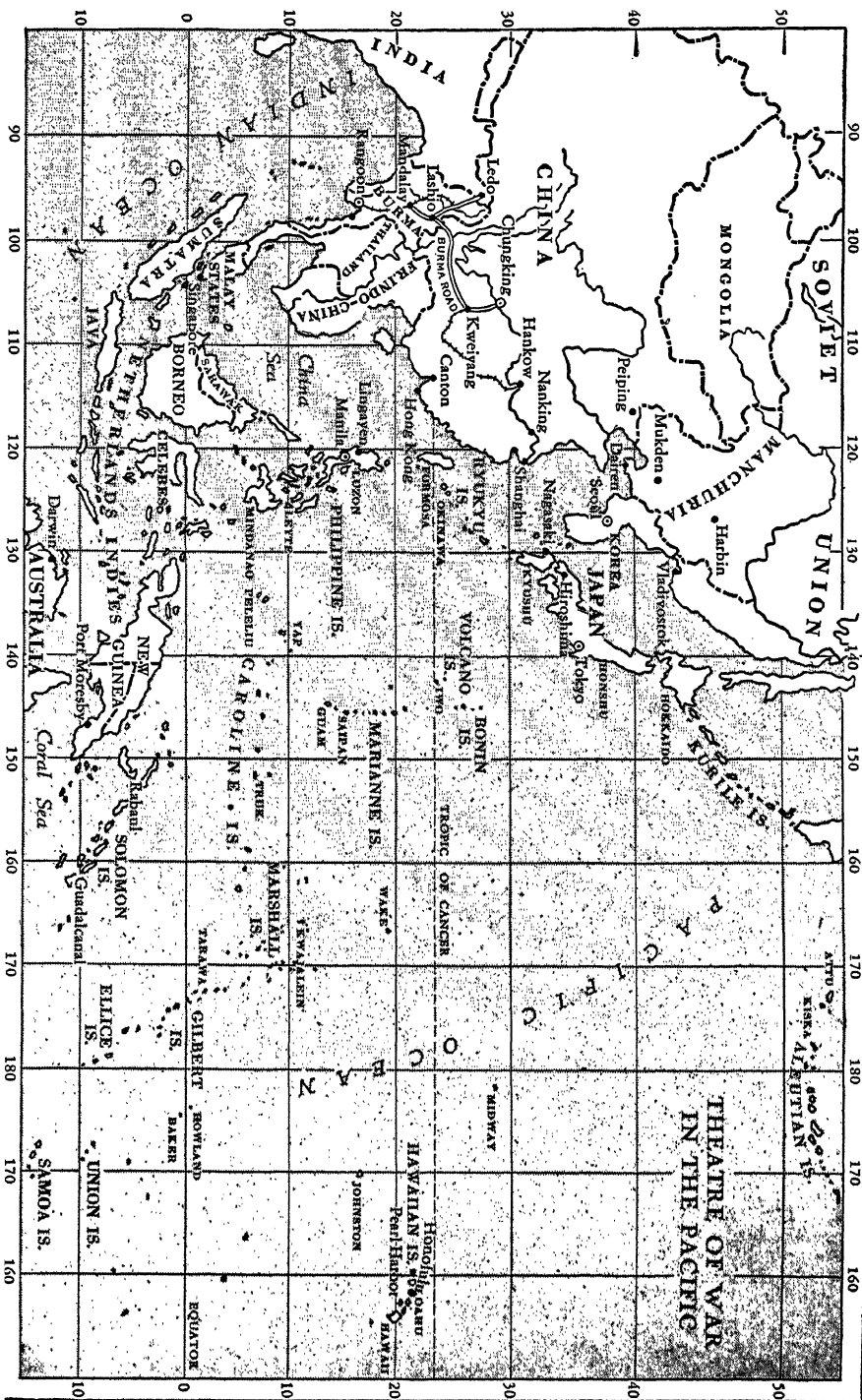
and British leaders were trying to see whether Germany could be knocked out from the air. There can be no doubt that the Allied bombing offensive was of immense benefit to the Russians. It slowed down German production; it preoccupied, and decimated, German air strength, giving Russia air superiority for the first time. German comment, during 1943, stressed the destruction of their cities from the air rather than the retirement of their forces from Russian soil.

### Japanese Success at Its Zenith

For a full year after Pearl Harbor the Japanese record was one of almost unbroken success before they were checked at Midway, in the Coral Sea, and on the frontier of India. It was an "immense perimeter of conquest." A period of consolidation followed; new bases were established and supplies accumulated. To the Philippines, Burma, and Malaya the Japanese granted "independence" under puppet rulers of their own choosing. Carrying the farce a step further, they held at Tokyo, in November, 1943, an assembly of the "Greater East Asiatic Nations," which included representatives from Thailand and Manchukuo as well as from the three regions just named. It was there announced that an "independent" India would shortly join the ranks, and plans were laid for the conduct of the war between the East Asiatic Nations and the United Nations. Meanwhile the United Nations stood on the defensive in the Pacific. During the first half of 1943 no further land fighting occurred, though the American navy administered a severe defeat to a Japanese task force in the battle of the Bismarck Sea near New Britain.

### Chinese Lines of Communication

The Anglo-American decision to concentrate first upon the defeat of Germany was disquieting to the leaders of Free China, as well as to many Americans. "The prevailing opinion seems to consider the defeat of the Japanese as of relative unimportance and that Hitler is our first concern," said Mme Chiang Kai-shek to the American Congress in February, 1943. "That is not borne out by actual facts," she continued, pointing out that Japan had greater resources at her command than Germany and that the longer she was allowed to hold them the stronger she would become. Some Americans were fearful, too, lest with Germany beaten the British might sit back and allow us to carry on the war with Japan by ourselves. But Churchill said in an address to the American Congress, "I am here to tell you that we will wage that war [against Japan] side by side with you . . . while there is breath in our bodies and while blood flows through our veins."





At the Quebec Conference of August, 1943, Anglo-American leaders gave prolonged consideration to the problem of maintaining and increasing the flow of supplies to Free China, whose survival was so vital for their plans. With the Japanese in northern Burma, supplies had to be flown to China from India "over the hump." An American air force in China was thus maintained, but something much more massive would eventually be required to enable the Chungking government to assume the offensive. With Rangoon and the railway line to the north still firmly in Japanese hands, the Combined Chiefs of Staff resolved to make use of the railway extending northward from Calcutta to Ledo in northern Assam. From Ledo a motor highway would have to be built to Wanting, where the road from Chungking reaches the frontiers of Burma. Chinese troops assisted by American planes secured the right of way from Japanese attack, and American engineers built the road, the "most difficult construction job of all time." Though begun in the summer of 1943 the new highway was not ready for use until January, 1945. Chiang Kai-shek publicly christened it the Stilwell Road after the famous American general whose vision it had been. Lord Louis Mountbatten was in general charge of this as of all other operations in the "Southeast Asia Command," which included India, Burma, Indo-China, Malaya, and Sumatra, with the waters to the south. No other offensive was undertaken in this theater during 1943.

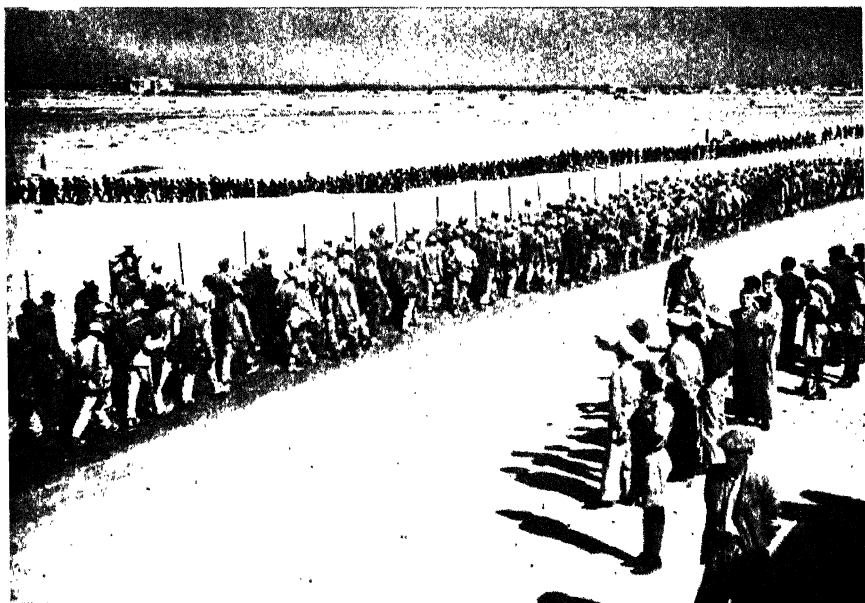
### Offensives of MacArthur and Nimitz

In the meantime General Douglas MacArthur, having escaped from the Philippines, was placed in charge of the Southwest Pacific Areas, and Admiral Chester Nimitz of the Pacific Ocean Areas. Each of these commanders launched an offensive in June, 1943, which was continued into 1944 with remarkable success. Fortunately, America was able to deploy almost the whole of her rapidly expanding naval strength in the Pacific, and so immense was our production of aircraft that there was no lack of planes. First, MacArthur climbed the "ladder of the Solomons," round by round, toward the great Japanese base of Rabaul on New Britain. When the time came to deal with Rabaul, however, in December, 1943, a new strategy was employed, that of establishing airfields at a little distance, from which a Japanese strong point could be neutralized by cutting off its supplies. This was far faster and less expensive than the taking of each Japanese base by direct assault. Hundreds of thousands of Japanese troops were thus left to "die on the vine." As MacArthur reported, "The actual time of their destruction is of little or no importance." It is a remarkable fact that MacArthur's forces, American and Australian, were limited to ten divisions.



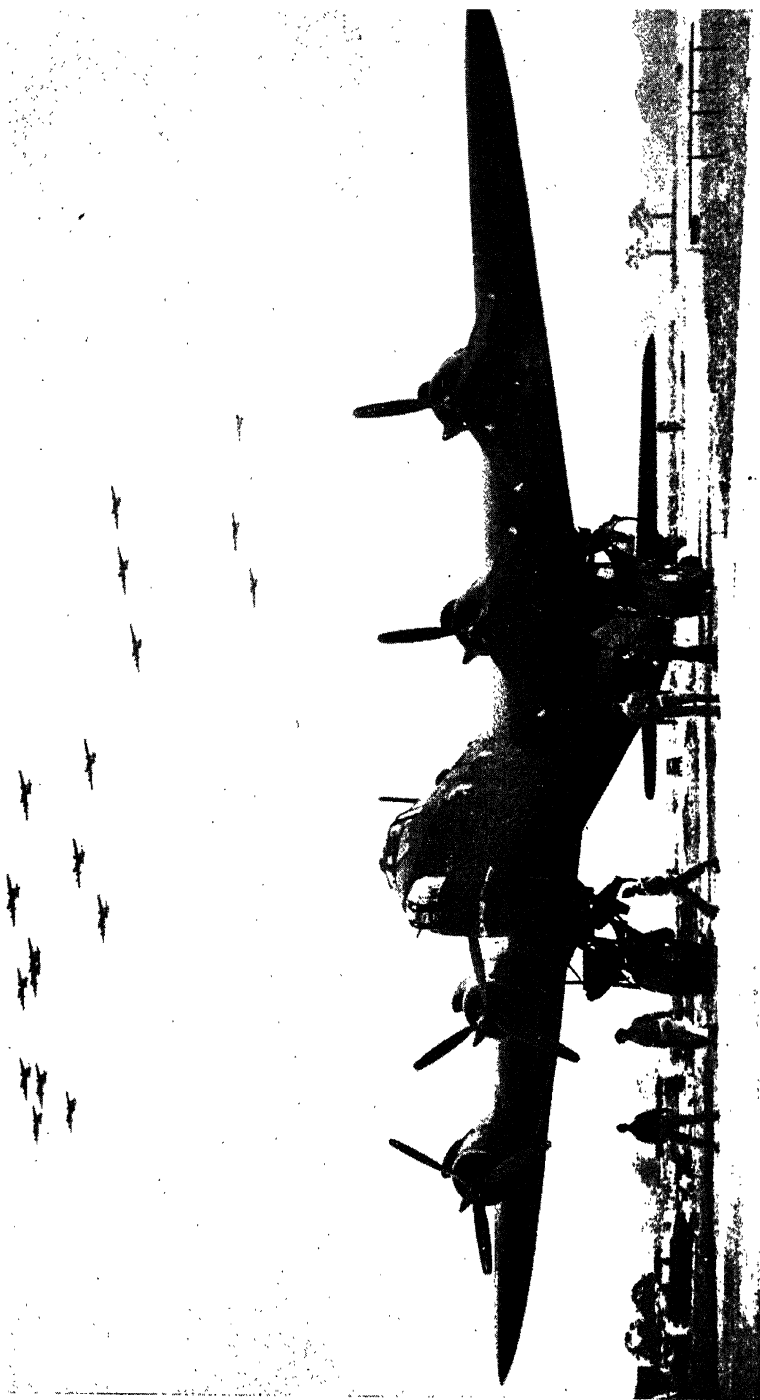
THE "BIG THREE"

At Teheran, November, 1943 (*p.* 784)



GERMAN AND ITALIAN WAR PRISONERS  
IN AFRICA, DECEMBER, 1942

The beginning of the end of Rommel's Afrika Korps (*pp.* 774-775). (*Press Association, Inc.*)



DAY AND NIGHT OVER GERMANY

The new "island hopping" technique was also employed by Admiral Nimitz north of the equator, with but nine divisions, all American. In November, 1943, Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands was taken; in February, 1944, Kwajalein in the Marshalls; in June and July, Saipan and Guam in the Marianas. From the Marianas the Superfortresses were soon attacking the Philippines. In the meantime, far to the north, American forces cleared the Japanese out of Attu in the Aleutians and thus, having cut its supply lines, forced the evacuation of the Japanese base at Kiska (August, 1943).

### United Nations: Dumbarton Oaks

It may well be, however, that considerable as was the progress toward victory over the Axis in 1943, the year will be still more memorable for its initiation of a new world organization. In October the foreign secretaries of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States met in Moscow, the Chinese ambassador to Moscow representing the Chinese government. Having pledged their governments to "continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war" until their unconditional surrender, the four powers jointly declared that "they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." Woodrow Wilson had insisted that an international organization should be the first provision of the Versailles Treaty, but it was now the general opinion among Allied leaders that the establishment of such a body ought not to wait for the end of the war. During the course of 1944 the first draft of an agreement was prepared by representatives of the four powers meeting at Dumbarton Oaks, an estate in Washington, D.C. Later on, this was submitted to representatives of the fifty nations that had by that time signed the Atlantic Charter. (See p. 766.)

But meanwhile there was a war to win, and important political problems had to be dealt with in its course. At the Moscow meeting, the three foreign secretaries outlined a common policy toward liberated Italy, a program of action to be followed, presumably, in the case of other countries when they should be freed from the Nazi yoke. Fascism and "all its evil influence and configurations shall be completely destroyed," they declared, and the Italians "shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles." The Allied statesmen also declared that Austria, "the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression," should again be free and independent, and they invited her to make a contribution to her own libera-

tion. The foreign secretaries, before adjourning, also set up a European advisory commission in London "for the examination of European questions arising as the war develops."

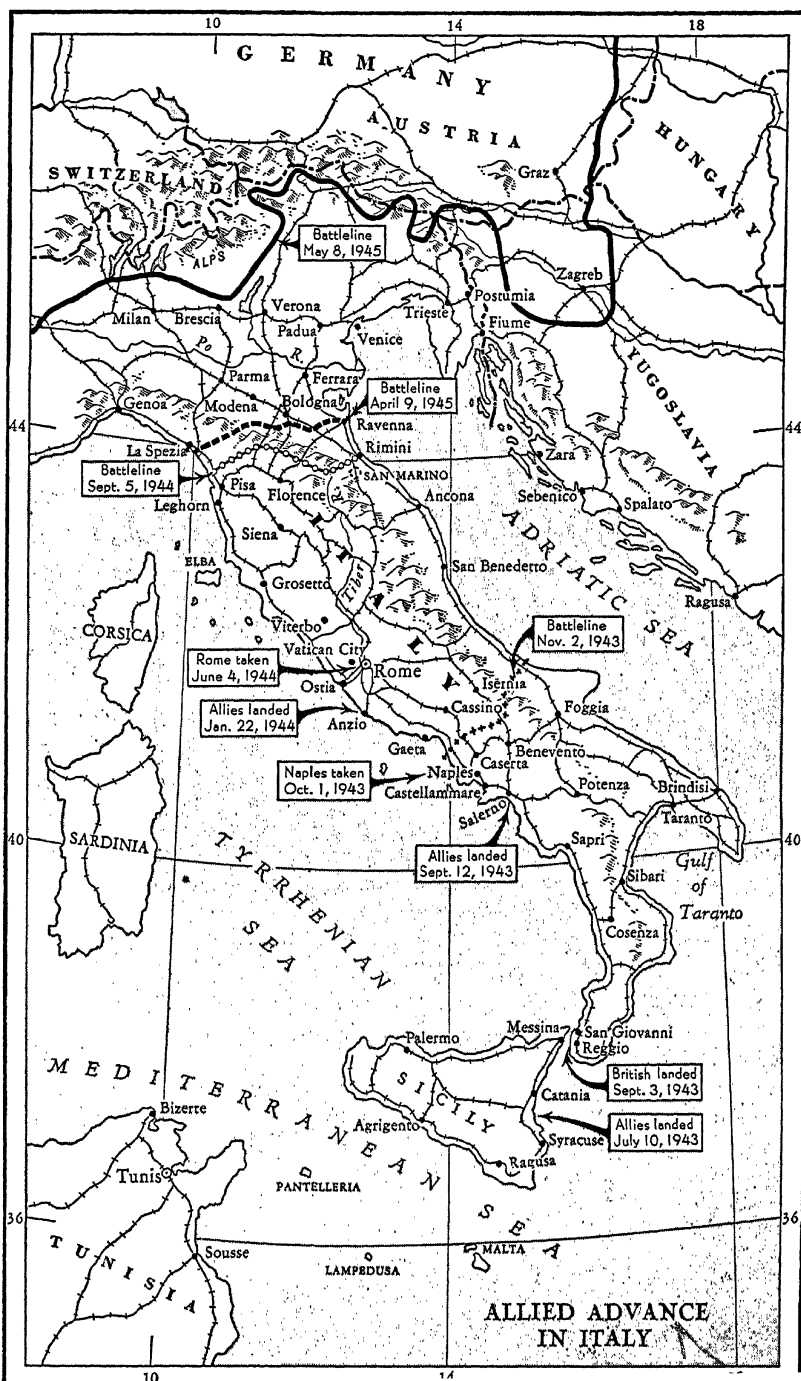
### Conferences of Teheran and Cairo

In November, 1943, the heads of the three governments, with their staffs, met at Teheran. It was the first time that Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill had got together, though the American and British leaders had had six meetings and Churchill had met Stalin once before. The whole world knew that the Teheran Conference would have to do with the final defeat of Germany. "We have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces," the leaders announced at the close of their consultations. "We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west, and south. . . . No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and unceasing." They also pledged themselves to make a peace which "will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

On their way to Teheran, Roosevelt and Churchill stopped at Cairo for conversations with Chiang Kai-shek. There they coordinated the offensive against Japan and stated that her unconditional surrender was their goal. They would "count no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion," but Japan was to be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific seized or occupied since 1914, and of all territory stolen from China. Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores were to be restored to China. Korea was to be free and independent. Acknowledgment of China's status as a great power may be seen in a phrase used at Cairo, "The Three Great Allies." Thus at Cairo and Teheran was the stage set for a global fight to the finish.

### The Italian Campaign of 1944

"East, west, and south," said the Big Three, announcing the directions from which operations would be launched for the final defeat of Germany. In order of time it was just the reverse. On May 11, 1944, the Allies launched a powerful attack in Italy from their lines north of Naples. Said General Alexander, "We are going to destroy the German armies in Italy." Cassino was soon taken and then contact made with a beach-head at Anzio, fifty miles south of Rome, to which Allied troops had



clung with desperate valor for four months. On June 4 Rome was occupied, its priceless monuments and sacred edifices practically undamaged. Florence, badly damaged, was freed on August 6, Pisa on September 2. The terrain of Italy is admirably suited for stubborn defense, and the Germans made the Allied forces pay high for every mile. The enemy had now retired to a chain of defenses stretching across the peninsula from just north of Pisa to Rimini on the Adriatic coast. Carefully prepared for the defense of the Po valley, this Gothic Line, as it was called, held up Allied advance throughout the winter months of 1944-1945. Swifter success would doubtless have been possible had not the Allied forces been stripped of their best divisions again and again for the "build-up" in Britain. The Combined Chiefs of Staff had no intention of forcing a way into Germany from the south; the barrier of the Alps is too formidable. Though the Italian campaign was somewhat of a "side-show," however, a larger number of the United Nations took part in it than in any other operation of the war. Under the over-all command of General Sir Harold Alexander were "Americans, British, Canadians, French, New Zealanders, South Africans, Poles, Indians, Brazilians, Italians, Greeks, Moroccans, Algerians, Arabs, Goums, Senegalese, and a brigade of Jewish soldiers."

### Preparations for D-Day

It was from the west, however, that the Germans anticipated the major onslaught of 1944. For this they were prepared, or so they persuaded themselves. Their "Atlantic Wall" was a complex system of floating mines off the coast, underwater obstacles, land mines on the beaches, emplaced artillery and tank traps farther inland, manned and supported by upward of a million men. This was the zone of which Hitler said, "No power in the world can drive us out." The heavy responsibility of breaching the wall, perhaps the greatest military operation in history, lay upon the American and British team of naval, military, and air experts led by General Eisenhower.

The exact spot for a landing was selected more than a year in advance, a most critical decision calling for much preliminary research. The chosen beaches had to be comparatively sheltered from prevailing winds, with only a moderate tide; the sand had to be quick-drying above a clay foundation capable of sustaining the weight of thirty-ton tanks. The final choice was known to thousands but successfully kept from the enemy; "if the Germans had been prepared to meet us where we landed," said Eisenhower later, "we would never have stayed ashore." To support the initial landing with large bodies of troops and an immense and continuing volume

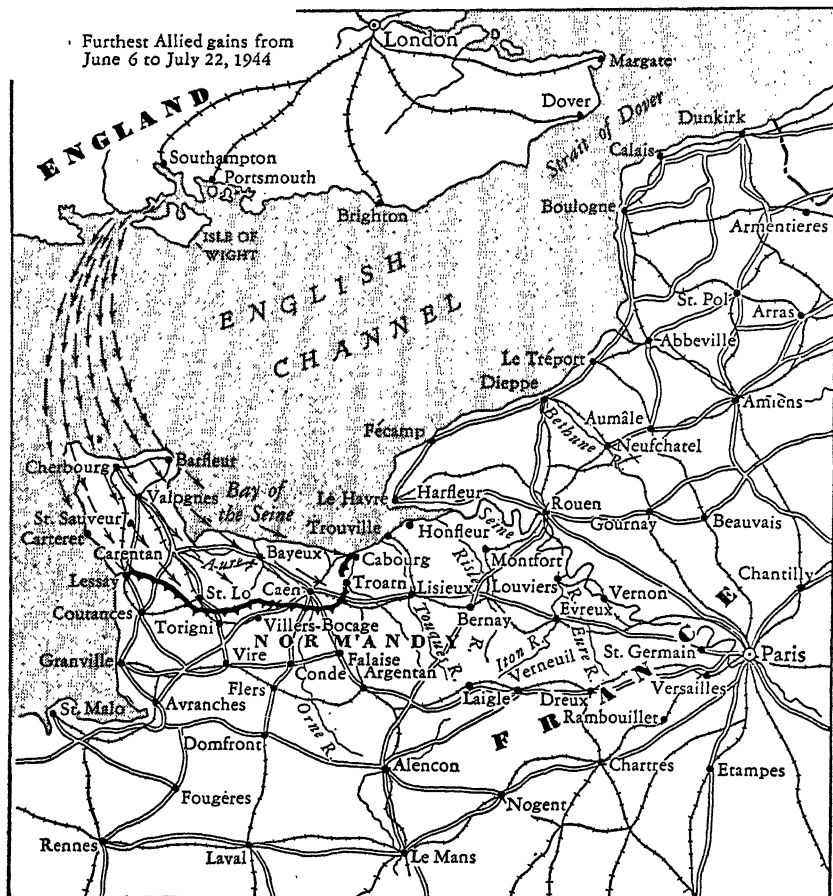
of supplies, including heavy guns and tanks, a well-equipped port was an absolute necessity. Taking one from the enemy would have cost severe casualties besides advertising too plainly the proposed theater of operations. The Allies therefore built two floating harbors, prefabricated in sections for speedy assembling and mooring. On D-day, American troops in Britain numbered 1,533,000; indeed, the Americans outnumbered the British and Canadians, in the army of invasion, by more than two to one.

In the months preceding the invasion air power was used lavishly; during the month of April there was an average of more than a thousand planes dropping over five thousand tons of bombs every twenty-four hours. "Our primary concern," said General Arnold, chief of American air forces, "is to make the coming invasion as economical as possible by drastically reducing the war potential of the Third Reich and its satellites." As D-day drew nearer, Allied bombs were used to clear the way for the troops. In a coastal area a hundred miles deep an effort was made to render all railways completely unusable. On the very eve of invasion, however, targets between Dieppe and Pas de Calais were heavily pounded to make the Germans think the attack would come there. Actually the landings were made a hundred miles farther south on the beaches of Normandy near the base of the Cotentin peninsula. The landing had been planned for the month of May, meteorologically the most favorable, but so great was the need of assault craft that a month's delay was imperative. Diversionary operations in southern France had again to be postponed.

### The Battle of Normandy

On D-day (June 6, 1944), a quarter of a million men landed in France, four thousand ships and eleven thousand planes taking part in the operation. Making use of the artificial ports in the worst June gales in forty years, over a million men and 200,000 vehicles poured across the fifty-mile stretch of sand in the next four weeks. Despite the element of surprise and the best efforts of swarms of Allied planes, sizable bodies of German troops were assembled for counterattacks. British and Canadian forces held the Germans in check near Caen while the Americans cut their way across the Cotentin peninsula and, pressing northward, captured Cherbourg. Allied troops then fought a "hedgerow war" in Normandy, battling fiercely for every field and farm. They suffered over 100,000 casualties. Progress was very slow; every fifty yards or so there was a double hedge with intervening ditch. At last, on July 25, came a break-through to the south and, though the Germans counterattacked fiercely, in two weeks the Americans had reached the mouth of the Loire,





### INVASION OF NORMANDY

cutting off the great peninsula of Brittany with its important ports from the rest of German-controlled France. The battle of Normandy, "the greatest and most decisive single battle of the entire war," as Winston Churchill pronounced it, was over.

### The Battle of France

With their southern flank protected along the Loire, the Allied forces now headed eastward. There followed the battle of France, a blitz of a month's duration (mid-August to mid-September), during which all of France was freed from German control. It would seem that the German High Command was minded, when the Allies first burst out of the Nor-

man hedgerows, to make a stand along the Seine; that proving to be impossible, orders were then given, apparently, to make a general withdrawal to the German West Wall. The Allied armies, racing to the east and north, sought to make the German retreat as expensive as possible in men and materiel. In this objective they were assisted by French Forces of the Interior, the army of the French underground, which took its orders from General de Gaulle. Called into action on August 12, the FFI were of considerable assistance in clearing the Germans out of France. Their most spectacular achievement was the liberation, with some assistance from British and American forces, of Paris. Very effectual, also, was the work of an Allied force—American, British, and French—which landed in the south of France on August 15 and then marched up the valley of the Rhone. This operation precipitated the withdrawal of German forces from the south of France. During the battle of France most of Belgium was also liberated, the important port of Antwerp being captured by the British intact. Under severe and unceasing Allied pressure the German retreat was hurried and expensive. Allied authorities estimated German losses in killed, wounded, and captured at upwards of a million men.

The German West Wall, or Siegfried Line, to which the German armies of the west had now retired, was an exceedingly formidable complex of defenses west of the Rhine which made use of that river as its base. As the battle of France drew to its close the Allies, hot on the heels of the retreating Germans, made a desperate attempt to outflank the West Wall at its northern extremity in Holland, where the Germans were depending chiefly upon the multiple mouths of the Rhine for their defense. A wild hope swept the Allied world that Germany might be finished off by Christmas. Upwards of 6500 paratroopers, British and Canadian, were landed behind the German lines at Arnheim and the most strenuous efforts were then made to close the gap between them and advancing ground forces by breaching the German defenses. The Germans were too strong; their lines remained intact. The Allies next tried to break through the German line a bit farther up the Rhine at Aachen. The Germans fought very hard, the garrison holding out to the last, and it was October 21 before it capitulated. This made a dent in the line, but it was now evident that a winter campaign was inevitable and that time must be taken to bring up mountains of supplies and reinforcement before the battle of Germany could be begun in real earnest.

It had been the German aim to deny the Allies the use of a first-class port either by installing garrisons within defense works which might take months to reduce or by destroying harbor facilities so thoroughly as to impose a comparable delay. Antwerp was one of the great ports of Europe

conveniently placed near Allied lines and with miles of docks ready for use. Unfortunately, however, the estuary of the Scheldt, on the banks of which Antwerp stands some fifty miles upstream, was still strongly held by the Germans. It was late November before the pockets of resistance could be blasted out, at a heavy cost in casualties, and the Scheldt made available to Allied convoys. Thus it was mid-December, three months after they had reached the German border, before the Allies were ready to attack the Siegfried Line with overwhelming power.

At a corresponding point in the First World War the German High Command had advised the civil government to ask for an armistice. This time, however, the German military leaders were not in a position to impose their advice upon the political leaders. Nazi control over both army and people had been complete since an abortive attempt upon the life of Hitler on July 20, 1944. A number of generals were concerned in this plot, a "crime which has no equal in German history," as its intended victim described it. They were promptly liquidated, and occasion was taken to make very sure that none of similar mind remained in posts of command. With the army in the field completely Nazified, the Home Army was made sure of by being placed under the command of Heinrich Himmler, head of the Gestapo. Thus Germany was made to fight on until the whole country should be engulfed in the ruin which the Nazi leaders knew they could not escape.

### The Battle of the Bulge

In a desperate effort to escape or postpone the final reckoning Hitler launched, on December 16, 1944, a counterattack in great force which has become known as the "battle of the Bulge." The area of attack was the Belgian frontier near Luxembourg, about where the German break-through came in May, 1940. (See p. 753.) This area, a rugged and wooded region called the Ardennes, had been used by the Americans as a "rest" sector. Aided by a week of misty weather which grounded Allied planes, the Germans punched a hole in the line and advanced fifty miles on a front of forty miles. Their objective was Antwerp, in order to cut off Allied supplies, but they fell short even of Liège. After six months of breathtaking victories it was disconcerting to the news-intoxicated Allied public to learn of a reverse, though Allied leaders on the spot were not dismayed, even momentarily. The "bulge" was blunted, and then pressed upon from all sides and pounded from the air. By the end of January the lines were as before. Allied advance had been delayed six weeks but at a very heavy cost to the Germans, for the Reich was now "stripped of all strategic reserves."

## The Liberation and Reconstruction of Eastern Europe

In the east, as we have seen, the Germans had been driven from nearly all of the Russia of 1918, but they were still firmly entrenched in a belt of non-German territory two to three hundred miles wide stretching all the way from the Arctic to the Aegean Sea. Of the states in this zone of German occupation—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and Greece—a few had been annexed to the Reich and the rest reduced to the status of satellites, their political and economic life controlled from Berlin. The Russian campaign of 1944 opened in June, and in six months its achievement, a magnificent one, was to liberate almost all of the occupied states from German control. The Germans had openly stated that they regarded invasion from the west as the greatest danger to the Reich, and had said that they proposed to stand upon the defensive in the east, even giving ground if necessary, though in an orderly fashion. But the strength of the Russian attack was such that complacency among the German leaders gave way to something akin to panic. By mid-July the German armies, particularly in the Baltic areas and on the Polish front, were in rapid flight toward the homeland. The plot against Hitler's life was brought to a head, in all probability, by events in the east rather than by those in the west.

The details of the Russian successes, and especially those of the month of August, 1944, comprise one of the most dramatic chapters of military history. Here we may merely sum up the results of those victories. Taking note first of the German satellites, Rumania signed an armistice on September 13, 1944, Finland on September 19, Bulgaria on October 18, Hungary on January 20, 1945. The terms of these armistices were agreed to by the representatives of Great Britain and the United States as well as by those of Russia. Rumania had been of considerable use to the Reich, supplying one third of her oil, and about a million tons of wheat per annum. In addition, several hundred thousand Rumanian troops fought on the German side. At Hitler's dictation, moreover, Rumania had ceded a sizable part of Transylvania to Hungary. When the Russian advance through Bessarabia drew near the Rumanian frontier, young King Michael dismissed his pro-Axis cabinet, declaring: "I have considered that there is only one path for the salvation of the Fatherland: relinquishing our alliance with the Axis powers and immediate cessation of hostilities with the United Nations." The armistice provided for the return of Transylvania—but not of Bessarabia. Rumania agreed to pay Russia reparations in kind, over a six-year period, to the value of \$300,000,000; reparations to others of the United Nations were to be determined at a later date.

Finland, next to seek an armistice, promised to assist in the expulsion of German troops, reinforced as recently as the previous June, and to pay reparations. With minor exceptions, Finnish boundaries were to be those of March 12, 1940. (See p. 750.) Bulgaria had collaborated with Germany during the war and had been rewarded with long-coveted slices of territory formerly belonging to Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Cleverly scheming to profit by any eventuality, the pro-Nazi Council of Regency for the six-year-old King Simeon had declared war on Great Britain and later on America, but not on Russia. In late August, 1944, as the Russians were swiftly advancing through Rumania, the Bulgarian Council, reconstituting itself, renounced its Nazi pacts, withdrew from the war, and even declared war on Germany. Disregarding these maneuvers, Russia declared war on Bulgaria on September 5. Bulgaria promptly asked for an armistice. Under the terms of the armistice Bulgaria was obliged to withdraw from the districts she had taken over from her neighbors and resume her former boundaries.

Hungary, under Admiral Horthy as regent, had collaborated fully with Hitler and had been rewarded by slices of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. The Russian advance reached Hungary's northern and eastern frontier in October, 1944. Horthy was minded to seek terms, but last-ditch Magyar nationalists thrust him aside and held out a few months longer. Budapest was taken by the Russians after a fifty-day siege in February, 1945. In the meantime leftist parties had set up a National Assembly in the liberated districts of Hungary, declared war on Germany, and sought an armistice. The representatives of the Big Three told the Hungarians that they must retire to their frontier of 1937 and pay reparations of \$200,000,000 to Russia and of \$100,000,000 to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The four states whose governments had collaborated with Germany had, then, lost their winnings. They had been thrust back within their former frontiers, and three of them had pledged the payment of reparations. The governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, and Greece had never surrendered to the all-conquering Germans but had maintained an official existence as governments-in-exile. Indeed, the land of Yugoslavia was never completely occupied by the Germans. Various patriot leaders had kept resistance alive, chief among them Marshal Tito, who organized a National Committee of Liberation. In September, 1944, British forces from Adriatic ports came to Tito's aid, the massive Russian advance having already reached Yugoslavia's eastern frontier. In October Belgrade was liberated and by the close of the year all Germans had been expelled from Yugoslavia. King Peter, head of the Yugoslav government-in-exile in London, had not always seen eye-to-eye with Marshal Tito,

and there seemed to be a tendency for Britain to support the former, Russia the latter. Fortunately for all concerned, an agreement was reached in November, 1944, whereby the question of Peter's return was to be left to a plebiscite to be held when normal conditions had been restored. In the meantime a regency was established with Marshal Tito as premier. It was further agreed that the policy of "Serbianizing" Yugoslavia, which the monarchy had pursued since 1929, should be abandoned. The six provinces of Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Macedonia were each to enjoy a large measure of autonomy while linked together in a federation. (In December, 1945, the monarchy was abolished and a republic proclaimed with the name "Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia." The new government was promptly recognized by the United States.)

George II was king of Greece when the Germans stormed into and through the land in the spring of 1941. He and his government fled first to Crete, then to Cairo, and still later joined other governments-in-exile in London. The collapse of the German forces in Rumania and Bulgaria in the late summer of 1944 led to the withdrawal of German troops from Greece and most of its islands. Early in October British forces landed in the Peloponnesus, and on October 14 they entered Athens. An important part in the liberation of Greece was played by a patriot group called the National Liberation Front, or EAM. In domestic politics this party was decidedly leftist; indeed, the British prime minister stigmatized it as a "potential communist dictatorship." King George had had a checkered career during the twenty-two years of his reign. From 1935 until his flight in 1941 he had acquiesced in the dictatorship of General Metaxas. EAM was decidedly opposed to receiving back its exiled king. Other Greek groups, parties of the right, were no less determined upon his restoration.

Just as in Yugoslavia, and still earlier in Italy, liberation in Greece was followed by civil war between parties "animated by hatreds more fierce than those which had been for the common foe." This melancholy outcome appears to be the normal course of history. "After the blinding flash of catastrophe, the stunning blow, the gaping wounds, there comes an onset of diseases of defeat. The central principle of a nation's life is broken and all health and normal control vanish." In Greece the British forces on the spot strove to maintain order, their government declaring that "whether Greece is a monarchy or a republic is for the Greeks and the Greeks alone to decide." In the view of EAM partisans, however, the British government was guilty of siding with monarchy, and it required a personal visit by Churchill on Christmas Day, 1944, to persuade them to lay down their arms. All parties then agreed to the establishment

of a regency under Archbishop Damaskinos, leaving the question of monarchy for popular determination, later on. British policy in Greece, then and later, was subject to considerable criticism from abroad, especially from the Russians.

### The Polish Problem

By the close of the year 1944 the Russian advance had "liberated" much of Polish territory also. It could scarcely be expected that this would be followed by a solution of the Polish problem agreeable to all the Poles and their friends in Europe and America. Polish patriots felt, and there was much historical justification for the feeling, that their country had at least as much to fear from Russia as from Germany. In 1939 Russia had not hesitated to possess itself of the eastern half of helpless Poland. After her own entry in the war against Germany, however, Russia became the close ally of Britain, Poland's champion in 1939, and thereafter Marshal Stalin declared himself in favor of a strong, friendly Poland, sovereign and independent, repeating the declaration frequently. At the same time, Stalin showed no disposition to withdraw his forces from the Polish provinces which he had seized, but instead sought to secure the assent of the Polish government-in-exile to their permanent incorporation in Russia, the common frontier to follow, generally, the so-called "Curzon Line." The Polish leaders in London steadfastly refusing their consent, even though they were offered portions of German territory in compensation, Russia broke off diplomatic relations with them in the spring of 1943, charging that there were "anti-Soviet" elements in the London government.

Russian gains on the Polish front during the summer of 1944 were especially spectacular. On August 1 General Bor, commander in chief under the London government of the Polish underground, called his Warsaw forces to arms. The Germans counterattacked in great strength; Russian forces failed to break through the barrier of the Vistula in time to come to Warsaw's aid; and in October Bor and his remaining forces surrendered to the Germans. Many have charged that this tragic collapse of the Polish movement of liberation, after its long and determined struggle, was deliberately contrived by Russia in order to bring to final discredit the Polish government-in-exile. At all events, "a rival government soon appeared in "liberated" Poland. This became known as the Lublin government after the ancient city in which it came into being. To this regime, which proclaimed itself "the only lawful government of Poland," the Soviets accorded diplomatic recognition in January, 1945. Britain and America, meanwhile, continued in their recognition of the London regime as the only lawful Polish government.

### The Yalta Conference

In January, 1945, the Allies stood upon the very frontiers of Germany both in the east and in the west; to the south, in Italy, the Germans held only the valley of the Po. It was clear that Germany's final defeat could be achieved in a matter of months, though this would require the closest military coordination among the Allies. Plans for the occupation and control of defeated Germany must be laid at once, for it seemed all too likely that Nazi collapse would leave the German people a "masterless multitude." It had also become increasingly clear, especially with regard to Poland, Yugoslavia, and Greece, that closer coordination among the Allies on the diplomatic front was urgently required. Accordingly, the Big Three met again, this time at Yalta in the Crimea. Each leader was accompanied by a numerous military and civilian staff, and the conference extended through eight days. An official statement of some length was issued at its close. The first point was the final defeat of Germany. "Nazi Germany is doomed," it was stated; "the timing of new and even more powerful blows has been fully agreed and planned in detail." Plans were also made, though details were not announced, for the occupation and control of Germany after her military defeat. Each of the three powers was to have a separate zone of occupation, with a fourth to be provided for France if she should so desire. The supreme commanders of the zones were to constitute a central control commission with headquarters in Berlin. "It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world." These objectives having been attained, there would again be "hope for a decent life for Germans [whom] it is not our purpose to destroy, and a place for them in the community of nations." The three leaders then recorded their resolve to secure "the earliest possible establishment with our allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security." To that end they agreed to call a conference of the United Nations at San Francisco, April 25, 1945, to prepare a charter along the lines of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

Turning to the problem of the liberated peoples of Europe, the three governments declared it to be their agreed purpose jointly to assist liberated peoples and the peoples of former Axis satellite states "to solve their pressing political and economic problems by democratic means." They specifically reaffirmed their adherence to "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live"—a principle of the Atlantic Charter. As for the Polish question, the Big Three stated that the recent liberation of western Poland called for the establishment of a pro-



visional government with a broader democratic basis than the one "now functioning in Poland," i.e., the Lublin regime. A special commission of one representative from each of the three powers was named, and it was directed to consult with the various Polish democratic leaders in Poland and abroad. The new provisional government was to "be pledged to the holding of free unfettered elections as soon as possible." The eastern frontier of Poland, the three heads of government considered, should follow the Curzon Line with a few minor digressions in "favor of Poland." But Poland must receive "substantial accessions of territory in the north and west"—at the expense of Germany. The recent compromise between the followers of Marshal Tito and the adherents of King Peter of Yugoslavia was specifically approved by the Big Three. "There was also a general review of other Balkan questions," but no conclusions were announced.

#### 1945: The Russians Move toward Berlin and the Baltic

At Yalta plans had been concerted for a spirited renewal of the winter campaign; Germany, firmly gripped between the two great arms of a vise, was to be crushed to death. A Russian drive through northern Germany began January 12. Warsaw was liberated at last. In three weeks the Russian forces advanced 250 miles and reached the Oder River on its middle course, due east of Berlin. Six weeks later, that is, in mid-March, the Russians were on the Baltic coast at the mouth of the Oder. They had now cleared the Germans out of the coastal areas of the Baltic, except for isolated pockets, from the Gulf of Finland right round to Stettin, the port of Berlin. Badly frightened, the Germans moved twenty divisions from the western front to strengthen the eastern defenses of Berlin.

#### The Western Armies Cross the Rhine

During these same weeks the British-American team performed no less brilliantly. Smashing through the Siegfried Line in frontal assault, the Allied forces reached the Rhine on a front 250 miles long, taking 200,000 prisoners. The hard outer shell of Germany had now been pierced, east and west, and the Russians stood on the Oder, their Allies on the Rhine.

The Rhine is a much more formidable obstacle than the Oder. Plans had long been made for the Rhine crossing on the assumption that all its bridges would be destroyed. Great boats, manned by sailors, were brought overland on specially constructed motor trucks. Materials were also in readiness for temporary bridges strong enough to support any desired

weight. On March 7 a "windfall hoped for but not expected" came when American forces captured intact a bridge at Remagen above Aachen. A bridgehead was promptly established on the eastern bank of the Rhine. Two weeks later, by "decidedly improvised and sketchy means," the Rhine was crossed again seventy-five miles farther upstream at Oppenheim just above Mainz. Besides having a disruptive effect upon the German defensive forces, these bridgeheads contributed to forming the "largest pocket of envelopment in the history of warfare," for on March 23 the British in great force crossed the Rhine in its lower course north of the Ruhr. The whole of that industrial area was promptly surrounded and cut off, and the German forces within it were pounded into submission. More than 300,000 prisoners were taken in this operation.

### German Forces Surrender

By mid-April there was not much fight left in the German armies; the Rhine was being crossed almost at will, and Allied armored divisions with motorized infantry drove across Germany from points all along the length of the river. On April 25 American forces made the first juncture with the Russians in central Germany near Leipzig. A week later the Russians climaxed their own battle of Germany with the capture of Berlin. Farther north the British reached Bremen, took Hamburg, and on May 2 reached the Baltic and effected a second junction with the Russians at a point just east of Lübeck. Three days later the commander of all the German forces in northwest Germany, Holland, and Denmark surrendered to General Montgomery.

In southern Germany American forces with some help from the French hastened to enter the mountainous country where it had been conjectured that the Nazis would make a last stand. Advance here was no less swift than elsewhere. The "national redoubt" vanished into thin air. This was due in part to a brilliant victory of the Allies in Italy. Breaking through the Gothic line, they took Bologna on April 21, crossed the Po three days later, and quickly captured all the principal cities of northern Italy. On April 29 the supreme German commander in Italy and southern Austria surrendered all his German and Italian Fascist forces, about a million men. Only the day before this world-resounding event Mussolini had been captured by Italian Partisans, tried in their fashion, and shot, along with his mistress of the moment. Later the corpses of both, hung by the heels, were exposed to public gaze in Milan.

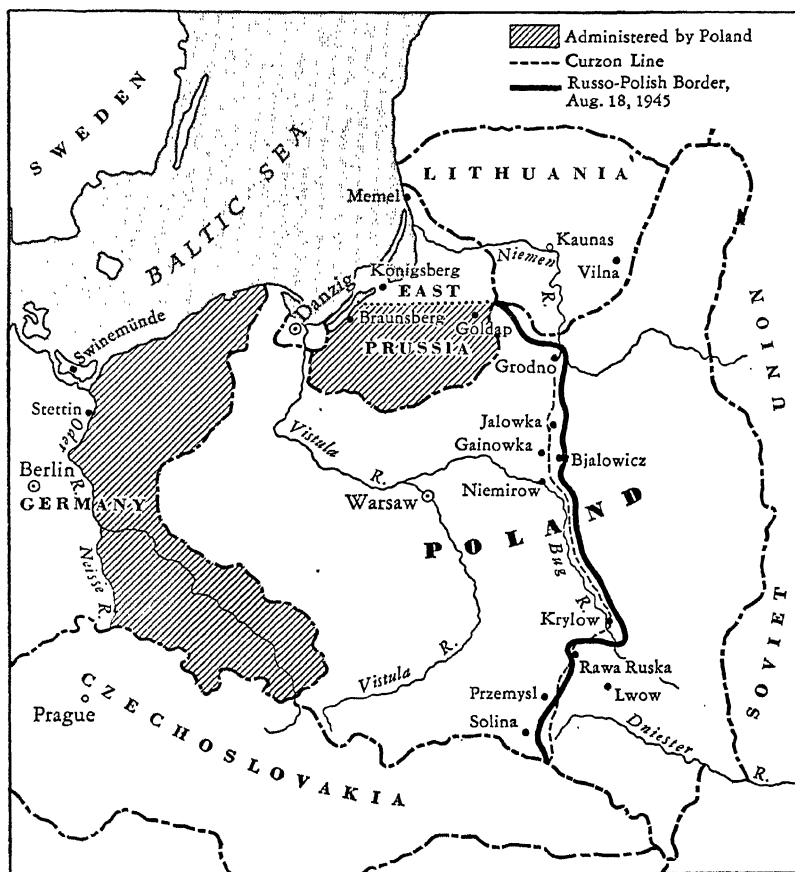
Finally, at Rheims, during the early morning hours of May 7, came the formal all-inclusive surrender at the headquarters of General Eisenhower. All German military, naval, and air forces were to cease operations

and submit thenceforth to Allied commands. Military collapse sealed the fate of Hitler as well as that of his Axis partner. On May 1 an official announcement was made over the German radio that "Adolf Hitler, fighting to the last breath against Bolshevism, fell for Germany." He is doubtless dead but the manner of his death is as yet unknown.

### The Potsdam Conference

V-E day brought peace to Europe, but problems remained which were scarcely less urgent than the problems of war. German Nazism and militarism were destroyed and Germany had been rendered incapable of disturbing the peace, but to assure the permanence of these accomplishments would require careful planning and a certain amount of time. Moreover, the damage done by Germany to the peoples of Europe would have to be repaired as far as possible. Provision would have to be made for the drafting of definitive treaties with Germany, Italy, and the satellite states. The heads of government of America, Britain, and Russia met at Potsdam, near Berlin, on July 17, and continued in session until August 2. One of the great Allied chiefs of state, President Roosevelt, had been removed by death (April 12); another, Winston Churchill, was removed from office as the result of a parliamentary election. Churchill's successor, who replaced him during the course of the conference, was Clement R. Attlee, head of the British Labor Party.

The measures taken to secure the objectives enumerated above, and others, were embodied in an official statement known as the Potsdam Declaration. Nazism was to be destroyed not only by the removal of all party members from office and by the trial of war criminals but also by the control of German education, the reinstitution of civil liberties, and the reorganization of the judicial system. Militarism was to be attacked by the complete disarming of Germans, by the abolition of the General Staff, and by the elimination of Germany's "war potential." The last aim was to be achieved through rigid control of the "production of metals, chemicals, machinery, and other items that are directly necessary to a war economy." Furthermore, German economy was to be decentralized and the production of goods and services limited to the maintaining of a standard of living "not exceeding the standards of living of European countries." As to reparations, Russia was to help herself from German resources in her own eastern zone of occupation; Great Britain, the United States, and other countries entitled to reparations were to draw upon German resources in the western zones of occupation. Russia promptly proceeded to remove usable and complete industrial capital equipment which she regarded as "unnecessary for the German economy."



THE RUSSO-POLISH BORDER

France as well as Russia is currently making use of the labor of many thousands of German prisoners.

To draft treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, and with Germany after a central government could be organized, the three heads of government provided for a Council of Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., China, France, and the United States. The Potsdam Declaration recommended that this council meet regularly in London, hold its first meeting in September, 1945, and begin by drafting a treaty with Italy. Anticipating the treaty-making work of the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Big Three went on record as having agreed in principle to the transfer to the Soviet Union of the city of Königsberg and the area adjacent to it. Reporting to the nation on August 7, Presi-

dent Truman said that this would "provide the Soviet Union, which did so much to bring about victory in Europe, with an ice-free port at the expense of Germany." Thus did Joseph Stalin carry forward a work begun by Peter the Great. Poland, which had now been supplied with a "broadened Provisional Government of National Unity," recognized by the three powers, and whose eastern frontier had been "fixed" at Potsdam, was entrusted with "administrative control" over a slice of eastern Germany, that is, all German territory east of a line extending due south from Stettin to the frontier of Czechoslovakia, following generally the Oder and Neisse rivers. If this arrangement of the frontier is confirmed in the treaty with Germany, as seems probable, it will have transferred to Poland about one quarter of the arable land of prewar Germany. Ex-Prime Minister Churchill thought that this provision of Potsdam was "not a good augury for the future of Europe." He stated further that the exodus and expulsion of some millions of Germans from that area, reportedly already in progress, would be "tragedy on a prodigious scale." The three governments also agreed that they would support applications from all "reconstructed" states, lately their enemies, for membership in the United Nations, and would also approve of the application of neutral states which fulfilled the conditions of membership laid down in Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations. Spain as at present governed was specifically excepted.

### MacArthur and Nimitz Close in on Japan

On the very day of the convening of the Potsdam Conference, July 17, 1945, the American and British leaders received a secret report describing the amazing success of an experimental use of a weapon which was destined to bring the war with Japan to an abrupt conclusion. That war had been going extremely well for our side. It had been thought that we would have to wage a holding war with Japan until Germany could be finished off; but by the time the Allies were getting their first troops ashore on the beaches of Normandy, American and Australian forces under MacArthur's command had cleared out all Japanese forces in the Solomons and in the immense island of New Guinea, or had drawn their fangs, while naval task forces with accompanying infantry and marines, commanded by Admiral Nimitz, had taken the Marianas. (See p. 781.) This abandonment of the strategy of defense had been made possible by the incredible speed with which America had produced ships and planes. More than five million tons of fighting ships had been built since Pearl Harbor. Moreover, the disaster of Pearl Harbor had deeply stirred the fighting temper of the American navy. In the third theater of the Pacific

war, that commanded by Lord Mountbatten, progress had been much slower.

American forces in the Pacific had now become a well-integrated team of military, naval, and air power. The strategy of each new advance was to gain control of the air, establish naval superiority, at least locally, and then send in an occupying force strong enough to form a base from which the same process could be repeated at the next objective, some hundreds of miles away. During the second half of 1944 MacArthur made his celebrated return to the Philippines. On October 19, months ahead of schedule, he landed on Leyte, central island in the archipelago, the American possession of which would cut Japanese occupying forces in two. There was sentiment in the return to the Philippines. Americans remembered the heroic epic of defense at Bataan and Corregidor; they vividly recalled the brutal Japanese treatment of prisoners; they honored the Filipinos for their continued resistance to their Oriental conquerors. There was also strategy. Installed in the Philippines, the Americans could cut the sea route between Japan and her rich conquests in Malaya and the East Indies, without the produce of which she could not indefinitely continue to make war on a grand scale.

The landing on Leyte was followed by the great naval battle of Leyte Gulf, which "virtually eliminated Japan as a sea power." From Leyte other combined operations were undertaken. The principal one was to Luzon, north of Manila, January 9, 1945. In May MacArthur announced that the Philippines had "been taken." The civil government of the commonwealth had been restored under President Osmeña some months previously.

Deeply concerned over impending events in the Philippines, the Japanese gave increased attention to enlarging their zones of occupation in China. To by-pass the Philippines it would only be necessary for the Japanese to carve out a corridor along the railways leading from Hankow to Canton and the ports of Indo-China. This had been substantially achieved by the close of the year 1944. The Americans had been compelled to abandon, somewhat precipitately, most of the airfields from which their Superforts had been bombing Japan. Indeed, at the close of 1944 the situation in China was very grave. Supplies by air from India had been sufficient to keep Free China alive, but that was all; the new Stilwell Road was not yet open. Moreover, there was the definite prospect that from their outpost in south China only sixty miles away the Japanese would cut the road to Chungking (at Kweiyang).

But blows of terrible destructiveness were in preparation in the Pacific. Saipan, taken in June, 1944, was transformed in six months into a great base for Superfortresses. Near-by Guam, seized in July, became a

base for the Pacific fleet, and to it Admiral Nimitz transferred his headquarters, previously in Oahu, 3800 miles to the east. The expulsion of the Japanese from the Marianas led to the resignation of the infamous Tojo and his cabinet. Tojo's successor was General Koiso, who included some industrialists in his cabinet of military and naval officers. Fleets of American bombers took off from Saipan early in 1945 to begin their work of pulverizing and burning Japanese military and industrial centers. In February a landing was made on Iwo island, one of the Volcano group halfway between Saipan and Tokyo. The surface of this island is dry volcanic cinder "like a landscape on the moon." The Japanese were thoroughly dug in. In taking Iwo the marines suffered more than 5000 casualties in the first forty-eight hours, the worst ordeal in the 168 years of their history. Too small for heavy bombers, Iwo supplied a base for fighter planes and for emergency landings of the B-29's then winging their way to Japan and back.

In February, 1945, the air war on Japan entered a new phase when planes from American carriers brought their bombs to bear on selected targets. On each of two days, in the first attack, more than a thousand planes took off from the flight decks of American ships three hundred miles off shore, thus fulfilling, as Admiral Nimitz said, "the deeply cherished desire of every officer and man in the Pacific fleet." That this and other successive attacks could be pressed home with relative impunity was a supreme illustration of the altered balance of naval power since Pearl Harbor. Detached portions of the Japanese navy had been encountered again and again; at Midway, in the Bismarck Sea, off New Guinea, and in the battle of Leyte Gulf, Japanese naval forces had been badly defeated. Declining to risk their main fleet in a decisive action, the Japanese had allowed it to become decimated in a multitude of encounters. Then, too, the American navy had a "secret weapon," as Admiral Nimitz termed it. Ships were refueled and refitted at sea from floating bases, thus doubling or tripling their length of effective service.

By the spring of 1945 American strategists had come to the conclusion that the Japanese Empire could most quickly be destroyed not by lopping off its members successively but by an unmerciful pounding at its heart. This called for saturation bombing and bombardment followed by massive landings of troops. There were serious obstacles. The end of the war in Europe, obviously near at hand, would release an immense fighting force, American and British, but it would take months to deploy it in the Pacific. Several bases of operation would be required, also, some doubtless in near-by China. These could not be had immediately. Moreover, bases in Manchuria would have to await Russia's entrance into the Japanese war, the date of which was doubtful. What could be done at once was to

establish a base for final assault in the Ryukyu Islands, only three hundred miles south of the main islands of Japan. After preparatory bombings and bombardment a landing was made on Okinawa, a sixty-mile-long island of the Ryukyus. The operation began on April 1, 1945, and the fighting lasted eighty-two days. The Japanese fought with the greatest desperation. The American dead numbered 11,260; more than 30,000 were wounded. Kamikaze, or suicide, planes sank thirty-three of our ships and damaged twice as many. Among the Japanese casualties of the campaign—a political casualty—was Koiso and his cabinet. Admiral Suzuki now formed another government, including Tojo as a member, with no hint of a weakening of Japan's resolve to fight to a finish.

The early months of 1945 had also brought marked success to the Allies in the Southeast Asia Command. With ample supplies available at last, Lord Mountbatten succeeded in clearing the Japanese from the whole of Burma, making skillful use of the strategy of amphibious landings to force withdrawal in successive stages. On May 3 Rangoon was taken and the Burma campaign was over.

### Plan of Campaign for 1945-1946

Preparations were swiftly made to transform Okinawa into a bomber base. American authorities planned raids, from Saipan and Okinawa, of a thousand B-29's a day. By the time of the projected invasion some three million tons of bombs would have fallen upon Japan. Indeed, so savage was the destruction being wrought, especially by the "jelly" bombs, which burned the heart out of city after city, that air officers were hopeful that no invasion on a grand scale would be required. With the end of the war in Europe, however, plans for invasion took definite form. MacArthur was to command the military and Nimitz the naval forces. The British moved naval and military forces toward the Far East, many of their naval vessels soon taking part in the "siege" of Japan. Plans called for a landing on Kyushu, southernmost of the larger islands, in the fall of 1945; on Honshu, in the early spring of 1946. In the meantime, however, on August 6, the atomic bomb, on which a British and American team of scientists had been at work for two years, was put in use.

### Atomic Bombs; End of the War

Before making use of this terrible weapon the governments of America, China, and Great Britain had sent Japan from Potsdam an ultimatum (July 25) giving her an "opportunity to end this war" and stating their terms: the elimination of "those who have deceived and misled the people



of Japan into embarking on world conquest"; the occupation of Japanese territory until that objective should be attained; the carrying out of the terms of the Cairo Declaration (see p. 784); and the revival of democracy in Japan. The people of Japan were not to be enslaved and an adequate peacetime economy was to be assured. From these terms, the Allies affirmed, "we will not deviate; there are no alternatives; we shall brook no delay." To this ultimatum there was no reply, and on August 6 the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base and major port of Japan. Two days later Russia declared war on the Japanese. Divisions of the Red army thrust swiftly into Manchuria and were soon in Harbin, one of its principal cities. Then, on August 9, a second and "improved type" of atomic bomb fell on Nagasaki, an industrial center, with effects still more awe-inspiring. The next day the Japanese government sued for peace, accepting the Allied terms but raising a question as to the future of the emperor. This point was clarified, and on August 14 the President of the United States in the name of all the Allies officially declared that the war was over.

Japan's war potential had been terribly reduced before the fatal bombs were dropped. Reporting to the Diet, later, Japan's first peacetime premier stated that her shipping had fallen to one quarter of the prewar volume; her inland transportation was 50 per cent destroyed. More than two million of her houses had been burned, he said, and ten million of her people were homeless. But it was the new weapon which brought all this home to the Japanese authorities in a blinding flash. "The terrible weapon," said Premier Higashi-Kuni, "was likely to result in the obliteration of the Japanese people and lead to the total extinction of human civilization."

### Charter of the United Nations

From the beginning of the war it was the fixed and constant purpose of Allied statesmen to see to it that in the future no aggressor state be able to disturb the peace of the world. There was no disposition to revive or continue the League of Nations, which had an identical objective. Failure had destroyed its prestige. The League had always been unpopular with a large section of the American public; the Russian authorities, still smarting over Russia's expulsion from the League in 1939 (see p. 750), consistently vetoed the very mention of its name in the various conferences looking toward a warless future.

The United Nations had come into being in January, 1942, for the more effectual prosecution of the war, and the association was confined to those states which had actually declared war on one or another of the

Axis powers. There were fifty of them in the end, and their representatives met in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, to draft a charter of incorporation. Proposals agreed upon at Dumbarton Oaks the previous October were laid before the delegates. Hundreds of amendments were proposed and there were many sharply expressed differences of opinion. Especially critical was the debate as to freedom of discussion in the Assembly, the permitting or prohibiting of regional security arrangements within the all-inclusive organization, and the voting privileges of the great powers in the Security Council. After "ten tough weeks," as an American delegate expressed it, the conference agreed unanimously on every point.

The Charter of the United Nations, a document of more than ten thousand words, was published June 26, 1945. It was to come into force upon the ratification of the Big Five (which included China and France) and a majority of the other states represented at San Francisco. Four months later the requisite number of ratifications, twenty-nine, were on deposit at the State Department in Washington, D.C., and Secretary Byrnes formally announced on October 24 that the United Nations Organization was in being. Preparatory committees were already hard at work making ready for the first meeting of the Assembly.

Every serious student will want to read and study the charter for himself; those who have been interested in the work of the League of Nations will be quick to compare the charter with the covenant of the League. The charter's statement of purposes is noteworthy: to "maintain international peace and security," to "develop friendly relations among nations," and to "encourage and promote respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." The basis of the organization is "the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members." All states are equally represented in a General Assembly, meeting annually. This body is empowered to fix the budget, receive and consider reports from all other bodies of the organization, admit new members or expel old ones, and "discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the charter."

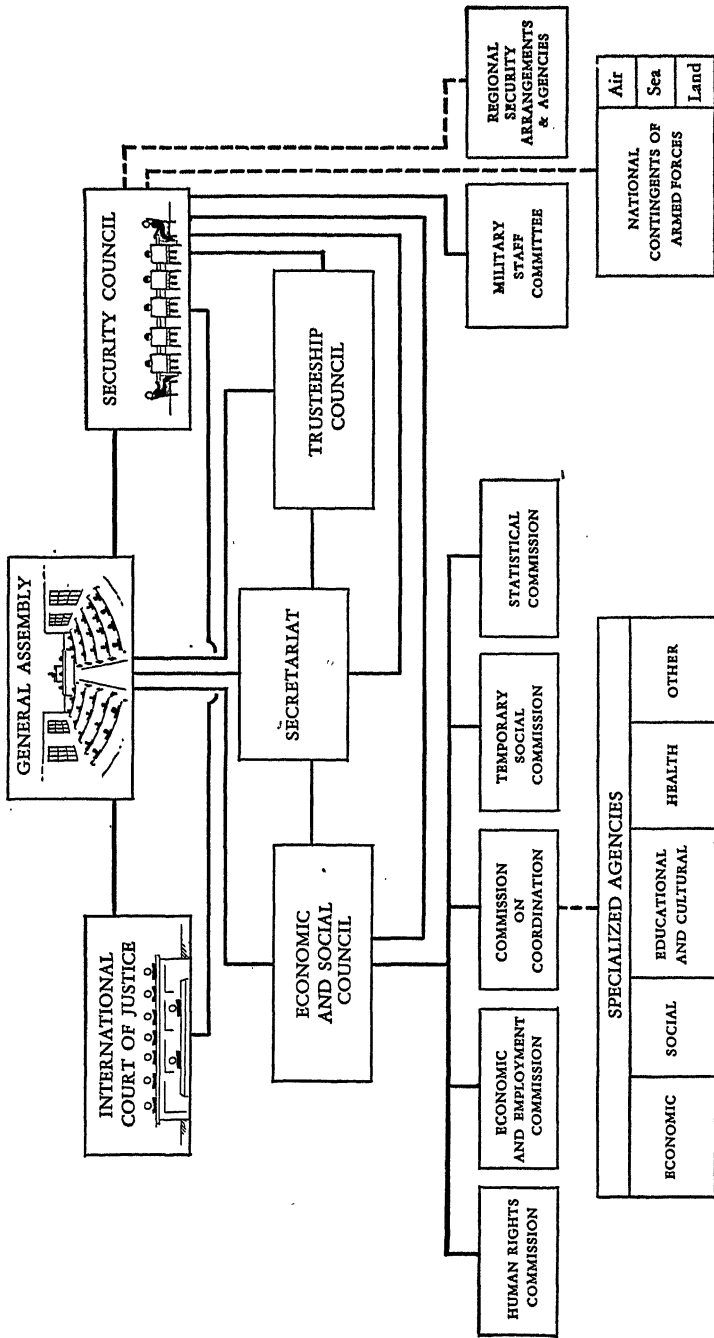
The other most important organ of the United Nations is the Security Council, to which the charter devotes a good third of its articles. The delegates to the conference were well aware that "the entire organization will be judged—and rightly so—almost solely by its ability to save a war-weary world from the unimaginable horrors of another global conflict." Upon the Security Council the United Nations conferred "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." The Big Five are to be permanent members of the Council, and the General Assembly elects six other states to membership for two-year

terms. This body is to sit continuously. It may impose sanctions, political and economic, on an aggressor state, and may take any conceivable step "short of war" to hold an aggressor in check, finally using force; or it may use force at any time. To make possible the prompt use of force, members of the United Nations are to maintain armed forces which shall be available to the Security Council on call; air forces are to be immediately available. Direction of the armed forces is entrusted to a "military staff committee" consisting of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Security Council, a body not unlike the Combined Chiefs of Staff which functioned so well during the war. In all decisions of moment a majority of seven is required, including the affirmative votes of the Big Five. This may seem undemocratic, but it is doubtless realistic, since "in any enforcement action the permanent members of the Council would be those whose forces must necessarily bear the predominant burden."

The charter also provides for an Economic and Social Council of eighteen members elected by the General Assembly. Upon it is conferred the function of promoting higher standards of living, social progress, intellectual cooperation, and the universal observance of human rights. Anyone familiar with the economic and humanitarian work of the League will read with especial interest the generous provisions made by this charter for the carrying on of such work.

The charter also establishes an international trusteeship system for the administration of backward areas, referred to as "trust territories." Such territories may include any regions now held under mandate, or to be "detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War," or voluntarily placed under the system by states now possessing them. A Trusteeship Council is established with functions similar to those of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. States which keep their colonies are pledged to administer them primarily for the benefit of the inhabitants themselves, taking into account also "the interests and well-being of the rest of the world." Trust territories are not necessarily demilitarized, as mandated territories were; indeed, the establishment within their boundaries of "strategic areas" is anticipated.

An International Court of Justice is provided for, the statute being based upon that of the World Court sponsored by the League of Nations. Even advisory opinions, to which the United States Senate took such sharp exception in the case of the World Court, are included among the functions of the new court. In this connection it may be noted that an International Bank, as well as an International Monetary Fund, had been agreed upon by the representatives of some forty nations in July, 1944, at a conference held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. These were de-



Direct relationship as defined in the charter.

Relationship to be determined by special agreements or arrangements.

signed to "facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade" and to "assist in the reconstruction and development of territories of members." It was stipulated that both of these financial bodies would cooperate fully with the international organization of the future.

The seat of the International Bank was to be fixed in the country supplying the most capital, namely, the United States of America. The capital of the United Nations has also been located in the United States. The very name, "United Nations," given unanimous approval at the San Francisco Conference, is a memorial to its American originator, President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

### Problems and Prospects of Peace

Once more the world embarks upon the noble experiment of international cooperation and the rule of law. This time the experiment has a better start than after the First World War, and the international organization is provided at the start with more and probably better machinery. Already considerable progress has been made. The demilitarizing of Germany is proceeding and the program of her re-education in democracy is getting under way. War criminals have been indicted for "crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity," and they will doubtless be duly punished, an event unique in the history of man and of a kind calculated to bring closer to realization the rule of law. The political and economic rehabilitation of the states which were Germany's victims or satellites is going forward, though the differing concepts of democracy which prevail in Russia on the one hand and in Britain and America on the other constitute an obstacle to success in this field. This was especially evident at the September, 1945, meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, held in London, which American opinion pronounced a failure.

In December, however, the ministers met again at Moscow and at the close of a ten-day conference announced a number of agreements. Among them was a plan for concluding treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland. These are to be drafted by the foreign ministers, or their deputies, and then submitted to a conference of "all members of the United Nations which actively waged war with substantial military force against European enemy states." The Allied total is twenty-one. A treaty with Germany will have to wait until a central government of that country shall have been organized.

The December meeting also ordered the establishment of a Far Eastern Commission, composed of representatives of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the United States, China, France, the Netherlands, Canada,

Australia, New Zealand, India, and the Philippine Commonwealth. This Commission is to "formulate policies, principles, and standards in conformity with which the fulfillment by Japan of the obligations under the terms of surrender may be accomplished." The United States government prepares the directives in accordance with the policy decisions of the Commission and transmits them to the supreme commander, General MacArthur. Considerable progress has been made, at least to outward seeming, in demilitarizing and democratizing Japan. Freedom of the press has been made effective. Shintoism has been disestablished as a state religion. In January, 1946, the world was excited by the news that an imperial rescript had ordered the Japanese people to "forget the false conception that the emperor is divine and that the Japanese people are superior to other races and fated to rule the world." Japanese leaders are currently engaged in drafting a new constitution for a democratic state.

From China, also, the news has been good. In August, 1945, Russia signed an agreement with China pledging the former not to intervene on the Communist side in the continuing civil war but to cooperate with the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek in its effort to liquidate the war. America, also, made an important contribution to peace in China. In January, 1946, General George C. Marshall, newly appointed ambassador to that country, engaged in a four-day conference with Nationalist and Communist leaders with the result that a truce was signed, ending the twenty-year struggle. It was announced that a Political Consultative Council had been established representing all Chinese parties and that it would proceed at once with the great tasks of peaceful reconstruction.

On January 10, 1946, the first Assembly of the United Nations met in London, the session lasting a month. The Assembly located its permanent capital near New York, with interim facilities in that city. As its permanent secretary general, a very important post, it elected Trygve Lie, foreign minister of Norway. Six nonpermanent members were elected to the Security Council: Brazil, Egypt, Mexico, Poland, the Netherlands, and Australia. The members of the Economic and Social Council were chosen, the Trusteeship Council was organized, and candidates for the International Court of Justice were named, also. One of the acts of the Assembly in which the world took an especial interest was the establishment of an Atomic Energy Board. This had been recommended by the Moscow Council of Foreign Ministers a month earlier. The board was charged by the United Nations Assembly with the duty of making recommendations "for control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable

to mass destruction"; and finally, "for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means." Each member of the Security Council, plus Canada when not a member, is to have one representative on the board, and its recommendations are to be made to the Security Council.

The elections and other acts of the Assembly were by no means unanimous. Sharp debate was common; close votes were numerous. Secretary of State Byrnes warned his fellow delegates in the Assembly against "casting excessive burdens upon the institutions of the United Nations, especially in their infancy." In spite of this warning the Russian and British representatives each criticized the policy of the other country in Iran and Greece, respectively, enlivening the sessions of the Security Council with "blunt and bitter words." Of course the rivalry of Russia and Britain in the Near and Middle East is no new thing; what is new, and this perhaps is a gain, is the manner of its expression. Other problems remain, more difficult and more urgent. The road to peace is hard and long. Among the requisites of statesmanship, in the aftermath of war, are good will, inexhaustible patience, and a stout heart.

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# Genealogical Tables

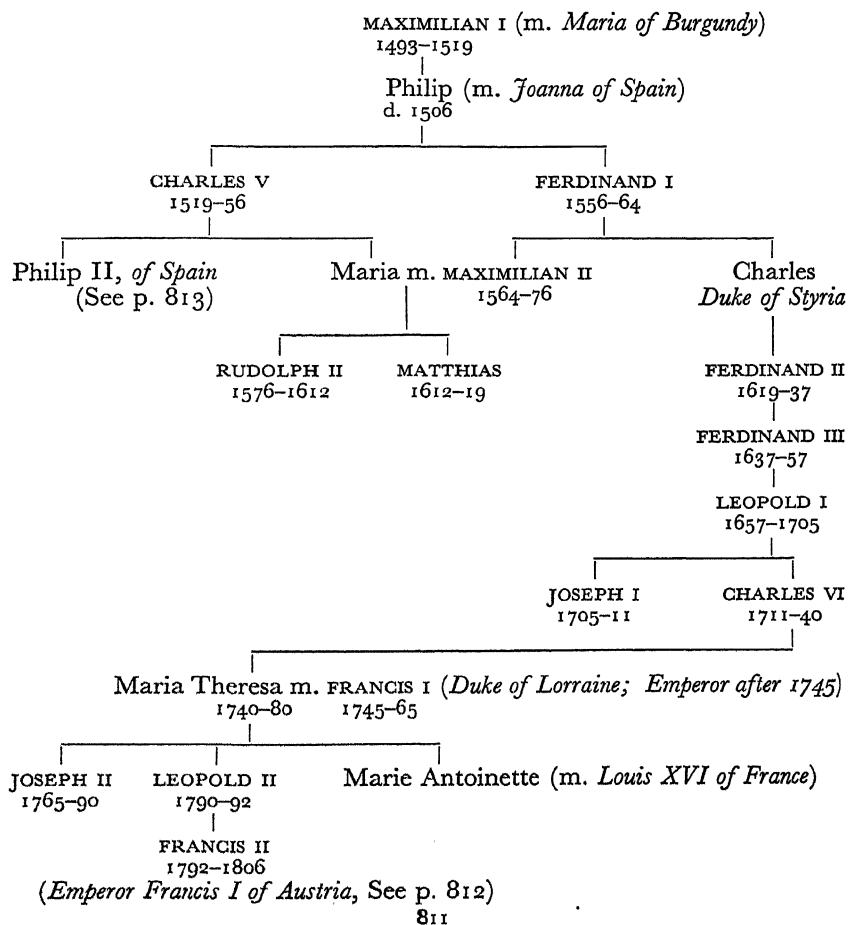
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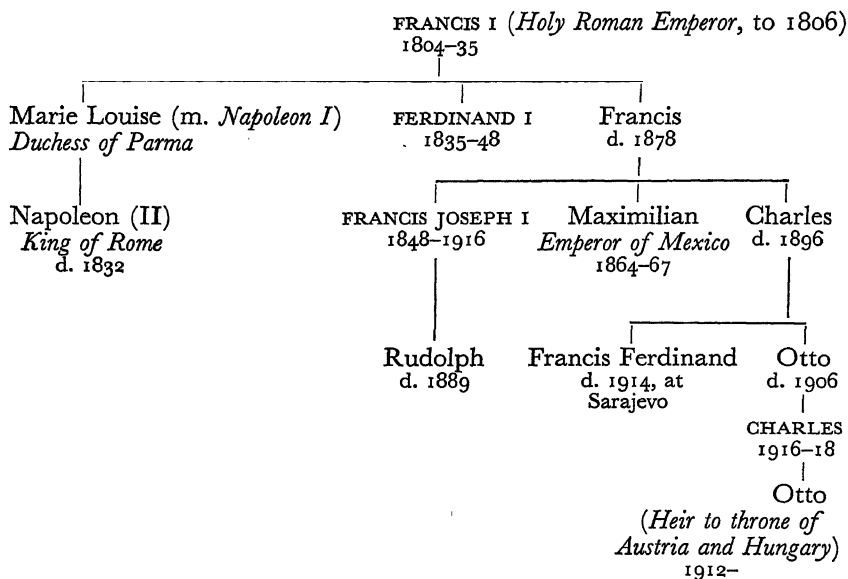
## HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

### *House of Hapsburg*



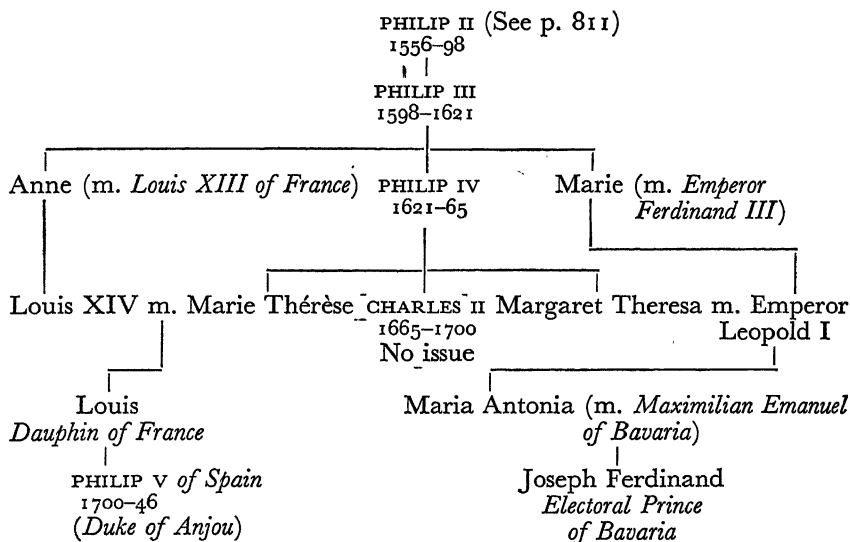


# EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA (AND KINGDOM OF HUNGARY)

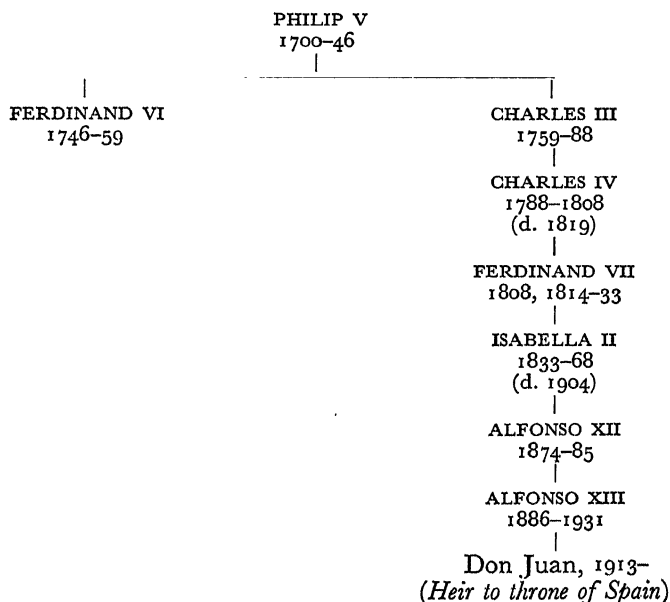


## SPAIN

### *House of Hapsburg*

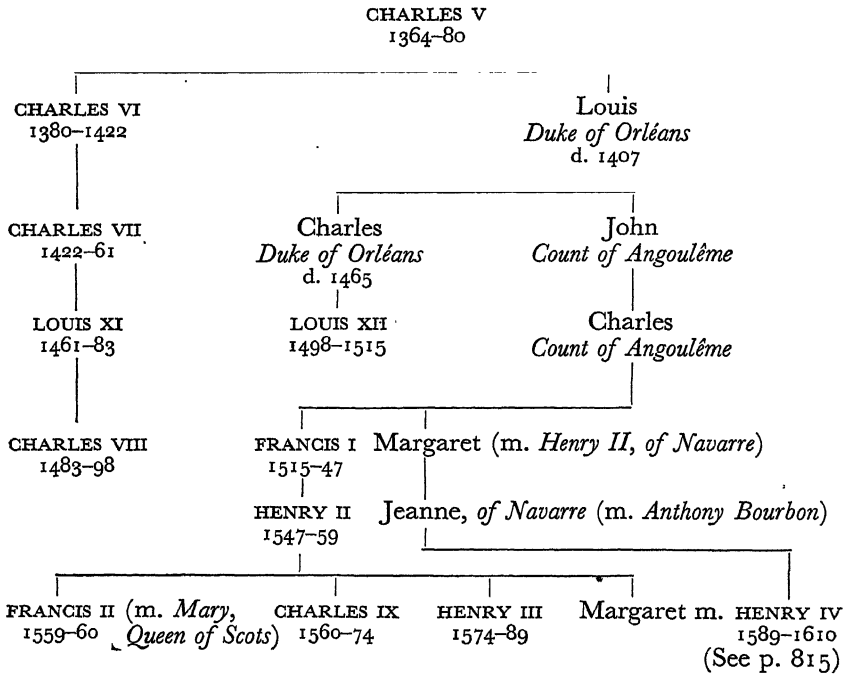


### *House of Bourbon*



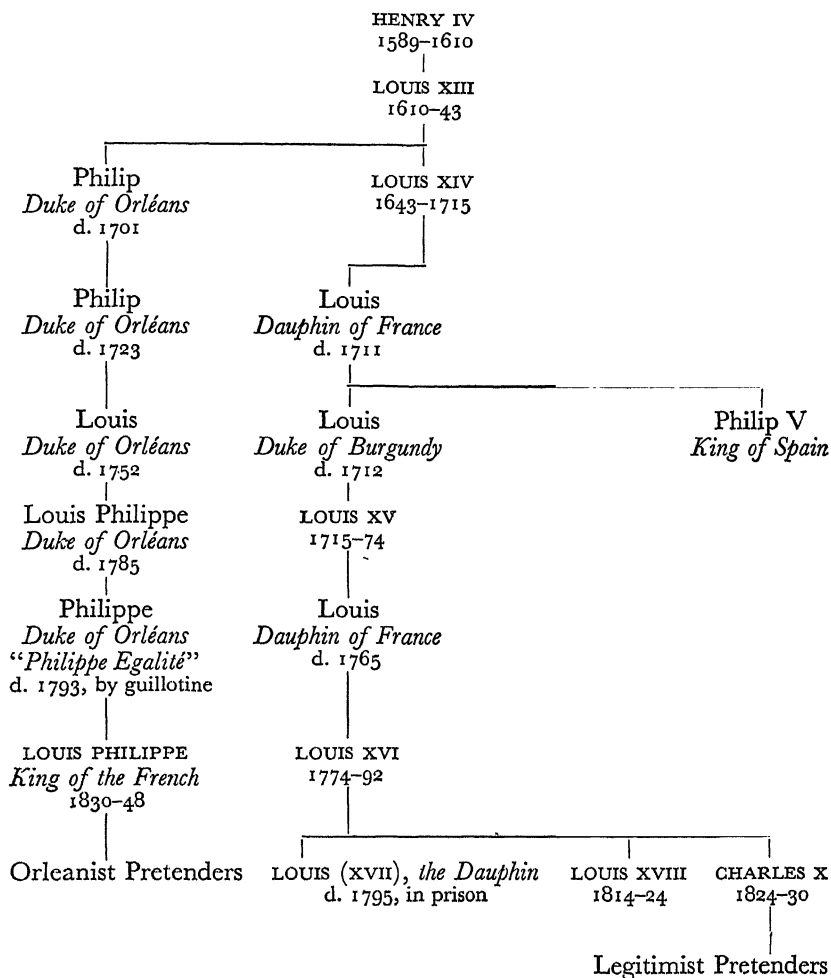
# FRANCE

## *House of Valois*



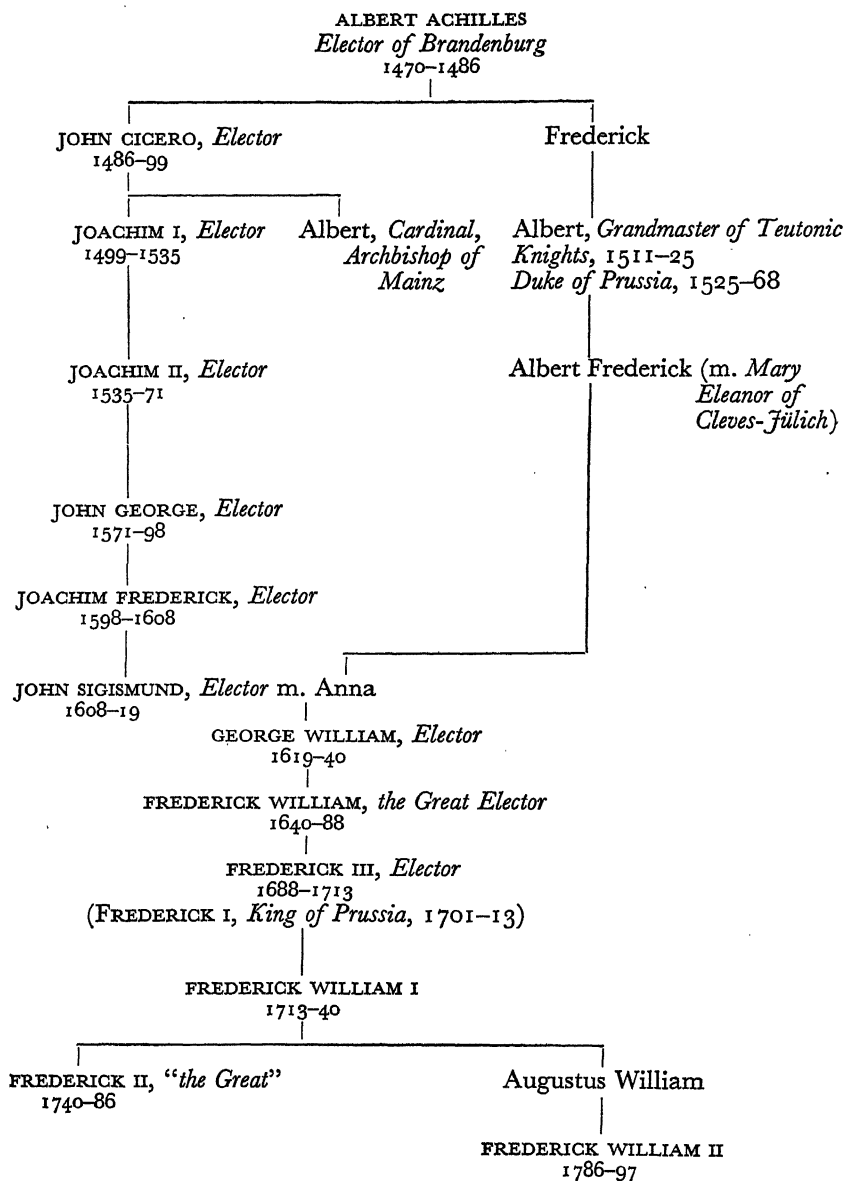
# FRANCE

## *House of Bourbon*



# BRANDENBURG-PRUSSIA

## *House of Hohenzollern*



# BRANDENBURG-PRUSSIA

## *House of Hohenzollern*

(Continued)

(Frederick William II)

FREDERICK WILLIAM III  
1797-1840

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV  
1840-61

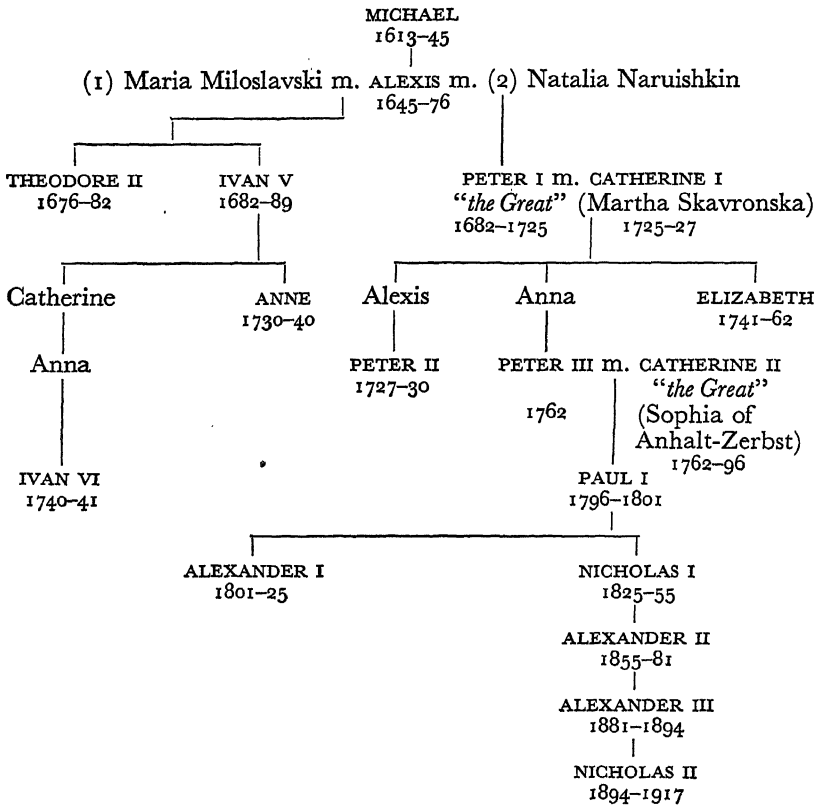
WILLIAM I  
1861-88  
*German Emperor, 1871-88*

FREDERICK III  
*King of Prussia and  
German Emperor*  
1888

WILLIAM II  
*King of Prussia and  
German Emperor*  
1888-1918 (deposed)

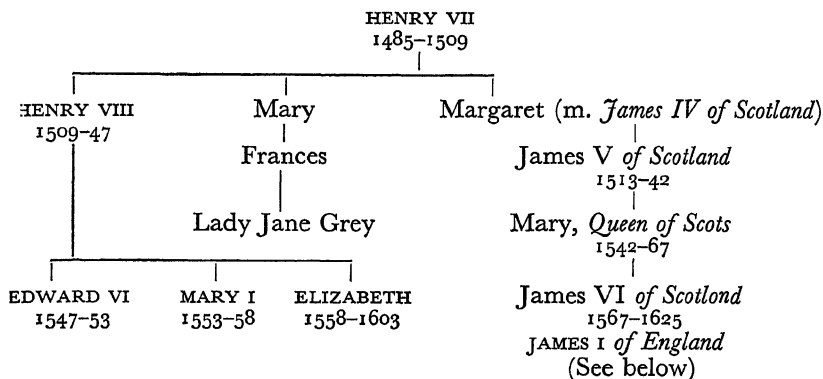
# RUSSIA

## *House of Romanov*

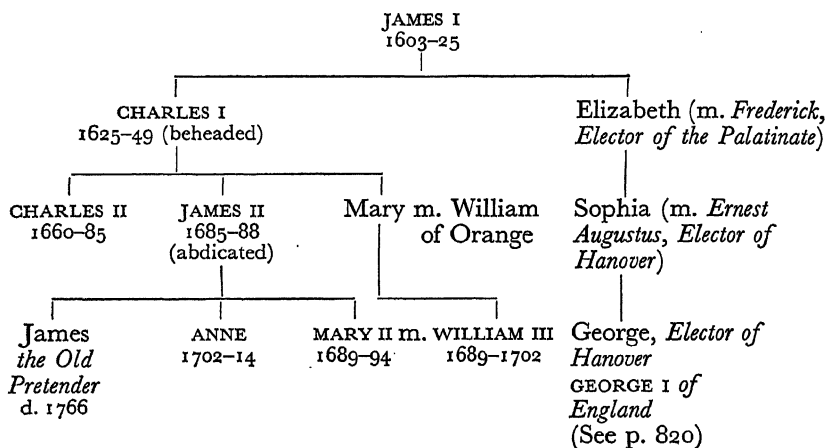


# ENGLAND (AFTER 1707, GREAT BRITAIN) AND IRELAND

## *House of Tudor*



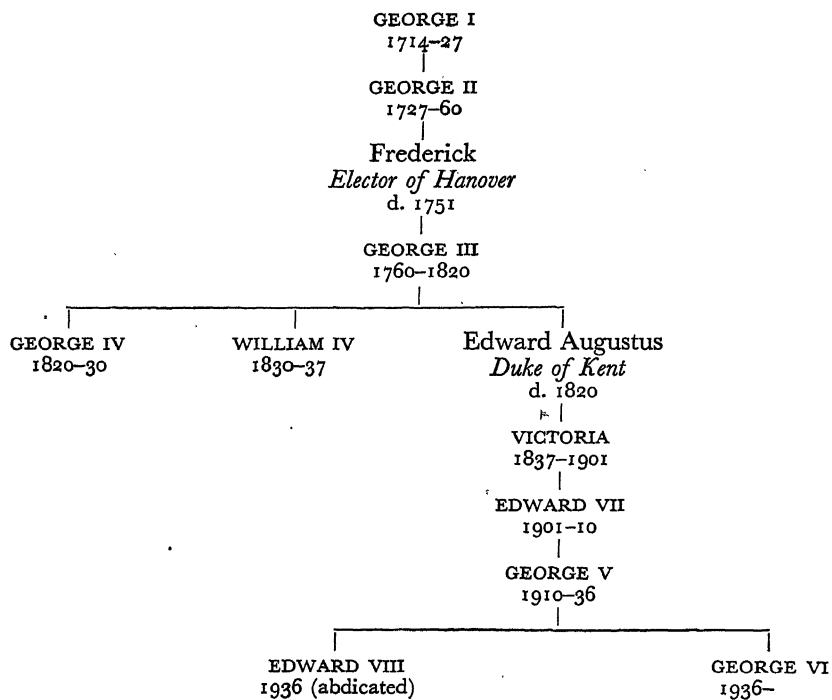
## *House of Stuart*





# GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

## *House of Hanover (Windsor, after 1915)*



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# For Further Reading

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THE REFERENCES which follow are intended to be of use to students. Brief readings are placed first in the list, under each chapter heading; longer references come next; at the end, in many instances, are source materials.

Much more extensive lists of works, with critical notes, may be found in *A Guide to Historical Literature* (1931), edited by G. M. Dutcher, H. R. Shipman, S. B. Fay, and others. An authoritative survey of European history from the Renaissance to the beginning of the twentieth century is the *Cambridge Modern History* (1902-12), a cooperative work, in fourteen volumes; it also has an extensive bibliography. More recent is the series of volumes, each by a different author, entitled *Rise of Modern Europe* (edited by W. L. Langer); eight volumes have appeared thus far (1946), about half of the series as planned. An especially good collection of sources is the *Contemporary Civilization Source Books* published by the Columbia University Press. An excellent atlas is the *Historical Atlas*, by W. R. Shepherd (7th ed., 1929).

## CHAPTER I. *The Rise of National Monarchies*

*Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, Chaps. 9, 12, 14. H. A. L. FISHER, *A History of Europe* (1934-35), Vol. II, Chaps. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7. A. H. JOHNSON, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century, 1494-1598* (1928 ed.). W. T. WAUGH, *A History of Europe from 1378 to 1494*. R. ERGANG, *Europe from the Renaissance to Waterloo* (1939), Chap. 1. G. M. TREVELYAN, *History of England* (new ed., 1937), Book III. E. F. HENDERSON, *A Short History of Germany* (1927 ed.), Vol. I, Chaps. 10-15. L. BATIFFOL, *The Century of the Renaissance (National History of France)*, Chaps. 1-4. E. P. CHEYNEY, *Dawn of a New Era, 1250-1453* (1936; Vol. I of *The Rise of Modern Europe*, ed. by W. L. Langer). C. E. CHAPMAN, *History of Spain* (1918).

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